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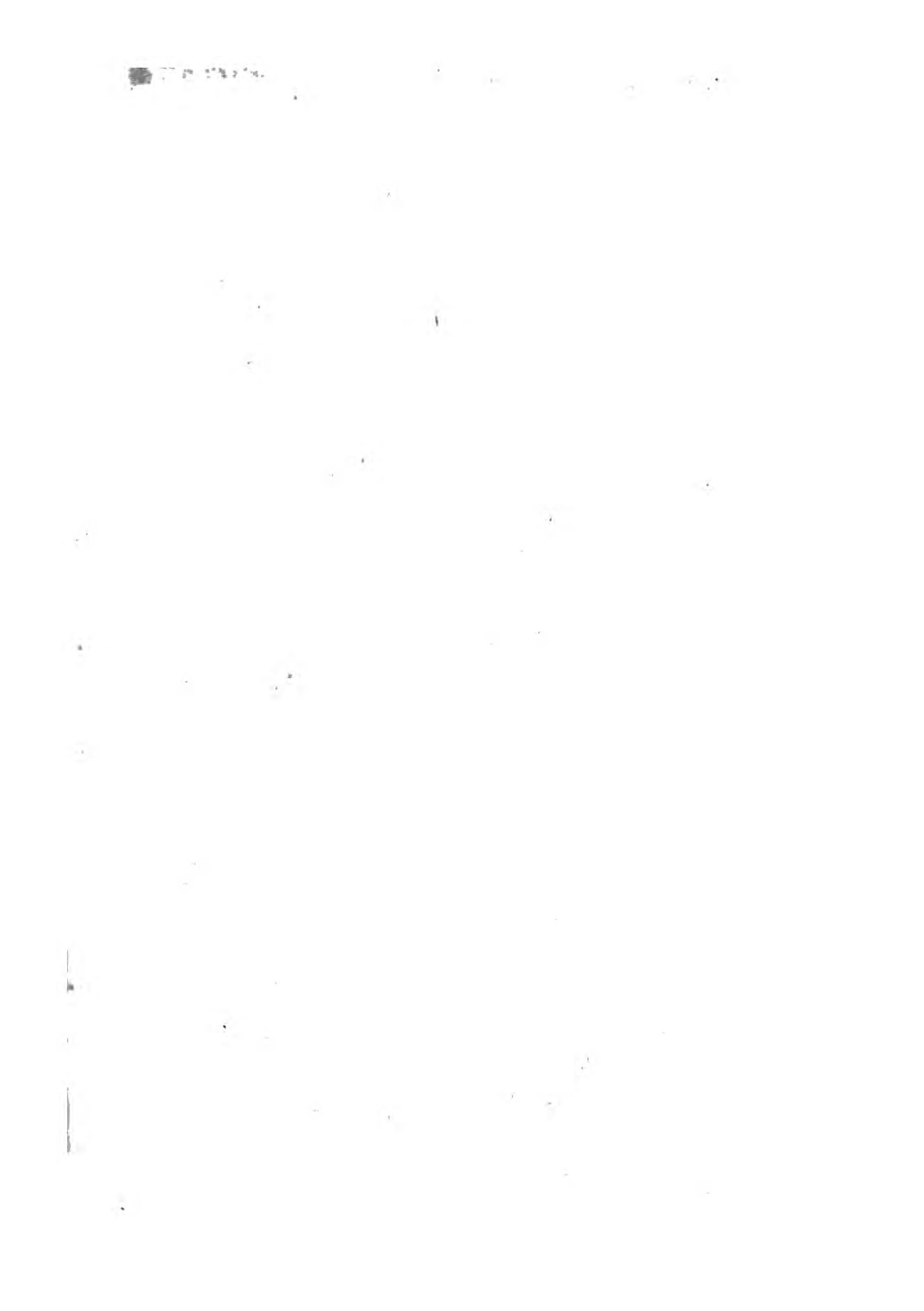




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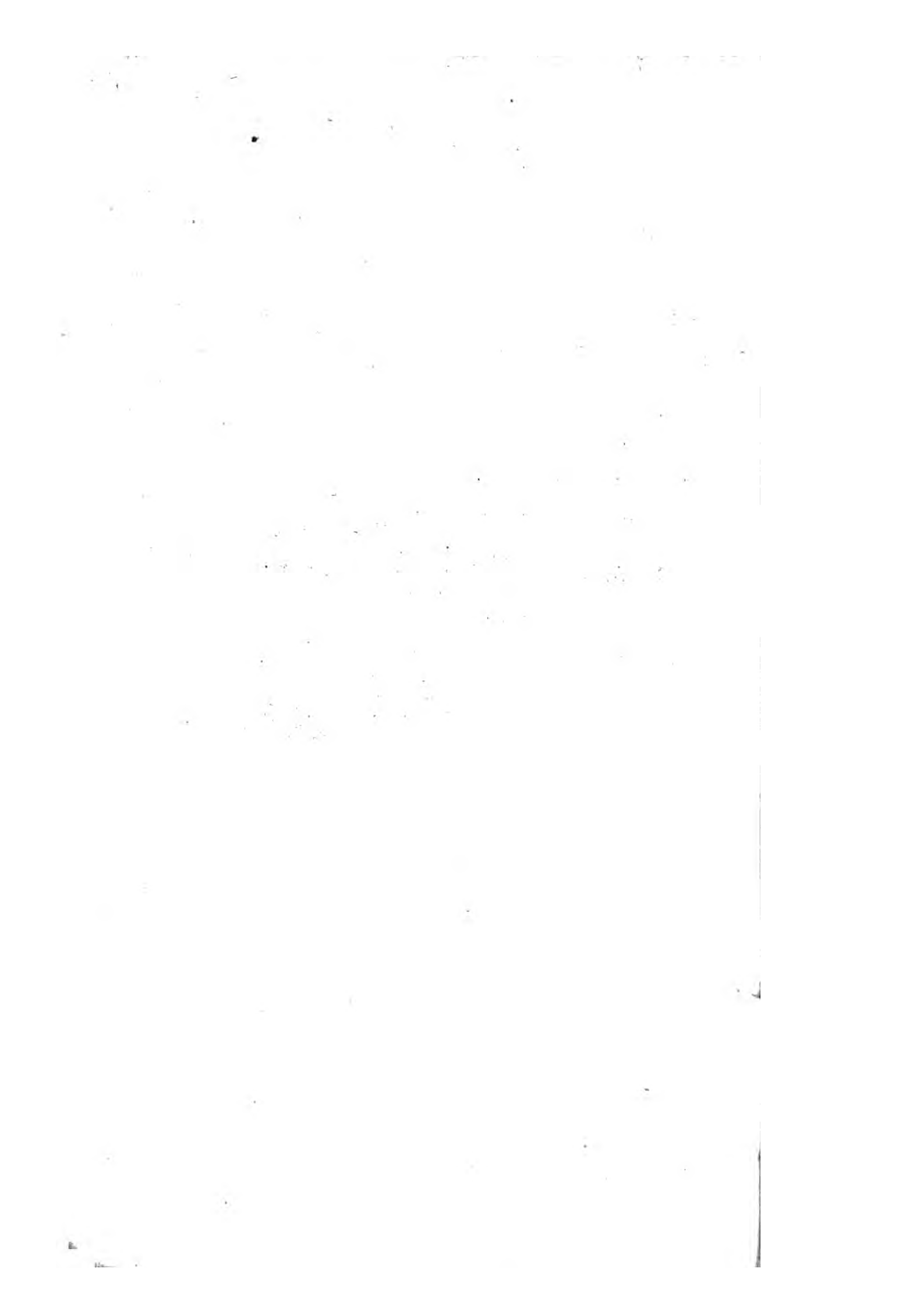
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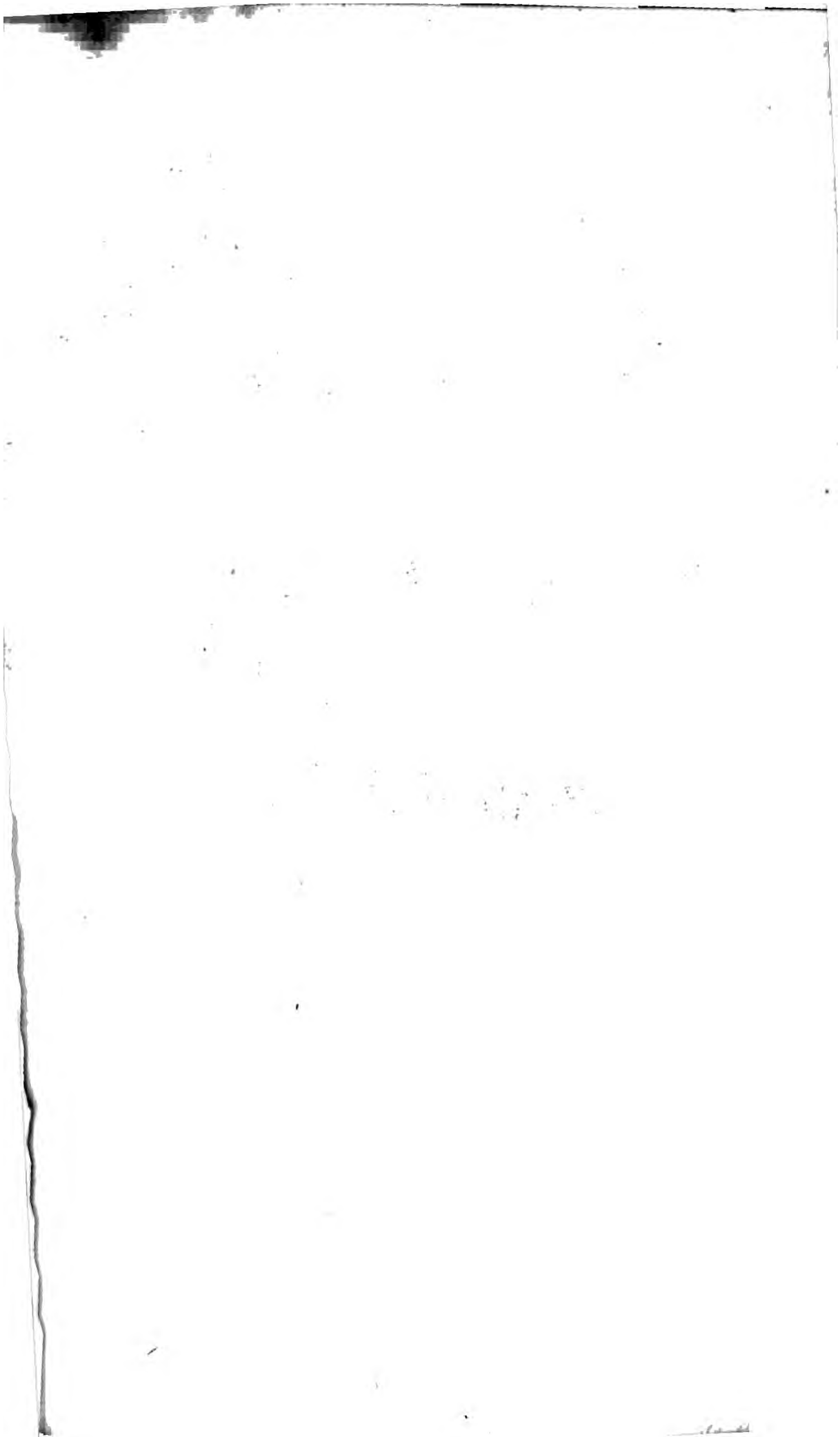
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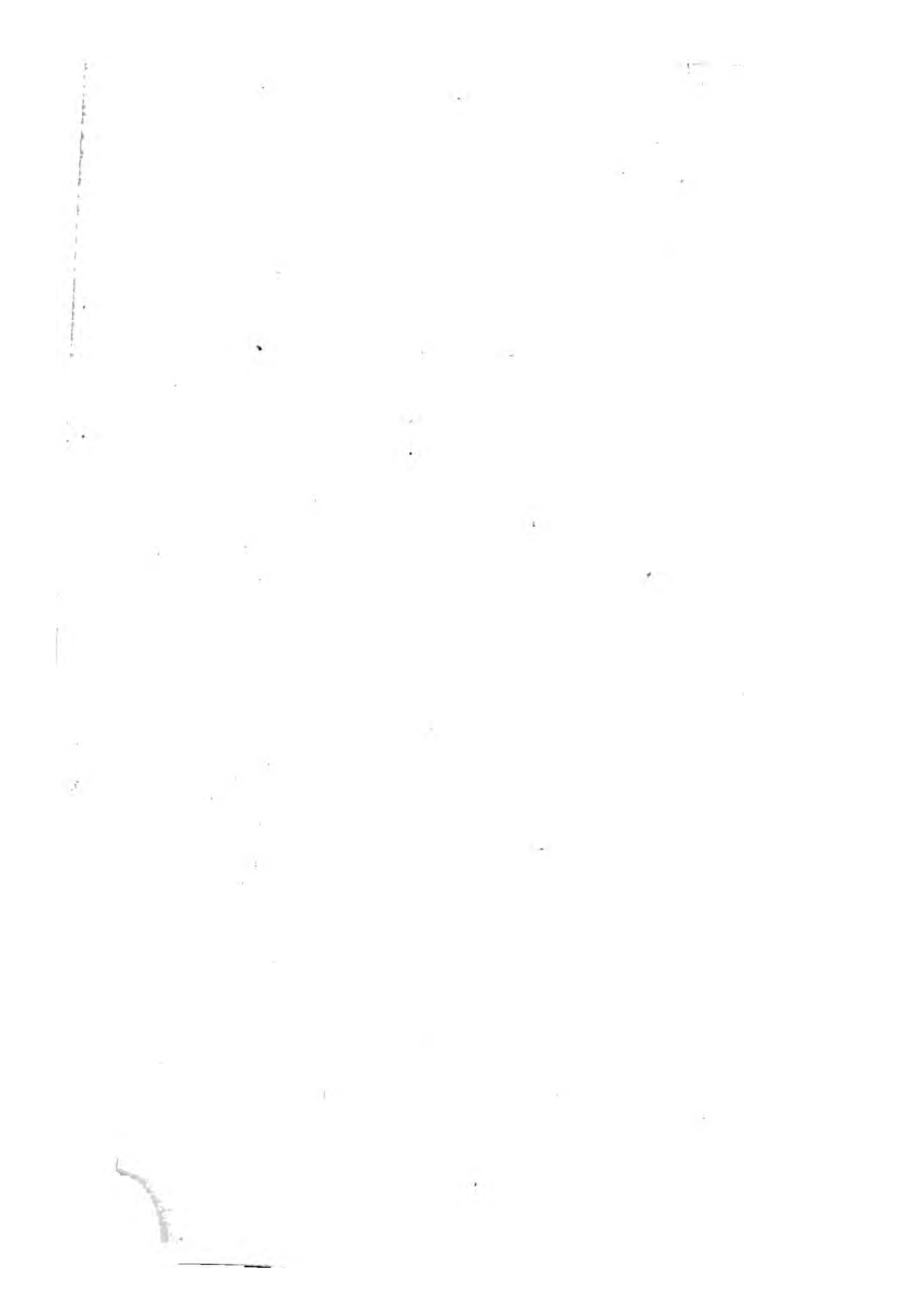
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A N
Universal History,

FROM THE
Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.

Compiled from
ORIGINAL AUTHORS;
AND

Illustrated with MAPS, CUTS, NOTES, &c.

WITH
A GENERAL INDEX to the Whole.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ κατανοεῖν ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ εὐρήσεις
ἀκόπως, ἀπερ ἕτεροι συνήξαν ἐγκόπως.

Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

V O L. III.



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M D C C X L V I I.

221.f.149.



THE
Universal History,
FROM THE
Earliest Account of Time.

V O L. III.

B O O K I.

The ASIATIC History to the Time of
ALEXANDER the Great.

C H A P. VII. S E C T. II.

*The religion, government, laws, customs, learning,
art, and commerce, of the Jews.*

THE institution of the Jewish religion and common-wealth is, by *Moses*; attributed wholly to GOD; for which reason, *Josephus* makes no scruple to distinguish the latter from all the other governments in the world; by the name of *theocracy*^a, or a government under the immediate command and direction of GOD: and indeed, though this theocracy has often varied under *Moses*, *Joshua*, the judges, kings, and high-priests, and the divine authority differently interposed during those revolutions, yet GOD was still looked upon as the supreme monarch of the *Israelites*. We shall see, in the sequel of

The Jewish government was a theocracy.

^a Cont. Apion. lib. ii.

their history, that he was the sole director of every momentous transaction under *Moses*, and the dictator of the main body of his laws. *Joshua*, though not honoured so far as to receive the divine commands from the mouth of God, yet consulted him by the *urim*, upon all emergencies. The judges were valiant and wise men, whom God made choice of to govern the people, and to deliver them, from time to time, from those thraldoms which their frequent rebellions brought upon them. Accordingly, when *Gideon* had delivered them from the *Midianites*, and the people offered the government to him, and his posterity, he modestly replied, that neither he, nor his sons^b, but the LORD GOD, should rule over them. When, in process of time, their desire for a king was grown to such a height, that all *Samuel's* expostulations could not divert them from it, though he told them, that, by so doing, they rejected the LORD from ruling over them; GOD was pleased to nominate *Saul*, and, after him, *David*, to the regal dignity, and to make it hereditary in the posterity of the latter, reserving to himself, nevertheless, the power of altering the succession from the eldest to a younger branch, whenever he thought fit; as he actually did in his immediate successor *Solomon*. Nay, we may say, that GOD himself, foreseeing that they would be for a kingly government, did reserve to himself the choice, and prescribed some wholesome laws for the conduct of those who should enjoy the regal power^c; and if, at any time, either the kings or the people refused to be directed by him, or disobeyed the laws which he had given them, they never failed of some severe punishment, to remind them of their dependence, and to recall them to their duty. The kings of *Israel*, indeed, after their revolt from those of *Judah*, did reign more arbitrarily; but their endeavours to shake off the yoke of GOD proved a source of endless evils to the rebellious tribes; till, at length, when neither his prophets exhortations and threatenings, nor his severe judgments, could bring them to obedience, he intirely cast them off, and condemned them to an endless captivity. Thus not only the kingdom of *Judah*, but even that of *Israel*, corrupt and idolatrous as it was, continued still under a theocracy, until its dissolution. This is what will more evidently appear by the sequel of this history.

Their laws.

As for their laws, the greatest part of them were given to *Moses* on mount *Sinai*, and the rest at different times,

^b Judg. viii. 22, 23.

^c Vide Deut. xvii. 14, & seq.

and

and as occasion required; as we shall see in the sequel. Whether, therefore, we look upon them as the first body of laws that ever was compiled, whilst other nations had not so much as a name for a law, as *Josephus*^d has endeavoured to prove against his learned antagonist, from the writings of *Homer*, the most antient writer, in which the word *nomos* [law] is not so much as once mentioned; or whether we suppose, with others^e, that the *Egyptians*, and other nations, had already laws of their own, and that *Moses* was permitted by GOD to model and improve his own by them, by altering or retaining what he liked or disliked, of which more in its proper place; it is plain, that the greatest part of them were dictated by GOD himself; and that the rest received, if not the last perfection, at least their sanction *Receive* and approbation from him. And indeed, if we consider, *their* that they extended to all duties, cases, and exigencies, whe- *sanction* ther moral, political, or ceremonial; that the moral were *from* to be of eternal obligation; that the political were to last GOD. as long as the *Jewish* polity; that great part of the ceremonial were typical of, and consequently to endure, at least, till the coming of the MESSIAH; if we consider further, that the priests and rulers were to be no more than the bare guardians of them, and that they were forbid, under pain of death, and of the divine curse, to add, diminish, or alter, the least part of them; it will be scarce credible, that *Moses* would have given them such a firm and durable sanction, and backed it with the divine authority, had any but GOD been the author or confirmer of them.

HOWEVER, our design is not to dwell here upon the display of their excellency above those of all other nations, much less to confute all the empty cavils that have been raised against them. That has been already done by *Josephus*, *Philo*, *Maimonides*, *Moses Gerundensis*, and many others among the *Jews*, but by a greater number of learned divines, both of our own and other churches; to whose province it belongs more particularly^f. We might indeed, conveniently enough, have followed their distinction of them into moral, political, and ceremonial, and so have given the following body of them under those three heads; especially as such a distinction is generally thought to be hinted at by the three different terms which *Moses* makes use of, *laws* or *precepts*, *judgments*, and *statutes*^g: but, if

^d Cont. Apion. ibid. ^e SPENCER de leg. ritual. Jud. pass.
LE CLERC, & al. ^f Vide inter al. GROTIUS, SELDEN, PUFF.
CUMBERLAND, GASTREL, L'ABBADIE, CUNÆUM, BASNAG.
^g BASNAG, republ. Heb. l. i. c. 18.

we consider, that *Moses* makes use of some other terms likewise to express them by, such as ordinances, testimonies, and some others, in a very undeterminate sense; that he calls the same laws sometimes by one, and sometimes by another of these names; and, lastly, that this distinction will not hold with respect to very many of those laws, which are partly moral, and partly ceremonial and political, and so *vice versâ*; we shall have little ground to think, that the Jewish lawgiver designed to intimate any such distinction by those terms. Thus the law concerning the seventh day, or day of rest, is partly ceremonial and typical, and partly moral and political, as it was designed as well for the ease and rest of the labourers, servants, and slaves, as for that of their mastersⁱ. To this we may add here, that these laws did likewise differ with respect to their observance and obligation. Some of them, such as the making the tabernacle, altar, setting up the blessings and curses on mount *Ebal* and *Gerizzim*, were to be observed but once for all; others were to last no longer than the time of the *Messiah*, and others to the end of the world. When therefore they are commanded to observe all the laws and ordinances of *Moses*, some of which were of no force out of the land of *Palestine*, the *Jews*, in those cases, understand the precept not of an actual observance, but of a constant remembrance, and readiness to obey them, whenever they shall become in force again^k.

INDEED, as we are writing the history of the *Jews*, it might perhaps be thought more proper, that we should give the body of their laws in the same order and method in which they themselves have collected and digested them out of the five books of *Moses*, which they call, by way of excellency, *Ha-thorah*, the law (A); but the truth is, they

ⁱ Confer *Exod.* xx. 9, 10. cum *Deut.* v. 14.
MUNST. præf. in *Genes.*

^k Vide

(A) This תורה, *Thorah*, or law, they divide, as we do, into five books, which they call by the first words of each: thus, they call *Genesis* בראשית *Beresbith*, that is, in the beginning; *Exodus* they call אלה שמות *Ellesemoth*, These are the names; *Leviticus* ויקרא *Vajikra*, And be called; *Numbers* וירבר *Vajdaber*, And he spake; and *Deuteronomy* אלה הדברים *Elle-eadevarim*, These are the words. These five books, or *pentateuch*, are again subdivided into 54 פרשות *parasboth*, or sections, of unequal lengths, according to the subject; so that, by joining two of the shortest together, they read the whole law once a year. The generality

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they have jumbled them so together, without order or method, and blended them so with those which they pretend were delivered by God to *Moses*, and conveyed by oral tradition (B), that our readers would be rather confounded than instructed by them. Those who are willing to be further

lity of the *Jews* attribute these divisions, and the constitution of reading them on the sabbath, to *Moses*; but the Christians, with more probability, to *Esdra*s (1); from whom it was continued even to the times of the apostles, if not longer (2). The first *parasha* reaches from *Gen. i. 1.* to *Gen. vi. 9.* and is called *Beresbith*: the second reaches to *Gen. xii. 1.* and is called *נוח Noah*, from *Noah* being the chief person mentioned in it: the third, which reaches to *Gen. xviii.* is called *לך לך Lek Leka*, *go thy ways*, from the command of God to *Abraham* to go out of his native land; and so of the rest.

(B) To the written law the *Jews* do add the oral one, which, they pretend, was also given by God to *Moses*, during his abode on mount *Sinai*. For first, they think it absurd to suppose, that he spent all that long interval of twice forty days in the bare writing of the written law, for which less than one quarter of that time was more than sufficient. They affirm therefore, that he was taken up all the rest of that while in learning the oral law by heart, which he afterwards did carefully deliver by word of mouth to *Aaron*, to *Eleazar*, and to his ser-

vant *Joshua*, and these to the seventy elders; from whom it passed to all the prophets; the three last of whom, *Haggai*, *Zechariah*, and *Malachi*, delivered it to the grand sanhedrin; from whom the wise men of *Jerusalem* and *Babylon* received it. Thus they affirm, that this oral law, given to *Moses*, was transmitted from one generation to another, intire and uncorrupted, under the name of *קבלה cabbalah*, or tradition, which was afterwards committed to writing by several hands, in that volume which they call the *Talmud*, consisting of two parts, the *Mishnah* and *Gemarrab*; to which they give, by far, the preference with respect to the written books; whence that saying of theirs, the *Mikdash*, or Old Testament, is like water, the *Mishnah* like wine, and the *Gemarrab*, more plain and perfect, like *hippocras*, or the richest of wines. For they add, secondly, that the obscurity of the written law, its seeming inconsistency in several respects, and the ill use which God foresaw would be made of it by the wicked, rendered the oral one very necessary, since, without it, the other would have proved in many respects useless, if

(1) Vide Packhurst *mazorah*, *sect. de Parashah*.
xiii. 15, & 27. xv. 21.

(2) Vide *Act.*

ther satisfied with respect to this subject, may see the abridgment which *Munster* has given us of them, and of the *Jewish* comments upon them, with his version of each, as he has collected them from their Talmud, and other rabbinic works. We shall therefore only add, that they acknowledge no other division of these laws, but into negative and affirmative (C), in imitation of the decalogue, which not only begins with three negative laws, but contains, in all, eight of that kind, and but two affirmative. Accordingly, they reckon up the negative laws to the number of 365, and the affirmative to 248; in all, 613: and as they have a wonderful skill in fetching some

not dangerous. These learned gentlemen, who love to call themselves *Merabitze-hathora*, fixers or givers of rest to the law, have taken a deal of pains to find out sundry instances of pretended inconsistency and obscurity, which we shall not trouble our readers with, since they are but mere trifles, in comparison of those which we meet with in the Talmud, and its learned expositors; through which there reigns such a continued chain of obscurity, contradiction, and inconsistency, to say nothing of their fabulous dreams, as almost quite darken the plain text of that divine lawgiver (3): for this reason we shall not spend any more time in confuting this vain pretence of theirs, nor the absurd and fabulous comments with which it is stuffed, but shall content ourselves with giving now-and-then a short sketch of them, in a note, as we go on with the body of their laws, as well when they are judicious and right, as when they are superstitious or wrong,

and deserving of the censure which our SAVIOUR cast upon them, *that they had made the word of GOD of none effect by their tradition* (4).

(C) These they divide, according to the genius of the *Hebrew* tongue, into commandments, *thou shalt*, or *shalt not do*, or, as we rightly render it, negative and affirmative; concerning which they make this difference, that if a man sin against the latter, it will be forgiven him upon his repenting, or doing some penance for it; whereas he that sins against a negative precept cannot be cleared by any acts of repentance, but continues under the guilt of it until the day of expiation, at which time it will be forgiven. He that commits a sin worthy of death cannot be sufficiently cleared on the expiation-day, or by any thing but by GOD's severe chastisements; but as to those that profane or blaspheme the name of GOD, nothing can expiate their sin but their being put to death for it.

(3) *Vide Maimon. præfat. in Mishn. Munst. præfat. in Mitzwoth-hathora, Cun. Basnag, & al.*

(4) *Matt. xxiii. 24. & Mark vii. 13, & alib.*

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significant mysteries out of every text and subject, they have not failed to apply the first number to the days of the year, and the second to the number of parts in an human body; and to affirm, that GOD designed thereby to inculcate, that not a day of our life ought to pass without meditating upon this law of GOD, nor any member of our bodies be enjoyed, which is not consecrated and employed in his service; according to that saying of *Ecclesiastes*, *Fear GOD, and keep his commandments; for that is the whole [duty] of man.* These, and all such-like moralizing reveries, they have drawn from their Cabbala, or oral tradition, of which we have given an account in a late note: however, it must be owned, that their *Caraites*, a wise and antient sect among them, did always reject it, and applied themselves wholly to the plain meaning of the text; but these are few in comparison of the rest, and mortally hated by them; the reader may be convinced of it by one instance among a thousand. The *Caraites* are all very rich, and as they are often at a loss for a wife among themselves, they would gladly purchase one, at any rate, from their brethren the Talmudists; but, as well as these love money, they never could yet be persuaded to give one of their daughters to any of them, though ever so rich, and themselves ever so indigent (C).

BUT

(C) But here it will be necessary to observe, that, though this *Jewish* Cabbala, or oral tradition, is justly rejected by all the Christians, as being filled with the most carnal and ridiculous notions, yet there is another Cabbala, which has been received by some of the antient fathers, and is to this day strenuously defended by many learned moderns. This they call, by way of distinction, *Kabbla*, or *reception*; and it contains that mystical sense of the Old Testament, in which, it is pretended, the writers of the New understood and explained

it; which sense, they affirm, has been conveyed to them from *Moses* by the prophets, not by an human tradition, but by divine inspiration, as being very different, if not directly contrary to the obvious and literal one. This, they think, is plain from the interpretation which some of the evangelists, particularly St. *Matthew*, as well as St. *Paul*, give of several prophecies quoted by them, particularly those which the reader is referred to in the margin (1), in a sense so foreign from the literal, that it cannot, in their opinion, be justified.

(1) *Mat.* ii. 15, 17, 23. *Rom.* x. 6, & seq. comp. with *Deut.* xxx. 12, and *Eph.* v. 31. with *Gen.* ii. 24. *Hebr.* ii. 6. with *Pf.* viii. 4. & al.

BUT to return to the written laws : we shall endeavour to range the main body of them under such distinct heads and classes as shall give our readers a clear idea of them ; and, to avoid prolixity, we shall take the liberty to abridge some, and to omit those that are either of small consequence, or whose design is not sufficiently understood. For the same reason we shall, in as few words as may be, subjoin to every law the ceremonies, customs, and usages that relate to it, as well on the account of the immediate connexion they have to one another, as because the latter are often explanatory of the former ; that so the reader may, at one view, have a complete system of the *Jewish* laws, religion, government, manners, and customs, as they all flowed from the same divine original. As for the laws, they generally run in the style of the five or six following ones ; which we give only as a specimen.

Laws against idolatry, and for the pure worship of the only true God.

*Laws
against
idolatry.*

THOU shalt have no other gods before or besides me ^l.
Ye shall not profane, or take in vain (D), but hallow,
God's holy name ^m.

^l Exod. xx. 3.

^m Exod. xx. 7. Levit. xvii. 32, & al.

without having recourse to this Christian Kabbla, as they term it. It is foreign to our purpose to enter into the merits of this question, which has been so lately and so learnedly debated by the writers for and against the accomplishment of *literal prophecy*. All that we shall venture to say farther is, that, if such a mystical and primary sense be admitted, it must be confined to the writers of the New Testament ; who, besides their being inspired, could prove their interpretations by miracles : for it is plain, that some of the primitive fathers have gone such

great lengths in that way, that *Origen*, learned as he was, has made himself ridiculous by them ; and *St. Jerom* and *Austin*, though more moderate than he, have, in many cases, overshot the mark (1).

(D) That is, as the *Jews* understand it rightly enough, by giving it to idols, as *Aaron* did, when he called the molten calf the gods that brought *Israel* out of *Egypt*. This is one of those sins which they think cannot be expiated but by the death of the sinner ; and for which *Aaron* must have undergone that fate, had not *Moses* interceded for him.

(1) *Vide, inter al. Hieron. in Matt. xxvii. 51. Vide Basnag. ex Cunaeo, Rheinferd, op. philolog. & al. Vide Munst. מצוות התורה מש ה.*

C. VII. *to the Babylonish Captivity.*

YE shall utterly destroy all the idols, altars, groves, and all other monuments of *Canaanitish* idolatry ⁿ.

YE shall not tempt the LORD your GOD (A), as ye did in the wilderness ^o.

YE shall make no image or representation of GOD, from the likeness of the celestial, or of the terrestrial, or aquatic bodies ^p.

YE shall not bow down nor worship any kind of idol ^q.

WHOSOEVER enticeth another to commit idolatry, shall be stoned as soon as convicted of it ^r.

The spoil of a city doomed to anathema shall not be saved upon any account, but be publicly burned. The inhabitants of it shall be put to the sword, and the place shall be no more rebuilt, but continue an heap for ever ^s (B).

THE silver, gold, and other precious ornaments belonging to idols, shall not be turned to advantage, but be destroyed with the utmost abhorrence ^t.

WHOSOEVER sacrificeth his seed to *Moloch*, whether he be an *Israelite*, or a sojourner in the land, shall be stoned to death ^u (C).

Positive

ⁿ Deut. xii. 2, & seq. ^o Deut. vi. 16. ^p Exod. xx. 4.
^q Exod. xx. 5. Deut. v. 9, & alib.
^r Deut. xiii. 1, & seq. & alib. pass. ^s Ibid. ver. 15, & seq.
^t Ibid. vii. 25, 26. ^u Levit. xx. 2.

(A) This precept they understand of those who serve God only in hopes of some temporal advantage; which they look upon as a lesser kind of idolatry.

(B) What is here commanded concerning the destroying of all the monuments of idolatry, the *Jews* understood only of those places which became theirs by conquest, beyond which the command did not extend; and as to the idolatrous cities, they affirm that they were first of all to forewarn them; and, if they forsook their idolatry, they were to be spared; but, if they persisted, they were then to be destroyed. They likewise understood

the prohibition of turning any of the spoil to their advantage in so strict a sense, that they thought it even unlawful to sit under the shade of any of their trees. But it is plain, that this great aversion to idolatry, and idolatrous things, did not shew itself, till they had severely smarted for their too great propensity to it under the *Babylonish* captivity.

(C) There are several more to the same purpose interspersed, and often repeated, in the four last books of *Moses*; which we need not dwell longer upon. Of the same nature are also those which forbid all commerce, intercourse, contracting of affinity with idolatrous nations,

Positive laws concerning the worship of the only true
GOD.

Laws
concerning
the true
worship
of GOD.

THAT the LORD, who delivered his law from mount Sinai, is the only GOD in heaven and earth ^b (H).
THAT he alone is to be loved with all one's heart, mind and strength ^c; that he only is to be feared above all things ^d, and his name to be sanctified. THA

^b Exod. xx. 1. Deut. vi. 4. ^c Ib. ver. 5. ^d Ib. ver. 13.

tions, and all kind of imitation of their ways, lest they should insensibly draw them into their idolatries: of the same kind were those which condemned the use of familiar spirits, ~~and~~ enchantments, observing of times and omens (1), divinations, resorting to wizards and necromancers, and such-like, under pain of death (2); as also the rounding of the corners, or temples, of the head, and marring the corners of their beards, cutting their flesh, or making any marks upon it (3), for the sake of the dead; and lastly, the promiscuous use of apparel in either sex, in imitation of the *Canaanites* (4).

(H) This precept in one place (5) begins thus: שמע ישראל יהוה אלהינו יהוה אחד Hear, O Israel; the LORD our GOD, the LORD [is] one;— where it is observed, that the *y ain* in the first, and the *daleth* in the last word, are majuscule, or letters of a larger size than the rest. Whether they were originally written in that manner, as containing

some important mystery, as the *Jews* pretend, or whether altered afterwards by accident or with design, is not easy to determine: sure it is, they not only urge it as an unanswerable argument against the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, but from too literal an interpretation of the verses following, they wore these words written on parchment about them, as bracelets and frontlets; and placed them at their beds, doors, &c. just as it is there prescribed. Some antient fathers (6) were of opinion, that this had been constantly practised from *Moses* till after our SAVIOUR'S time, and that he wore them himself; though upon what foundation is hard to guess. *Lightfoot* and others believe, that they were used in our SAVIOUR'S time (7); and *St. Jerom* assures us, that they were so in his; and that those who did not wear them upon their foreheads were esteemed irreligious (8). However that be, it is not to be doubted, but that their super-

(1) *Levit.* xix. 26, 31, & alib. (2) *Deut.* xviii. 9, & seq. (3) *Levit.* xix. 27, & seq. (4) *Deut.* xxii. 5, &c. (5) *Deut.* vi. 4. (6) *Orig. Chrysostr.* Hieron. *Euphym.* in *Matt.* xxiii. (7) *Lightfoot, Scaliger, Maldon,* & al. (8) *Hieron.* in *Matt.* xxiii. vide & *Theophylact.* in loc.

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stitution in this respect has still gained ground; this is plain, from the many scrupulous niceties which they are bound to observe in the making, writing, and casting of these phylacteries (1).

This verse, which they call the *shemab*, from the first word of it, they are likewise obliged, by an express command in the oral law, to repeat twice a day; that is, in the morning at sunrising, and in the evening just as it is set. There is likewise a great deal of superstitious trash prescribed in the Talmud, about the repeating of the words; the eyes, lips, and fingers, must be still, that the mind may be wholly intent upon the words; some letters are to be pronounced swiftly, and others slowly; no ordure, or dead carcase, ought to be nearer the place where the person repeats it than four cubits at least, and then he is to turn his back to it; but, if the place will not permit such a distance, the ordure is then to be covered up, and the eyes kept from it, and a great deal more to the same purport (2), which it were needless to dwell longer upon. However, since they urge this text so strenuously against the Christians, we shall beg leave, before we dismiss this note, to examine whether the antient Jews understood it in the same sense as the moderns do: some learned converts from Judaism to Christi-

anity seem to have proved the contrary from their most antient writings (3); but, as profelytes are always suspected of being over-zealous, there have not been wanting some eminent Christians, who, after a mature examination of their evidence, have confirmed it, as we think, beyond all possibility of replying. We shall single only one from among those many, not only as he was very well versed in this kind of learning, but because, as he was not a priest, but a statesman, he may be less suspected of partiality; we mean the great *Philippe de Mornay* (4), who, among other antient authors, quotes rabbi *Simeon ben Jobai*, who, in his *Zohar*, a book, by the Jews, acknowledged to have been written before the Talmud, if not before CHRIST (5), quotes the exposition of rabbi *Ibba*, of this text, to this purport; that the first יהוה *Jehovah*, which is the incommunicable name of GOD, is the Father; by אלהים *Elohim* is meant the Son, who is the fountain of all knowledge; and by the second יהוה is meant the Holy Ghost, proceeding from them, and he is called אחד *Achad*, one, because GOD is one. *Ibba* adds, that this mystery was not to be revealed till the coming of the MESSIAH. The author of the *Zohar* goes on, and applieth the word *holy*, which is thrice repeated in the vision of *Isaiab* (6) to the three Persons in the

(1) Vide Leon. de Moden. cærimon. Jud. part. i. c. 12. (2) Vide Wotton's vers. of the Mishnah, sub voc. Schemab. (3) Vide, inter al. Raymond, Martin. pugio fidei, pass. (4) Avertissement aux Juifs, c. 3. Vide, si lubet, Meyer theolog. de mystèr. Trinit. Haveman, Fooden Vegh Wyzer, & al. (5) Vide Buxt. sen. Tiberiad. in voc. יהוה Zohar. Bartoloc. & Woolf. biblioth. rabbin. (6) Gb. vi. 3.

Deity,

Deity, whom he elsewhere calls three suns, or lights, three sovereigns—without beginning, and without end.

It must be owned, that the genuineness of this passage is disputed by the *Jews*, as well as the authority and antiquity of the book itself by some Christians (1); but, as to the first, it is known, that they make no scruple of denying all that makes against them, and that where they dare not do it, as in the case of the sacred writings, they will manifestly pervert the sense, and appeal to the oral law; and as for the Christians, it is to be feared they are all too apt to be partial to their favourite systems, and to overshoot the mark on both sides. However, though it is out of our province to enter any further into the controversy, how far the doctrine of the Trinity was, or or might be, known to the ancient *Jews*, from several places of the Old Testament, urged against them; yet we beg leave to make an observation or two out of their Talmud, which seem to make very much against them, because they have not yet been taken notice of by any author that we know of. There is one section in it (2), written dialogue-wise, in which are several questions; as first, why the names of GOD, *Elohim*, *Zabaoth*, &c. are in the plural number? and secondly, why they are joined to verbs in the

singular? [thus, for instance, the first verse of *Genesis* says, *Elohim bara*, where GOD is in the plural, and *created* in the singular, which our divines have applied to the Trinity in Unity]: and thirdly, why GOD speaks in some places in the plural number; as, *Let us make man, &c. in our image, &c.* (3)? Now it is plain, that to all these questions, or rather objections, the Talmud gives us no answers but what are plainly illusory (4), and such as the compilers would most probably have suppressed, as well as the questions, had they not designed thereby to make a kind of a tacit acknowledgement, that these irregular expressions contained some mystery, which they did not think lawful to divulge. This was the reason why a learned rabbi (5), who was severely charged with having betrayed the mysteries of his religion, because the straightness of his circumstances had forced him to accept of the generous offer from a *Roman* cardinal, of a large salary for teaching the *Hebrew* tongue, protests, among other things, which he urges in his own vindication, that he had never so much as explained the first verse of *Genesis*.

But what will convince our readers, that this was the case of the writers of the Talmud, is the answer that is given in the chapter above quoted, to the question, why the throne

(1) *Vide* Woolf. *bibliot. rabbin.* N^o 2175. p. 1134. & seq. (2) *Traff. Sanbedrin.* (3) *Gen.* i. 26. iii. 22. & alib. (4) *Vide sup.* p. 10, in the notes. (5) *Elias Levit. vide præf. ejusd. in grammat. Hebraic.*

C. VII. *to the Babylonish Captivity.*

^c THAT they shall engrave his laws in their hearts; diligently teach them to their children and grandchildren; and wear them for a sign upon their head. as frontlets between their eyes; and write them upon the gates, posts, and other parts of their houses^f.

THAT they shall circumcise their hearts as well as their flesh; and be no more rebellious to him, but serve him sincerely, cleave unto him, and swear by his name alone^h.

THAT the whole law shall be read by the priests to all the people, men, women, and children, every seventh year, at the feast of the tabernaclesⁱ, and the substance of it shall be learned by heart by every *Israelite*; and that every king of *Israel* shall be obliged to write a copy of it with his own hand, from that which was by *Moses* committed to the custody of the *Levites*, in order to be constantly read and observed by him^k.

THAT all blessings shall be thankfully acknowledged to come from GOD, and punishments inflicted by him submissively received, as fatherly chastisements, or trials of their obedience^l.

^c Deut. vi. 6, 7. ^f Ibid. 6—9. & Exod. ix. 16. ^g Deut. x. 16, & alib. pass. ^h Ibid. ver. 20. ⁱ Ibid. xxxi. 9, & seq. ad 19. ^k Ibid. xvii. 18, & seq. ^l Ibid. viii. pass.

of GOD is in the plural number in *Daniel's* vision (1). The words in the *Chaldee* are ברסון רמיu, *Carsevan remiu*; which our version renders, *the thrones were cast down*, contrary to the express meaning of the verb רמח, which signifies to raise, to exalt, and set up; in which sense all the *Jews* do rightly understand it. The question therefore that is asked is, why the throne, on which the antient of days was to sit, is put in the plural? After several trifling answers, which are there given as the solutions of several learned rabbies, one of whom pretends, that the plural implies the thrones of GOD and Da-

vid; the last and concluding one is to the following purpose; that it is blasphemy to set the creature on the throne of the Creator, blessed for ever; and closes the whole with these notable words; *If any one can solve this difficulty, let him do it; if not, let him go his way, and not attempt it.* The meaning of it being too obvious to want explaining, we shall wholly submit to the reader, and only add, that something very like this seems to be intimated in that distinction in their creed, about the Unity of GOD; namely, that he is one by an oneness or unity peculiar to himself (2).

(1) *Dan.* vii. 9.

(2) *Art.* I.

THE law shall be engraven upon stones, and set upon altar; and the blessings of obedience, and curses for disobedience, shall be publickly set upon the mounts *bal* and *Gerizzim*, for a perpetual remembrance^m.

No forgiveness, or deliverance from any punishment for disobedience, shall be expected, without a deep sense of acknowledgement of the faultⁿ.

BURNT-OFFERINGS, sacrifices, tythes, vows, firstlings of the flock, and freewill-offerings, shall be brought: sacrificed at no other place but that which the LORD shall appoint^o.

Laws, positive and negative, concerning the Sabbath, passover, and other festivals, holidays, and fasts

Laws concerning the Sabbath. THE Sabbath, or seventh day, shall be kept holy^p (M) No servile work shall be done in it, by master, servant, slave, stranger, or cattle^q. There shall no fire-kind

^m Deut. xxvii. 1, ad fin. xxviii. pass. ⁿ Ibid. xxx. p
^o Ibid. xii. 5, & seq. ^p Exod. xxiii. 12. xxiv. 21. Deut. 12, 14. & alib. ^q Exod. xx. 10, & seq. Deut. v. & seq.

(M) The *Jewish* doctors have stretched this abstinence from work to the most superstitious degree. They extend it not only to every business that tends to the getting of food and raiment, such as plowing, sowing, reaping, threshing, and the like, which they make to amount to 39 negative precepts, but to many other things: and hence other negative precepts which are as appendixes to the former; *viz.* grass must not be walked upon, lest it be bruised; an horse must not be rid, lest he be galled; and the like. It is not lawful to ride in a coach or cart, though an heathen drive it. No singing, dancing, playing upon instruments, or any kind of noise, is allowed, though it were to quiet a cross child. No cause is to be tried,

no accoupts made or cast up; marriages solemnized. No course about buying and selling, or any other worldly matter, much less loose and profane talk, is to be suffered.

The positive precepts concerning the Sabbath run much in the same strain; we shall only instance in two or three of them. On that day every one is obliged, according to their circumstances, to put on clean linen, to wear better cloaths than ordinary, to abstain from flesh, fish, or fowl, to drink wine, and to eat at least once in six hours. Care also is to be taken that a clean table-cloth be laid, and the victuals set upon it, the beds made, and the lamps lighted, before the entrance of the Sabbath, which begins and ends with them on or about sunrise.

sunset, according to the saying in *Genesis*, *the evening and the morning were the first day* (1).

A learned *Jewish* author tells us (2), that they were obliged, in all districts and towns throughout *Israel*, to blow the trumpet on the evening of the sixth day, six different times, from some eminence, whence it might be easily heard at a due distance; so that they who were abroad in the fields might have timely notice to repair to their habitations before the Sabbath began. Accordingly, at the sound of the first trumpet, they left off work, and began to march homeward; at the second sounding, all shops, stalls, and places of trade, were shut up; at the third, the pots and kettles were taken off the fire, the tables covered, and the meat dressed for the Sabbath was set upon them, &c. — The last trumpet was generally about sunset; and, on the next night, as soon as they could perceive two or three stars in the sky, the trumpets blew from the same places to proclaim the end of the Sabbath; at which time the head of the family, after a short prayer, wished himself and the rest a good week, as he did a good Sabbath at the entrance of it.

Many of the wiser *Jews*, however, do make the sanctification of the Sabbath to consist

in duties of a more noble nature than these talmudical trifles; namely, in meditation on the wonderful works of God, in the study of his law, and instructing those that are under them in it (3). Some of them even maintain, that they used to assemble every Sabbath, from the time of *Moses*, to hear the law read and expounded (4). And this is likewise believed by several learned men among the Christians (5); who infer it from the words of St. *James*, that *Moses has in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogues every Sabbath-day* (6). But the much greater number are of opinion, that this custom was not set on foot till *Esdra's* time. All that the priests were commanded to do on the Sabbath, was only to set the new shewbread on the tables, to take away the old one (7), and to offer the meat, drink, and burnt-offerings, peculiar to that day (8), however their antient doctors have since clogged it with a great number of precepts and subtilties.

Whether the observation of the Sabbath, or seventh day, be as old as the creation, as some authors, both *Jews* and Christians, will have it, from those words of *Moses*, *And the LORD blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it* (9); or whe-

(1) *Gen.* i. 5. *Vide* *Munst.* in loc. *Et* *præcept. negat. Et affirm. de sabbat.*
 (2) *Maimon. tract. תרומה, cap. v. sect. 27. Vide* *Goodwin's Mos. Et Aar.* l. iii. c. 3. §. 10. (3) *Vide* *Munst.* in *Exod.* xx. *Meyer. de temp. sacr. c. 19. §. 66.*
 (4) *Phil. in vit. Mos. Joseph. cont. Apion. l. ii. Talmud Hieros. tract. Megill. Maimon. Tephilah, Et Bircath-hacobanim, Et ac. mult.* (5) *Vide* *Cocceii sum. theol. c. 21. §. 14, Et seq. Grot. Et Meyer, ubi sup.* (6) *Acts xv. 21. comp. with ver. 36.* (7) *Levit. xxiv. 6, 8.* (8) *Numb. xxxviii. 9, Et seq.* (9) *Gen. ii. 3.*

ther that text means no more than that God set apart that day to be afterwards observed by the *Israelites*, as the far greater part of the fathers and Christian commentators understand it; is a question, which, though more curious than important, has been very strenuously debated on all hands. The *Jews* are as divided about it as we; for, whilst some affect to call the Sabbath their spouse, as being granted to the *Jews* alone, exclusive of all other nations (1), others affirm, that all the patriarchs, and all good men, observed it, up to *Adam*, whom they pretend to have been the author of the xciiid Psalm, intitled, *a psalm, or song, for the Sabbath-day* (2). They likewise interpret the words in *Genesis*, *Because Abraham — has kept my charge*, of his keeping the Sabbath (3). The same they affirm of *Jacob*, and add, that the reason of his taking up his lodging in the open field in his way to *Mesopotamia*, was, that it happened to be the eve of the Sabbath; so that he was obliged to stop there as soon as he perceived that the sun was about setting (4). *Job's* offering sacrifices for his seven sons every seventh day is likewise understood of his keeping the Sabbath; though another reason seems to be given in the text (5).

Josephus and *Philo* go still further, and affirm, that the observation of it had been preserved among the *Gentiles*. The former says, that there was scarce any nation, either *Greek* or *Barbarian*, that did not in some measure conform to the observance of the Sabbath (6); and *Philo* assures us (7) that it was not a festival peculiar to any nation or country, but common to all, and kept as a kind of birth-day of the world. He adds, in another place, that the *Jews*, whilst in *Egypt*, having quite forgot the seventh day, God was pleased to indicate it to them by sending them manna six days and with-holding it on the seventh (8). We find likewise several antient writers among the heathen, such as *Homer*, *Hesiod*, and others quoted by the fathers, who speak of the seventh day as sacred to religion (9). Something like this may also be gathered from that absurd account which some others, particularly *Tacitus* and *Plutarch*, give of the *Jews* observing it in imitation of the heathens, who consecrated that day to *Saturn*, according to the former (10), or to *Bacchus*, according to the latter; who adds, that he was also named *Sabbos*, because they used frequently to shout out the word *Sabbei* at his festival (11). However, as these testimonies would at best

(1) *Vide Selden & rabbin. ab eo citatos.* (2) *Vide Chald. paraphr. Targum in titul. Ps. xcii. Middrasb. Tehill. Talm. Babyl. tract. Sanbedr. & al.*
 (3) *R. Salom. in Gen. xxvi. 5.* (4) *Beresb. rabb. Parash. 79. Talm. tract. תשוב R. Bechai, & al.* (5) *Vide Abenez. in Job. i. 5.* (6) *Cont. Apion. l. ii. ad fin.* (7) *De opific. mund.* (8) *In vit. Mos. l. i.*
 (9) *Vide Euseb. præp. l. xiii. c. 12. Clem. Alex. Stromat. l. v. & al.*
 (10) *Histor. l. v.* (11) *Symposiac. l. iv.*

kindled on that day^r, nor any thing bought or sold. No person shall be put to death, for any crime whatsoever; no travelling shall be allowed on the Sabbath^s (A).

THE

^r Exod. xxxv. 3.

^s Ibid. xvi. 29, & alib.

amount to a bare probability; and seem contradicted by some express texts both in the writings of *Moses*, and some of the prophets (1), which intimate that the Sabbath was given to the *Israelites* for a memorial of their deliverance from *Egyptian* bondage, and to distinguish them from all other nations; the far greater part of *Christians*, both antient and modern, have declared for the other side (2); and it must be owned, that if that festival had been instituted and kept from the beginning, we cannot see why *Moses* should be so exact and cautious in the particulars he gives about the institution and observance of it, especially in his prohibition of gathering manna on that day; unless we suppose with *Philo*, that the *Israelites* had quite lost the memory of it.

We must beg leave to close this note with taking notice of that expression in one of the gospels (3), εν σαββα: ω δευτεροπρωτη, in the second prime Sabbath, or, as our version more clearly renders it, on the second Sabbath after the first; which has puzzled a world of commentators, till *Jos. Scali-*

ger did hit upon an explanation (4), which has been universally approved and followed ever since (5). We need not trouble our readers with the various conjectures of the rest. That of our author carries its own evidence, being founded on the *Jewish* manner of computing the Sabbaths from the feast of the passover to that of the weeks, or from *Easter* to *Whitsunday*. The first of these, namely, that which immediately followed the two great feasts, or the first and last day of the passover, was by them called שבת שני ראשון, *Sabbath sheni-reshon*, the 2d prime Sabbath; the next was called the second second, or the second after the second prime; the third second third, and so on unto the seventh; which last did immediately precede the feast of the weeks, or pentecost (6). The fact for which this Sabbath is recorded by the evangelist, namely, *CHRIST's* disciples plucking and rubbing the ears of corn, confirms this exposition, their harvest happening always between *Easter* and *Whitsunday*.

(A) Though the text does expressly say, that they shall not

(1) Vide Exod. xxxi. 13. Deut. v. 15, & alib. pass. Vide & Jerem. xvii. 22. Ezek. xx. 12, 20. (2) Jusf. dial. cons. Tryph. Tertul. cons. Jud. l. iv. Iren. cont. haeres. l. iv. & al. Vide Seld. de jur. natural. gent. juxt. discipl. Hebr. l. iii. c. 13, & seq. Spenc. de leg. rit. Hebr. Jun. Le Clerc, Calm. comm. in Gen. ii. & al. mult. (3) Luke vi. 1. (4) De emend. temp. l. vi. (5) Vide Lightfoote, Casaub. Baron. Jun. Grot. in loc. Goodwin's Mos. & Aar. Sir Isaac Newton. & al. (6) Vide, si lib. Mishnam tract. נדון, c. 5.

THE Sabbath-breaker shall be stoned^c; with several others, either to the same purpose, or of less moment.

Laws relating to the three grand festivals, the passover, the feast of the weeks, and the feast of the tabernacle.

The three grand festivals.

THREE times a year shall all the male children appear before the LORD their GOD, at the place by him appointed; namely, at the feast of unleavened bread, or passover, at the feast of the weeks, or pentecost, and at the feast of tabernacles. They shall not come empty-handed before him; but every man shall offer unto the LORD according to the ability wherewith he hath blessed him^b (A).

Of

^c Ibid. xxxi. 14, 15.
23, & alib.

^b Deut. xvi. 16, 17. Exod. xxxiv.

stir out of their place, yet it could mean no other than a prohibition of going out to gather manna; for it is plain they were obliged to repair to the tabernacle from all parts of the camp, and afterwards to the temple from all quarters of *Jerusalem* (1); however, the *Jews* understand it of going out about worldly business, or for pleasure, and indeed upon any account, beyond what they call a Sabbath-day's journey: this distance is not indeed fixed by *Moses*, or any other prophet; but is determined at 2000 cubits. And though they differ among themselves about the length of that measure, some making it much longer than others, yet they agree, that the safest way is, not to exceed 2000 moderate

paces (2); and this seems to be pretty near the distance between *Jerusalem* and the mount of *Olivet*, which *St. Luke* calls a Sabbath-day's journey (3), of which we have already spoken: however, he that exceeded that distance was not judged a violator of the Sabbath, but came off with a beating; whereas the breaker of it was to be stoned to death (4).

(A) The Talmud however exempts from this obligation, 1. The women, who were to take care of their families, unless their husbands permitted them to go with them, as in the case of *Hannah*, and the virgin *Mary*. 2. Boys who were under 12 years of age, who were not under the obligation of the law, or called בני התורה *bene-bathorab*, that is, the sons or

(1) *Vide Levit. xxiii. 3.*
Goodwin's Mos. & Aar. l. iii. c. 3. §. 10.
Maim. ubi sup.

(2) *Vide Maim. tract. שבת, c. 5. §. 27.*

(3) *Acts i. 12.*

(4) *Vide*

disciples

disciples of the law, till they were entered into the 13th; and this seems to be the reason why CHRIST did not make his first appearance among the doctors at the feast till he had attained to that age. 3. All old men above sixty. 4. All the sick and impotent, lunatics, &c. And lastly, all that either lived at such distance from the tabernacle, and afterwards from the temple, or were any otherwise so weak, that they could not perform the journey on foot.

Nothing could be better calculated to preserve the union of the *Jewish* nation, already so strongly cemented by their religion, laws, weights, measures, customs, &c. which were so common to them all, than this frequent and universal concourse to the chief place of worship. But here arise two very great difficulties: first, how *Jerusalem* could contain such prodigious multitudes as did flock to those solemnities from all parts of *Judea*; and secondly, how the *Israelites* could leave their towns and villages destitute of males, without the greatest danger from those nations which were still left amongst them, and would be ready, no doubt, to embrace every opportunity of retrieving their lands and liberties. Add to this, that those who lived upon the borders of the land, ran still a greater risk of being invaded by their neighbours, if they had left their country under no better guard than that of old men, women, and children.

To the first difficulty, besides

what has been hinted in the geography of the land, concerning the capaciousness of *Jerusalem*, its suburbs, inns, and other accommodations for all such strangers; it may be answered, first, that they did not all appear together on the same day, but that they took it by turns, and stayed in the city but one night; and on the next morning, having performed their devotions, they departed, and made way for others. This is plain from the instance of *Elkanah*; and secondly, that there were tents, and other conveniences, for their reception, not only in the empty spaces within, but likewise in all convenient places without the walls of the city. And if this be thought still insufficient for so vast a concourse, what is answered to the second difficulty of their leaving the country too much exposed to their enemies, will easily remove all that is left of the first.

And here we need not have recourse to improbable conjectures, as *Cunæus*, *Basnage*, and others, have done, who think that this obligation lasted no longer than during their abode in the wilderness, when their nearness to the tabernacle easily admitted of it. For, besides that, if this had been the case, there would have been no need for *Jeroboam* to set up the golden calves to prevent his ten tribes going to *Jerusalem*; their history furnishes us from time to time with sufficient testimonies, that these festivals were kept constantly till after our SAVIOUR'S time, as it plainly appears from the vast

Of the passover.

Easter, or **T**HIS grand festival was instituted in memory of their *passover*. signal and miraculous deliverance out of their *Egyptian* bondage; of which we shall speak in the sequel: the laws relating to it are to the following purpose.

IT shall be of perpetual obligation, both to the *Israelites*, and to all circumcised profelytes ^a.

No circumcised person, whether of the seed of *Abraham*, or admitted into the commonwealth by circumcision, unless hindered by sickness, journeying, or some legal impurity, shall omit the annual celebration of it, under the penalty of being cut off from his people ^b (B).

No

^a Exod. xii. 14, 24, & alib.

^b Numb. xix. 13, 14.

multitudes that were at *Jerusalem*, from all parts of the world, at the feast of pentecost, when the Holy Ghost fell upon the apostles. Neither need we, secondly, suppose with others, that they only sent a certain proportion of men, as one in ten, or twelve, to *Jerusalem*, to be, as it were, the representatives, and to offer the gifts of the rest, whilst these kept the solemnity in their own towns. For if any such thing had been either allowed or practised, we should certainly have met with something of it in holy writ; whereas the contrary doth rather appear, from the instances above-mentioned. But since there was a permission from GOD, that they that were unable to celebrate the passover on the first month, should do it in the second, as we shall see in the next note; will it not be more reasonable to suppose, that they might extend this indulgence also to the other festivals; so as that one half of the males should stay at home to guard their houses, whilst the

others went up; and, at their return, to go and partake of the solemnity of the second month? It is indeed urged, that there was a promise from GOD, that none should desire their lands whilst they went up to appear before him: but, besides that their natural backwardness in believing him gives us little reason to think, that they would commit their wives, children, and all that was dear to them, to his sole care, whilst they went so far from them to worship him; it is plain, that those promises were only conditional, that is, as long as they continued stedfast in their obedience; which was so seldom their case, that had their faith in his promises been stronger than it was, yet their disobedience would have given them but small encouragement to lay hold on them.

(B) It being the principal end of this institution not only to perpetuate the memory of all the wonders which GOD did in *Egypt* and at the *Red Sea*, but also to make it a standing and irrefragable

C. VII. *to the Babylonish Captivity.*

No servant or stranger shall eat of it, unless he become circumcised ^c.

THE feast (C) shall begin on the eve of the fourteenth day of the month *Abif*, or, as the original expresses it, between

^c Exod. xii. 43, & seq.

irrefragable monument to all posterity of the truth and certainty of those amazing works; nothing could be more expedient than to enforce the observation of it under some severe penalties. However, it is evident by the sequel, that they did not understand it of a capital punishment, such as was to be inflicted on blasphemers, idolaters, Sabbath-breakers, and the like, seeing they not only omitted to celebrate it during their abode in the wilderness, without any visible excuse, as will be seen in the sequel, but were afterwards guilty of a most shameful neglect of it, during several wicked reigns, till *Hezekiah*, and after him *Josiah*, revived it (3), as we shall see in its proper place.

As for those who, by reason of any legal impurity, whether accidental or voluntary, were unfit for, and those who were hindered by any lawful impediment from celebrating this festival with the rest of the people on the month *Nisan*, they were ordered to keep it with the usual ceremony on the following month, called *Fair*. This indulgence was granted by God himself, in favour of some men who had defiled

themselves by assisting at the burial of some relation (4); and was afterwards made use of by the priests and *Levites*, who, being under some legal impurities when the king commanded them to revive this festival at its usual time, were forced to postpone it to the next month (5).

(C) This festival is called in the original פסח *pesach*, from the verb *passach*, which signifies to pass by, or leap over, and not from the Greek *πάσχω*, *to suffer*, as if it had been prophetic of CHRIST'S suffering at that feast, as some antient fathers have imagined for want of understanding *Hebrew* (6). God himself explained the etymon, where he commanded them to tell their children, that this was the sacrifice of the LORD'S passover, אֲשֶׁר פָּסַח, *asher-passach*, who passed by, or leaped over the houses of the *Israelites* (7). It was to begin בֵּין הָעֶרְבָיִם *ben-habarvaim*, between the two evenings (8) of the 14th of the month called by *Moses* *Abif*, which properly signifies the stalk that bears the ear of corn, because wheat begins to be ripe about this time. This month was afterwards called *Nisan*, and answers to our

(3) 2 Chron. xxx. 23 xxxv. pass.
(5) 2 Chron. xxx. 3. pasch. & al.

(6) Tertul. cont. Jud. c. 10. Ambros. lib. de myster.
(7) Exod. xii. 27.

(4) Vide Num. ix. 6, & seqq.

(8) Ibid. ver. 6.

tween the two evenings ^d; at which time the paschal lamb shall be killed (D), and the festival continued, till the one-and-twentieth day of the same month at evening.

THE

^d Ibid. ver. 6. See the margin of our Bible.

March and April. The expression *between the two evenings* is variously taken. Some reckon the first evening to be between noon and sunset (1), others between two and six (2); but the most rational opinion, and the most received, is, that the first evening is that which immediately follows sunset, and that the second begins when that planet is so far sunk below the horizon, that the stars visibly appear above it (3).

The computation of this new year began at the first new-moon that happened nearest, or upon, the vernal equinox, with this rule, that the preceding full-moon, how near soever to it, belonged to the last month of the former year. Now as they had no astronomical tables to regulate those conjunctions, but were forced to guide themselves by the first appearance of the new moon, all their diligence in sending out people to observe it from high places at sunset, could not prevent great irregularities happening in their months and years; because sometimes it is not to be seen till the second or third night, nor even then, if clouds interpose. Add to this, that they were in all other respects so negligent of their

chronology, that it is no wonder if so many learned men have laboured so much to correct and adjust it (4), and with so little success. However, as to the new-moons, and those festivals which depended upon them, and indeed all other computations of time, they were committed to the care of the priests and judges, and the people were obliged to abide by their calculations, whether they proved right or wrong (5).

(D) This ordinance of the paschal lamb our learned *Spencer* thinks to have been one of those which GOD expressly appointed, in opposition to the *Zabian* and *Egyptian* worship, in order to cure, as he expresses it, the *Israelites* of their itch of idolatry, because the ram among them was sacred to *Jupiter*. He adds also, that the ceremony of killing, dressing, and eating of it, namely, neither boiled nor raw, but roasted, with the head, and all the other appurtenances, that a bone of it should not be broken, &c. were in like manner opposite to those that were used in sacrifices by those idolaters (6).

As to the *Egyptians*, we shall have frequent occasion to shew, that this pretended contrariety is at best but very

(1) *D. Kimebi, ap. Munst. in loc.* (2) *Calm. dict. sub voc. Paque.*
 (3) *M. Gerund. Abenezr. Salom. & al. in loc.* (4) *Vide Scaliger. ubi sup. Vignier. Genebr. Uffer. Sir Is. Newt. Bedford, & al.*
 (5) *Vide præc. affirm. 46.* (6) *De leg. rit. Hebr. l. ii. c. 24.*

C. VII. *to the Babylonish Captivity.*

THE first and last day shall be kept holy, and free from all servile work, even as the Sabbath, except only, that on the former victuals may be dressed, but not on the latter ^a ;

^a Compare Exod. xii. 16. with xxxv. 3.

lame and imperfect. 1. Because, as they, instead of sheep, sacrificed goats to him, so here *Moses* ordains the killing either a lamb, or a kid ; and, 2. because even they once a year killed a ram in honour of their god, and clothed his golden statue with the skin of it (1) ; so that there was nothing in this paschal lamb so very proper to obliterate that piece of idolatry in the worship of *Jupiter*.

As for the sect of the *צבאים* *Tzeboim*, or *צבאים* *Seboim*, we will venture to say, that it is at least a very bold assumption in our author to make it more antient than *Moses*, when he tells us himself in another place (2), that nothing is more obscure and uncertain than its origin and antiquity, and that there are as many opinions as authors, and errors as opinions, about it. He quotes everywhere the testimony of *Ben Maimon*, who tells us, among other things (3), that he came to understand the design and meaning of a great number of *Moses's* laws, by being conversant with the religion, worship, and ceremonies, of the *Zabeans* ; from which he adds, that *Abraham*, who was brought up in them, had been converted.

But of what weight the opinion of a *Jew*, and him far from a strict one, can be, to account for the design of the *Mosaic* laws, or of what authority his testimony can be, who lived but in the 12th century, to prove the *Zabeans* to have been so considerable a sect in *Abraham's*, or even in *Moses's* time, that God should take such care to preserve his people from their idolatry, by giving them a great number of ceremonies that were opposite to theirs, we submit to the reader. Dean *Prideaux* seems indeed very fond of *Maimon's* notion, and wonders that any one should dislike it (4) ; but brings neither proof nor testimony sufficient to back it. However, as to the paschal lamb, we may more justly wonder, that any Christian should fetch its origin from so dark and muddy a source, when the writers of the New Testament have pointed to us one that is so much clearer, and more divine, its being a type of CHRIST. We shall find a more proper place to speak of the nation, or rather sect, of the *Zabeans*, and to shew how little their boasted antiquity is to be depended upon.

(1) See vol. i. p. 474. (2) *Ubi sup.* c. 1. §. 1, 2, & seq. (3) *M're. Newoch.* part iii. c. 29, & 40. *Havodab Zark.* c. 11, 12, & alib. pass.
(4) *Connec.* part i. l. iii.

those two days shall likewise be solemnized by an holy convocation ^b (E).

No leaven of any kind shall be used, or even kept in the house, during those seven days; whosoever useth any leaven on those days shall be cut off from *Israel*: all leaven therefore shall be removed out of the house before the paschal lamb is killed ^d.

ON the first day of the passover shall be offered a burnt-sacrifice of two young bullocks, one ram, and seven lambs of the first year, with some inferior offerings ^e; and on the second day of the feast shall be offered, besides the usual sacrifices, a sheaf of the first-fruit of that year's harvest; no new corn shall be eaten in any way, before the first sheaf has been presented unto the LORD ^f (F). Some other ordinances

^b Exod. xii. ver. 16. ^c Ibid. ver. 15, 19. ^d Ibid. ver. 15, & alib. Vide præc. aff. 347. ^e Numb. xxviii. 19, & seq. ^f Levit. xxiii. 10, & seq.

(E) The 5 intermediate days are to be spent in mirth, and lawful recreations: they injoin all, especially the women, to wear the gayest apparel, to eat flesh, fish, and fowl, and to drink wine. Weddings are forbid during this and the other two grand festivals, lest the joy that attends the former should make them forget the occasion of the latter. However, they all agree, that women may shave and wash themselves, or even their cloaths, upon some occasions (1). There is one strange injunction of theirs, that obliges every man and woman, though they be so poor as to live by alms, to drink at least four bumpers of wine on the first night of the passover, whilst they are rehearsing the wonders wrought by God in *Egypt*, and at the *Red Sea* (2); with

some more of the like nature, not worth repeating (3).

(F) We shall have occasion to speak of all the different kinds of first-fruits which were to be offered to God as a token of their submission, gratitude, and dependence, and the manner of offering them, when we come to speak of offerings in general. As for this sheaf we are now speaking of, it was to be of barley, because that is the first corn that is ripe about this time in that country. It was reaped on the evening of the 15th day of *Nisan*, and was to be offered up in the name of the whole nation. Thus far the text. The *Jews* add, that as soon as the evening of the first day of the passover was come, at which time the second began, and in which some kind of works might be done,

(1) Vide præc. neg. 75. (2) Pr. aff. 40. (3) Pr. neg. 77, & seq.

dinances of less moment about this and other festivals are interspersed in the pentateuch; which we therefore omit.

The feast of the weeks, or pentecost.

THIS feast was instituted in memory of the law being given upon mount *Sinai*, fifty days after the exod (G), and to oblige the people to appear before the LORD, to offer the first-fruits of their harvest, viz. two leaves of the new wheat, which was then ripe, as an acknowledgement of his absolute right and dominion over them and their land, and of their dependence upon him.

The feast of weeks.

SEVEN weeks, or fifty days, were to be reckoned from the sixteenth day of the month *Nisan*, which was the second of the passover, and the fiftieth day was to be the first day of this festival (H).

the *בית דין* *betb-din*, or great council, assembled, and deputed three men to go and gather the sheaf with a kind of solemnity, at which great crowds from the neighbouring cities flocked to *Jerusalem*, within whose territories it was to be gathered. These deputies asked three times whether the sun was set, and were as often answered by the by-standers in the affirmative. They then asked three times leave to reap the sheaf; and it was no sooner granted, than they entered into three different fields, each with a sickle in his hand, and gathered each a distinct parcel, which they put into three different boxes, and brought them to the temple. Here they were threshed, winnowed, and parched; and an homer, which contains about 3 pints, was filled with them, and presented to the priest, who poured a quantity of oil, and threw some incense, upon it; and, having

heaved it to the LORD towards the four points of the compass, threw some part of it on the fire of the altar, and the rest he kept for himself. After this ceremony, it was lawful for every man to begin his harvest (1).

(G) The reader may remember that the *Israelites* came out of *Egypt* on the 15th of the first month *Abif*, or *Nisan* (2), and came to *Sinai* on the third day of the third month; two days after which the law, or decalogue, was given in the presence of all the people (3).

(H) It is therefore called, in the original, *שבועות* *chag shebugnoth*, or the feast of weeks, from the seven weeks which were reckoned from that passover; as from the 50 days the *Greeks* gave it the name of pentecost. As for their other ceremonies on those days, the reader may see them in *Leo de Modena* (4).

(1) *Vide מנחות* *Maimon.* *תמידים* *ומוספין* *Abenezr. in Deut. xxvi. & al.* (2) *Exod. xii. 3, 6, 41, 51.* (3) *Ibid. xix. 1, 13, & seqq.* (4) *Cerem. Jud. part iii. c. 4.*

THE sacrifices ordained upon this day were to be, besides the two loaves, seven lambs of the first year, one young bullock, and two rams, for a burnt-offering; together with their usual meat and drink-offerings, and likewise a kid for a sin-offering, and two lambs for a peace-offering (I). No servile work was to be done on that day, save that victuals might be dressed; and an holy convocation was to be called, as on other solemn festivals.

The feast of the tabernacles.

The feast of tabernacles.

THIS festival was ordained in memory of the 40 years abode of the *Israelites* in the wilderness; for which reason it is called the feast of the tabernacles, or tents (K); not only because they lived in tents, or booths, during all that time, but because it was to be celebrated in such

‡ Levit. xxiii. 15, 16, 18, 19. Exod. xxxiv. 22. Numb. xxviii. 27, & alib.

(I) There is some difference between the sacrifices that are ordered on this festival, in *Leviticus* and in *Numbers* (1). *Josephus* joins them all together (2); but whoever compares them, will rather think, that there is some error of the transcriber, either in one or the other of these places. *Buxtorf* tells us, that the *Jews* were so afraid lest they should be mistaken in their calculation of this festival, and that of the passover, that they kept it two days instead of one. He instances in one place in *Judith* (3), in which the *Greek* seems to confirm his assertion; and by that means removes the difficulty which has been started of our SAVIOUR's eating the passover one day before the rest of the *Jews* (4).

(K) The original calls it חג הסוכות *chag hassukoth*, the feast of the tents, or booths; from which the *Greeks* gave it the name of Σκηνοπηγία *skenopegia* (5). Though the text says it was appointed in memory of their abode in the wilderness, yet the *Chaldee* paraphrast seems to have understood it not of their living in tents, but in the open air, when he renders the word סוכות *succoth, tents*, by ענני שמים *the shade of the clouds*. It is likewise thought to have been instituted as a feast of thanksgiving for the conclusion of their harvest and vintage, which generally ended there about this time, which answers to the beginning of our *October*.

(1) *Comp. Levit. xxiii. 18, 19. & Numb. xxviii. 27.* (2) *Ant. l. iii. c. 10.*
 (3) *Judith viii. 6.* (4) *Synag. Jud. Vide & Cyril. Alex. in Job. xiii.*
Chrysoft. homil. 82. Epiphani. Euthym. Paul. Burg. P. de Midelb. Scalig.
Jansen. Maldon. & al. mult. (5) *LXX. & 1 Maccab. x. 21. 2 Maccab. i.*
9, & alib.

kinds of booths, made of the branches of several sorts of trees, such as willows, palms, olives, and the like (A), and erected in the most decent and convenient manner^b.

THIS feast was the third grand one, and equal in solemnity to the other two, except in what related particularly to the passover. It began on the eve of the fifteenth day of the seventh month called *Tisri*, which was the first of the civil year, and answered to part of our *September*; by which time all the harvest being finished and brought in, they returned their solemn thanks to GOD for itⁱ. It was to last seven days, the first and last of which were kept with the greatest strictness (B), by re-

pairing

^b Levit. xxiii. 40, & seqq. & alib. ⁱ Exod. xxiii. 16.

(A) *Moses* gives us a fuller description of this feast (6) than of any other, probably because it was not to be celebrated till after they were settled in the *Promised Land*; but, as to the particular trees, of which the booths were made, and the manner of their structure, they are not so easily understood, nor agreed on, among the *Jewish* doctors: tho' all that is supposed to be meant by that lawgiver was, that they should choose such trees as yielded the most lasting and agreeable verdure and fragrancy. This, at least, was the sentiment of the wiser *Caraites*, who, despising the niceties of the *Cabbalists*, thought they sufficiently answered the design of the feast, if they lived in such tents or booths as their forefathers had done in the wilderness; whilst the *Talmudists* and their commentators have rather obliterated it by their numberless additions to it (7).

(B) The first day of this festival was ushered in by a general procession, in which the men carried branches of those trees mentioned by *Moses* in the place above quoted, some in one hand, and some in the other, waving them about to the four winds, and singing some psalms or hymns proper for the solemnity, and crying *hosannah!* which word doth properly signify, *save, we beseech thee*; from this word the last day of the feast (on which this ceremony of carrying palms round the altar was performed seven times, and with greater solemnity, in memory, as is pretended (8), of the taking of *Jericho*) (9), was stiled *Hosannah Rabbah*, or the day of the great *Hosannah*.

The hundred and eighteenth psalm is likewise supposed to have been sung on, if not composed for, that festival; because there are not only several expressions in it, that

(6) Levit. xxiii. 40. (7) Vide *Minsb. tract. תרומה, arbab. tburim. Maimon. tract. תרומה, & alib.* (8) *Basnag. ibid.* (9) *Hospin. orig. fest. c. 7. Munst. in calend. & al.*

pairing to the tabernacle, or temple, with palms and other branches in their hands, by marching round the altar, and singing the praises of GOD; by sacrifices peculiar to the solemnity, over and above the usual ones; and by a cessation from all servile works, except cookery^k.

THEY were likewise obliged to dwell in those booths all the seven days, and to eat and drink, and lie in them (C), unless lawfully hindered^l.

^k Numb. xxix. 12, & alib.

^l Levit. xxiii. 42.

have an affinity to it, such as these: אָנָּה יְהוָה הוֹשִׁיעָה נָּא אָנָּה יְהוָה הַעֲלִיחָה נָּא *ana adonai hoshibab-na, ana adonai, batzlichab na* (10); but also from the very analogy of the whole composition, with the ceremonies of that feast; such as the praying more particularly for the coming of the Messiah, for the prosperity of the next year, the fetching of water from the pool of *Siloab*, and the like. This last ceremony, however, is thought to be of much later date, and to have been introduced but a little before our Saviour's time; though some of the *Jews* attribute the institution of it to the prophets *Haggai* and *Zechariah* (1). Our Saviour is thought to have alluded to this, when he cried in the temple, on the last day of this feast, *If any man thirst, let him come unto me, &c* (2).

(C) The *Jews* except out of this number the sick, and their nurses, and those who could not bear either the dampness of the earth, or the fragrantcy

of the boughs (3). It is not at all unlikely, that from these ceremonies of carrying branches in their hands, &c. *Plutarch* might take the notion, that the *Jews* celebrated this feast to *Bacchus*; and that they entered into their temples with branches of the vine and thyrses in their hands, though he knew not what was done in the inside of them (4). It is true, that *Josephus*, speaking of this feast, and of the nosegay, or bunch of greens, which the *Jews* wore in it (5), calls it *επιστοιώνη*, which, among the *Greeks*, signified a bunch of olive, tied up with wool, on which hung great variety of fruit. This nosegay used to be carried by a child, and laid at the gate of the temple of *Apollo* (6). But our author here tells us, that the *Jewish* one was made up of myrtle, willow, and palm, on which hung little sprouts of peach, or, as others render it, young citrons. However that be, *Spencer* has from thence fancied, that it was instituted by *Moses* in imitation of the

(10) *Psal.* cxviii. 25. (1) *Vid. Cun. ub. sup. Calm. sub. voc. Pentecost. Meyer. fest. Heb. Goodwin's Mss. & Aar. & al. Vide & Mishn. sub tit. סוכה, & Wett. & al. comment. in ead.* (2) *John* vii. 37, 38. (3) *Vid. Munst. in Levit. xxiii. præc. aff. & neg. & auct. sup. citat.* (4) *Symposiac. probl. v.* (5) *Ant. lib. iii. c. 10.* (6) *Vid. gloss. in voc.*

heathen,

THE sacrifices peculiar to this feast were, on the first day, thirteen bullocks, two rams, and fourteen lambs of a year old; all without blemish, which were offered up in a burnt-offering, with their usual meat and drink-offerings, consisting of a certain quantity of flour mingled with oil, and some wine. To these was added likewise a kid, for a sin-offering, which was offered up in the name of the whole people of *Israel*; besides the usual morning and evening sacrifices, which were never to be intermitted, and those which any one might offer out of devotion. On the 2d day they offered 12 bullocks, two rams, and 14 lambs, with their concomitant offerings of flour and wine, and a kid, as on the first day ^m; and thus on the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh, they offered the same sacrifices, only lessening every day one bullock; so that on this last day they sacrificed but seven (D); as for the other

^m Num. xxix. 17.

beaten, who about that time used to celebrate some feasts to their gods, with the same mirth and solemnity (7); but *Moses* gives us a quite different reason, namely, that their posterity might know, that God had made the *Israelites* to dwell in booths at their coming out of *Egypt* (8); and elsewhere, that they departed from *Rameses*, and encamped at *Succoth* (9), so called from the booths which they reared up there, the place abounding with proper materials for them.

Walton adds another reason to this of *Moses*, namely, that it was on the 10th day of the month *Tisri* that *Moses* came down the second time from the mount, and brought them the joyful news, that God was appeased for the sin of the golden calf; and that he had ordered the tabernacle of the congregation to be reared up

(which that idolatrous defection had obstructed for a time), in token that he did now no longer disdain to be among them, seeing he vouchsafed to dwell with them in the tabernacle (10): and, as he observes there, that this happened six months after the exod, it accounts for that feast being instituted in that month, rather than in the first, in which the people began to live in booths or tents. *Leo de Modena* (14) tells us, that the psalms which begin with הללויה, *Halleluja*, that is, the cxi. cxii cxiii. &c. to the cxviii. were the proper ones to be sung on that day. Those who are curious to know how the *Jews* observe this feast since their dispersion, may find a full account of it in the same author and place.

(D) The reason which the *Jews* give for lessening one

(7) *De leg. rit. Jud. l. i. c. 6. & l. iii. c. 8.* (8) *Levit. xxiii. 42.*
 (9) *Exod. xii. 37.* (10) *Harmon. evang. ad Luc. iii. 21. ap. Meyer*
de temp. sacr. cap. 16. §. 3. (14) *Cærem. Jud. part ii. c. 7.*

bullock

other offerings, they continued the same throughout. On the eighth or last day, which was the most solemn of all, and on which they were to hold a solemn assembly, and to abstain from all servile work, they offered but one bullock, one ram, and seven lambs, besides the goat for a sin-offering, and the usual and voluntary sacrifices¹; which last rose and fell, according as their harvest had been more or less plentiful. Lastly, on this day, the first-fruits of those things, which were of later growth, were brought up, and offered to GOD; and these came sometimes in such numbers, that they were forced to continue the feast one day longer^m.

The feast of the trumpets, and new-moons.

The feast of the trumpets. WE have lately taken notice, that the month *Tisri* was the first of the civil, as that of *Abib*, or *Nisan*, was of the sacred year: this feast was appointed to be kept

¹ Ibid. ver. 14, ad fin. ^m Vide SIGONIUM, BERTRAND. CUNÆUM, MEYER, GOODW. & al.

bullock every day is, that the whole number of them offered in those seven days amounted to 70, which, they say, is the number of the nations for whom these sacrifices were offered, that they might dwindle by little and little, till they were all brought under the sceptre of the Messiah, who is emphatically called the desire of all nations (15). Those who have called this eighth day the *Hosannah-rabba* (16), are certainly contradicted by all the *Jews*, who affirm, that it was the seventh day (17): as for this eighth day, on which there was to be what most interpreters render, as we do, a

solemn assembly; the *Hebrew* word *עצרת*, *Jhetzereth*, signifies a retention; or, as our margin hath it (18), restraint; for which reason they affirm, that after the seventh day was over, and so consequently the festival, the people used to stay, or be detained, one day longer (19). On this day it is that the *Jews* end the last parasha or section of the pentateuch; and, immediately after, begin the first, that they may not seem to be better pleased with having ended the one, than with beginning the other (20); and, for this reason, it is called *חג שמחת תורה*, the feast of joy of the law (21).

(15) *Haggai* ii. 7. *Vid. Hospin. orig. fest. in loc. Goodwin's Mos. & Aar. lib. iii. c. 6. §. 8.* (16) *Goodwin, ubi sup. Calm. in voc. Tabernacle.*
 (17) *Vide Mishn. ubi sup. Shulchan Haruch, Arbab Thurim, & al.*
 (18) *Levit. xxiii. 36.* (19) *Vide Munst. ibid. Meyer de fest. c. xvi. §. 15.*
 (20) *Buxtorf in abbreviat. & synag. Jud. c. 28. Vide & Abarb. in Deut. xxxi.*
 (21) *Rab. Eliezer in Exod. xxiii. 16. & xxxiv. 22.*

C. VII. *to the Babylonish Captivity.*

on the first and second day of that month. It was to be ushered in by the sound of the trumpets, to be kept holy, free from all servile work, and to be distinguished from other new-moons by particular sacrificesⁿ.

As the Scripture no-where gives the reason of this festival, authors are much divided about it; the *Jews*, in general, believe it was instituted in memory of the creation, which happened on that month (F); though some rabbies think, that it was also in memory of *Isaac's* deliverance, and of the ram that was caught by the horns, and substituted for him^o. Some of the fathers are of opinion, it was in memory of the law being given upon mount *Sinai* P, at which time the trumpet and thunder was heard: others lastly, from some of the ceremonies observed by the *Jews*, by way of preparation for, and from some of their notions about this festival (G), have fancied,

ⁿ Levit. xxiii. 24. Num. xxix. 12, & seqq. ^o Vide R. SAL. FAG. MUNST. & al. in Levit. xxiii. P BASIL. in Pf. lxxxii. THEODORET. qu. 32. in Levit.

(F) The *Gemarrab* doth positively affirm, that בתשרי נברא העולם, *the world was created in the month of Tisri*; for which reason, it is thought that this feast was ordained to prevent the old or civil year being obliterated by the sacred; and observes, that that of the tabernacles was to be kept בתקפת השנה, at the revolution or return, or, as our version renders it, though not so properly, at the end of the year (†.) And the *mishnah* adds, that the first day of this month is the head of the year, from which the seventh year, the jubilee, &c. are to be computed (22).

(G) The antient *Jews* had a notion, that God passed a kind of judgment upon men at

this time, for the good or bad deeds of the foregoing year; according to which he ordered his blessings and punishments for the next (23). The *mishnah* expressly says — that at the beginning of the year they pass before him like sheep, according to the saying of the psalmist (24), *From the place of his habitation he looketh upon the inhabitants of the earth: he formed their hearts alike, and considers [or takes notice of] all their works.* For this reason they thought, that nothing could be more proper to awaken men from their sleep of sin than the sound of the trumpets, according to that of the prophet *Joel* (25), *Blow the trumpet in Sion, sanctify a fast, &c.* Accordingly *Maimon* observes

(†) Vide *Moim. Kidush hakodesh*, c. 9. (22) *Traet. השנה*, cap. 1. Vide & *Levit. xxv. 3, 5, 6.* (23) *Ubi sup.* (24) *Pf. xxxiii. 14, 15.* Vide *Hotting. & Wotton, in mishn.* (25) *Cb. ii. pass.*

from

fanfied, that it was to put mankind in mind of the general resurrection, which is to be ushered in by the sound of the trumpet⁹; but the most probable reason for this feast, and for proclaiming the entrance of the civil year by the sound of the trumpets, seems to be in order to render it more observable, seeing all their contracts, mortgages, bargains, and such-like, as well as their sabbatic years

⁹ Vide Goodw. ubi sup. §. 6.

from the *Megillab-tabanith*, that the trumpets, which were more solemnly blown on fast-days, were proper to excite men to prepare themselves during the ten days, that were between this feast, and the next fasting-day, or day of expiation, for the work of repentance (26). Remarkable is the speech which a learned *Jewish* rabbi has transmitted to us (27), which then used to accompany the sound of the trumpets: *Awake, awake from your sleep; awake, ye that deal in vanity; for deadly is the sleep that holdeth you. Consider seriously in your hearts who it is that ye are going to appear before to give an account, &c.* The apostle seems to allude to this in his epistle to the *Ephesians* (28).

Hitherto there is nothing either improbable or absurd; but that is more than we can say of the additions which have been made by the *Talmudists*; we shall only instance in two or three of them: they believe, that God keeps three books, one of the good, a second of the bad, and a third of those that are neither one nor the

other. The first is the book of life, the second that of death; and those that are in the third, are to be transferred either to the first or second, on the next expiation day, according as they grow better or worse. Those two books have two kinds of pages, the one for this life, the other for the next; and it is on this day that they think their names are written for that year. Upon this account they take particular care, whatever they do the rest of the year, to be well employed about this time. Some appear at the synagogue in white, others in their shrouds, in token of repentance; others will plunge themselves gradually into the water, confessing their sins, and smiting their breasts, as they sink lower and lower, till they are over head and ears in it; and lastly, others will give themselves 49 lashes on their bare backs, or procure somebody to do it for them; and, after these mortifications, and suitable prayers, &c. they wish one another the happiness of being written down for a good year (29).

(26) *More Nepoch. part iii. ch. 4.* (27) *Rab. Schem Tob. comm. in Maim. in loc.* (28) *Ch. v. 14. Vide Goodw. ubi sup. §. 6.* (29) *Vide Buxtorf. synag. Jud. Hospin. Goodwin, Leon. de Meden. & al.*

and jubilees, were to be regulated by it^r; for which reason the trumpets ceased not to sound every-where from sunrising to sunsetting*.

THE proper sacrifices for this solemnity were one young bullock, one ram, and seven lambs, offered up in a solemn burnt-offering, with the usual addition of flour and wine in the name of the whole nation, besides the kid for a sin-offering, and the daily and monthly sacrifices*.

The new-moons.

THE *Israelites* were commanded to observe the first *New-moon* day of every month, or moon, and to offer, besides *moons*, the usual sacrifices, a burnt-offering of two young bullocks, one ram, and seven lambs, with the usual quantity of flour, wine, and oil^r. The most solemn of all the twelve was that of the month *Tisri*, which we spoke of last, and which was kept holy upon a particular account. The rest had nothing to distinguish them from common days, except the sacrifices above-mentioned, which were accompanied with the sound of the trumpets (H); making better cheer, and, perhaps, using some kind of devotion or assemblies peculiar to those days. We find nothing like it, indeed, enjoined by *Moses*; but one may gather the former from *David's* excuse for absenting himself from *Saul's* table on the first day of the month^u, and the latter from what the *Shunammite's* husband said to dissuade her from going to the prophet *Elisha*, that it was *neither new-moon nor sabbath*^w.

^r Idem ibid. §. 5.

* Vide SCHINDLER, sub voc. שֶׁפֶר.

^u Num. xxix. 2, & seqq.

^r Ibid. xxviii. 11, 12, &c.

^w 1 Sam. xx. 5, 18, 27.

^w 2 Kings iv. 23.

(H) The fixing the time of the new-moon, for want of astronomical tables, was done in this manner. The first men that observed, or thought they observed the new-moon, were to repair with all speed to the grand council, and to give notice of it. An inquiry was then made, whether the persons were credible witnesses; and secondly, whether their report agreed with such com-

putations as they were then able to make; in which case the president proclaimed the new-moon by saying שֶׁקֶדֶשׁ, *Mekudash*, *It is consecrated*; which word was twice repeated aloud by the people; after which it was ordered to be proclaimed every-where by the sound of the trumpet, or by other ways, according to the times and places (30).

(30) Vide Hottinger, in Goodw. ubi sup. §. 7. sub not. 5.

HOWEVER, though, in all other respects, this day was like a common day, they were very scrupulous in observing it; and as the space of the moon's entering and coming out of the partile conjunction of the sun, belongs one half to the old, and the other to the new month, and they had no sure way of computing it with any exactness or certainty, they observed two days, namely, the last day of the old, and the first day of the new, for greater security. That this custom began very early, seems plainly intimated in the instance we have given of *Saul*; wherein it is said, that he excused *David* for his absence on the first day, but resented it on the second.

THIS irregularity of the moon obliged them likewise to make some transpositions of the days of the month, in order to fix the beginning of that of *Tisri*; and of the rest of the months according to that (I). But how early these transpositions began, is what cannot easily be conjectured. All that we know is, that *Scaliger* has taken an infinite deal of pains to find out, and rectify them; and that they have since been of great use in many cases, as may be seen by the book itself, and by the authors quoted in the margin^x.

THESE are all the feast-days that were appointed by the *Mosaic* law; the *Jews* added, in process of time, several others in memory of some great mercies; such as that of *Purim* or *Lots*, in memory of their deliverance from *Haman's* cruelty, the dedication of the temple, and

^x De emendat. temp. HOSPIN. orig. fest. BUXT. GOODW. MEY. USSER. & MUNSTER, & al. mult. ^y Esther, c. ult. ver. 20, & seq.

(I) The reason of this transposition was threefold, monthly, political, and mixt (34): the monthly was, lest they should celebrate the new-moon before the old one was expired. The political was, lest two Sabbaths or days of rest should follow one another, because, as it was forbid to dress victuals, bury their dead, &c. on such days, they thought it a grievance to live two days upon cold meat, and to keep the dead bodies so

long above-ground. The mixed transposition is that which is done upon an account that is partly menstrual, and partly political. These distinctions are, in many respects, very judicious and necessary; but they have branched them out at such a rate, and with sub-distinctions, &c. that we chuse to refer the readers that are curious about such things, to those authors mentioned above.

(34) *Scalig. ubi sup. lib. ii.*

many more, which we shall not mention here, because they are below our epocha. All that needs be added to the foregoing is, that there was a command, that if any part remained unconsumed of the sacrifices offered on those solemnities, after the first and second day, or even before, if the flesh of them had contracted any filth, fly-blow, or ill smell, it was not to be eaten, but burned to ashes².

Laws concerning the sabbatic and jubilee years.

THE sabbatic or seventh year, and the jubilee, which *Sabbatic* happened once in seven times seven years, are also to *year, &c.* be looked upon as solemn times. They were appointed by God, and designed for rest and rejoicing; and as they bore a kind of analogy, or rather were a kind of consequence of the sabbath, or seventh day, they may upon that account be also reckoned among their solemn festivals.

THE *Mosaical* law distinguishes four sorts of years: 1. The civil, according to which all political matters were regulated, consisting of twelve solar, and afterwards of lunar months (K), beginning at the month *Tisri*, or *September*, as we said above. 2. The sacred, which began at the month

² Levit. vii. 15, & seq. Præc. aff. 207, 208.

(K) It is plain, by the calculation which *Moses* gives us of the days of the flood (35), and elsewhere, that the year consisted of 365 days, and consequently of 12 solar months, the last of which consisted of 35 days; and it is more than probable, that, having been brought up in *Egypt*, he had learned that way of reckoning from them, because they are generally allowed to be the first inventors of it, as we have seen in their history (36); besides that it must have been the most known and easy method to the *Israelites*, who had been accustomed to it during their long

abode there. *Scaliger* (37), and others after him, have, indeed, supposed that they had an intercalary month once in sixscore years; but it is plain, that the Scripture hints nothing like such an intercalation; or year of 13 months: tho' it is not easy to guess what they did with the six additional hours of the *Egyptians* to the 365 days, without some such supposition. However, *Moses*, by the express command of God (38), did afterwards compute the year by moons; for that is the meaning of the word *חודש*; *chodesh*, from *ח* *ו* *ד*, to renew; though our *English*

(35) *Gen.* vii. & viii. *pass.* *emend. temp.* l. iii.

(36) *Vide vol. 1. p. 496.*
(38) *Exod.* xii. 2.

(37) *De*

month *Nisan*, or *March*, which was the seventh of the civil year, and regulated the order of all their religious ceremonies; so that the passover, which happened in the middle of this month, was, as it were, the mother of all the other festivals. 3. The sabbatic or seventh year; and, 4. The jubilee or fiftieth year, which was kept at the end of seven weeks of years. We have already said as much as is necessary concerning the two first.

Larus concerning the seventh years.

THE sabbatic year was to be kept every seventh year: the observation of it consisted chiefly in the five following articles.

1. In a total cessation from all manner of agriculture ^a.
2. In leaving all the product of their ground to the poor, the orphan, and the stranger ^b.

^a Levit. xxv. 4.

^b Ibid. ver. 6.

version renders it month; and these answered partly to one of our months, and partly to another.

The same authors have imagined, that the *Israelites* had no names for their months before the captivity (39), because they are often distinguished only by their numbers, as first, second, &c. yet it is certain we find some of them called by particular names long before: thus we have seen, that the first month of the sacred year was originally called אביב, *abib*. We find likewise that of זו, *zif* (40), אֵתְנַיִם, *etbanim* (41), and בּוֹל, *bol* (42); from which it is not improbable that the others might likewise have their names, though they are not recorded, and are oftener mentioned by their numbers. As for the etymology of those names, as well as of those which they used after the captivity,

about which the learned have puzzled their brains more than the thing deserves, we think it too uncertain to trouble our readers with it; and shall content ourselves with subjoining a list of the names themselves; which is as follows:

Days		
1	<i>Tisri</i>	30
2	<i>Marcheshvan</i>	29
3	<i>Chaslev</i>	30
4	<i>Thebet</i>	19
5	<i>Sebat</i>	30
6	<i>Adar</i>	29
7	<i>Nisan</i>	30
8	<i>Iar</i>	29
9	<i>Siwan</i>	30
10	<i>Tammuz</i>	29
11	<i>Abb</i>	30
12	<i>Elul</i>	29

}

Answers to our

September.

October.

November.

December.

January.

February.

March.

April.

May.

June.

July.

August.

To this last they added, in process of time, the intercalary month, which they called זַעַדָּר, *zeadar*, that is, *and*, or *the second*, *adar*, as that was the last of the sacred year.

(39) Vide Hotting. in Goodw. l. iii. c. 1. §. 13. note 3. (40) 1 Kings vi. 1.
 (41) Ibid. c. viii. 2. (42) Ibid. vi. 38.

3. In the release of all *Hebrew* slaves, unless they voluntarily renounced their proffered liberty, and chose to abide by their old masters; in which case they were to be brought before the judges, and to have their ears bored in their presence, in token that they freely embraced a perpetual servitude, or, at least, till the year of jubilee ^c.
4. In the remission of all debts from one *Israelite* to another: but this did not extend to strangers, who were excluded that benefit ^d.
5. It was to begin and end on the month *Tisri*, or *September*, that there might be sufficient time for gathering all the fruits of the earth of that year, and for sowing it against the next year, that so the land might not lie fallow two years together ^e (L). Some other laws

^c Exod. xxi. 2, & seq. & alib.

^d Deut. xv. 1, & seq.

^e Levit. xxv. 9.

(L) This year is by *Moses* called by several names, as שנה השבעית, *spanah hasbebigith*, the seventh year שבת הארץ, *Sabbath haaretz*, the Sabbath, or rest of the earth; שמיטה ליהוה, *shemitah ladhonai*, the release of the LORD, and the like. The time of year in which it was to begin, is no-where fixed by *Moses*; but is easily gathered from that of the jubilee, which was to begin on the 10th of the 7th month (43), and from the reason given under that article, as well as from the generality of *Jewish* authors. How soon this sabbatic year was observed after their entrance into *Canaan*, is variously reckoned both by *Jews* and *Christians*.

The reader may, if he pleases, consult the authors quoted in the margin (44). But, if any opinion appears to us more probable than another, it is that of the learned archbishop *Usher*, who fixes it on the seventh year after the manna ceased, at which time they began to sow and till the ground (45). *Cunæus* speaks still more particularly to the same effect; his words run thus (46): There is no necessity for beginning the epoch of the seven years at the division of the land of *Canaan*, but rather at the death of *Moses*, which was the forty-first after the exod; and then the first sabbatic year will be on the 7th after the passage of *Jordan*; so that, after having

(43) Lev. xv. 9. (44) *Gemar. Kiddush. Gemar. Hieros. in loc. Sedar Holam. Maimon. de Shemitah & Fobel, pass. Abarban. in Josh. xiv. 12, & alib. R. Dav. Gantz. in Zemach, & al. Scaliger, annot. in chronica Euseb. & alib. Goodw. Mos. & Aar. l. iii. c. 9. Munst. calend. Meyer de temp. sacrae 17. Cun. Calm. & al. (45) Sub A. M. 2554. (46) *Bejnag. rap. Heb. tom. ii. c. 8.**

laws we find relating to this year, such as that those servants who were released in it, should not go away empty; but that a compensation should be made to them for their service.^f; that they should not withdraw any needful assistance from their poor brethren, by reason of the nearness of the seventh year^g; with some others relating to the opening of their fields, orchards, and vineyards, to all comers, and the like (M). Among these was that remarkable one of reading the law before all the people, on the day of *Pentecost*. For as they were to abstain from all works of husbandry, there is no doubt but there was a greater concourse to hear it than could have been at any other intermediate year.

THE reasons and excellence of these laws, as well as those that relate to the jubilee, are obvious to every one, being extremely proper to breed up a faithless and stubborn nation, in a constant dependence upon, and subjection to the divine providence; and to inspire them with sentiments of mercy and beneficence towards their poor brethren, servants, slaves, and strangers, by reminding them of their *Egyptian* slavery; which is assigned as one of the reasons of

^f Dent. xv. 13, & seq.

^g Ibid. ver. 7, & seq.

been taken up six years in the conquest and dividing of the land, the seventh proved, in all respects, a year of rest, seeing they rested from their conquests, and peaceably enjoyed the fruit of them, and of the conquered land.

(M) It may be, perhaps, asked, what they lived upon during that year, if they must relinquish the product of all their lands to the poor? But it must be remembered, that they were allowed to take as much out of it as was sufficient for themselves and their families (47). However, as some of them made a scruple to touch even

any of these, we may reasonably suppose, that they made what provision they could against that time, of such things as could be easily preserved, such as corn, wine, oil, olives, raisins, figs, dates, pulse, and the like; and as to herbs, roots, fruits, and all kind of ספיח, or things of spontaneous growth, they might gather them in their own or any other ground: tho' even this, some of their rigid scribes pronounce unlawful, not so much because the law expressly forbids it, as for fear of transgressing by too great a liberty (48).

(47) *Levit. xxv. 6.*
esp. vi.

(48) *Vide Ben Maim. ubi supra, tract. שבויעות.*

this institution^h; to which we may add another, namely, the great advantage which the land received by being left fallow every seventh year. However, the generality of the *Jews*, and a great number of *Christians* both antient and modern, have looked upon the main design of these institutions to be typical of the *millennium*, or thousand years rest; for, as the *Pentateuch* consecrates the seventh day, the seventh year, and the seven times seventh year, to rest, they conclude, that the world will last six thousand years in the state we see it in; or, as *R. Elias*, in the *Talmud*, expresses it, two thousand years without the law, two thousand under the law, and two thousand under the MESSIAHⁱ; after which comes the grand sabbath of one thousand years: but this is too nice a point for us, and which we willingly refer to the divines; only we beg leave to observe, from a modest hint of the learned *Mr. Mede*^k, that as long as we persist in denying the second appearance of CHRIST upon earth, in as glorious a manner as his first was obscure, we shall hardly be able to convince the *Jews*, that he is the true promised MESSIAH; because we can give no tolerable reason why the prophecies concerning his humiliation and sufferings should be understood in a literal, and those of his exaltation and glorious reign in a spiritual sense. Whereas were the doctrine of the *millennium*, which is far from being anti-evangelical in any but a *Jewish* and carnal sense, generally received, it would effectually answer one of their strongest objections, without casting the least reflection on the *Christian* religion, whilst the *Jews* were left at their liberty to take it in as gross, and we in as spiritual and refined a sense as we saw fit.

Laws relating to the jubilee.

THIS solemnity is the last, and most considerable, that GOD enjoined to the *Israelites*. It was to be celebrated every fiftieth year^l, and had this advantage over that of the seventh, that it released all slaves that had refused their liberty; annihilated all debts; and restored to every man all his lands, houses, wife, children, and possessions, however alienated; and every *Hebrew* servant or slave to his own tribe and family, liberty and property, how, and upon what account soever he had been deprived of them^m,

^h Ibid. ver. 15.

ⁱ Tract. Sanhedr. §. Helec. Vide

HOSPIN GOODW. MEY. MUNST. & al.

^k Clav. Apo-

calypt. ad fin.

^l Levit. xxv. 8; & seq.

^m Ibid.

ver. 28, 41, & alib.

during those 50 years: for this reason it is that we think, after many commentators, that it was called *Jubilee*, or *Yobel*, because it restored every thing to its pristine state (O). However, it must be observed, that this privilege extended no further than to the original *Israelites*, or to those who had been incorporated into their religion and commonwealth by circumcision; these, indeed, might claim the benefit of it, though they had been sold for slaves for any crimes, even by the sentence of the grand sanhedrin^u; but, as for the *Gentiles*, they were wholly excluded from it^o.

SOME think that the *Israelites* were wont to reckon by *jubilees*, as the *Greeks* did by *olympiads*, the *Romans* by *lustra*, and the *Christians* by *indictions*^p; and probably they did so, because they were always to have regard to that year in all bargains of lands, houses, and the like, which generally sold for more or less, according to their nearness to, or distance from it^q. As for the possessions of the priests and *Levites*, they had certain privileges and immunities, which shall be spoken of in a more proper place^r.

DURING the whole twelve months all kind of agriculture was expressly forbid, the poor had the benefit of the harvest and vintage, and of all the product of that year; and all other things of that nature went on after the same manner, as they did in the sabbatic year. The beginning of it was, by God's own appointment, fixed to the seventh month *Tisri*^s, which is about the time of the autumnal equinox; but in what year, after they entered into

^u Levit. ver. 40. ^o Ibid. ver. 46. Vide MAIMON. tract. עבדים, c. 9. ^p HOSPIN. orig. fest. c. 9. GOODW. HOTTING. ^q Levit. xxv. 27, & seq. ^r Ibid. ver. 32, & seq. ^s Ibid. ver. 8, 9.

(O) Authors are fallen into various opinions about the etymon of this word, concerning which the reader may consult the authors quoted in the margin (55); but we prefer that which derives it from the obsolete root יביל, *yabal*, in *hiphil*, יביל, *babil*, which signifies, to recal, restore, bring

back, &c. which is what the *jubilee* did. The reader may see that word occur in many places of Scripture, and particularly in the *Psalms*, where, among others, he will find this expression: יובילו שי למורה, *Yobilu sai lammorah*, *Bring presents to him that is to be feared* (56).

(55) Rabbin. ser. omn. Vide Kimch. in rad. sub voc. יובל, Goodw. Mey. Munst. &c. Hochart. bicroz. Beckius annot. in Maimon. shemitab veyobel, note 5. Goodwin, Hotting. &c. (56) Psalm lxxvi. ver. penult. vide & Job x. 19. Jerem. xxxi. 9, & alibi.

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the land of *Canaan*, they celebrated the first *jubilee*, and whether from the beginning of every forty-ninth, or fiftieth year, is not easy to determine. As to the former, the *Jews* begin to reckon the first of the fifty years from the fourteenth after *Joshua's* passing the *Jordan*. How their computation ran, according to the learned *Maimon*, *Philo*, and *Josephus*, the reader may see in the margin^u (Q).

THE

▪ Ubi sup. c. 10. ex vers. BECKM.

(Q) " From their entrance
 " into *Canaan* to their being
 " carried out of it, are seven-
 " teen jubilees; and the year
 " in which they went into
 " captivity, and the temple
 " was destroyed, was the se-
 " venth, or sabbatic year, and
 " the thirty-sixth of the 18th
 " jubilee, which they prove
 " thus: the first temple stood
 " 110 years, after which there
 " was an end of that epocha;
 " the land then did lay waste
 " seventy years, and then the
 " second temple was built,
 " which stood likewise 120
 " years. In the seventh year
 " after its restoration, *Exra*
 " went up to *Jerusalem*; and
 " from this time began a se-
 " cond epocha. On the thir-
 " teenth after the rebuilding
 " of the temple, they cele-
 " brated the second sabbatic
 " year; and seven weeks of
 " years, or forty-nine years,
 " being elapsed, they conse-
 " crated the fiftieth; for tho'
 " they did not celebrate the
 " jubilee after their return
 " from the captivity, never-
 " theless they continued to
 " compute the years of it, in
 " order to celebrate the sab-

" batic ones." Thus far *Maj-*
mon; but here it must be ob-
 served, that he has followed
 the reckoning of *Josephus*, *Philo*,
 and of all the *Jews*, who not
 only place the first sabbatic
 year, and consequently the *ju-*
bilee, seven years later than
Usher and *Cunæus*, namely,
 from the fourteenth year after
 their entrance into *Canaan*, but
 allow fifty complete years to
 every *jubilee*; whereas that
 primate, and with him a great
 number of learned *Christians*
 (1), think that it was cele-
 brated every forty-ninth year,
 as we shall see presently. How-
 ever, as he has here rectified
 the *Jewish* chronology in some
 other respects, so he reckons
 but the same number of *ju-*
bilees that *Maimon* doth before
 the destruction of the temple;
 as the reader may see in the
 table at the end of his annals
 under the word *Jubilee*.

The first of them he fixes
 on the 3318th year of the *Ju-*
lian period, which is the
 2609th of the world, or 1396
 years before Christ, and the
 seventeenth or last before the
 captivity in 4102 of the *Ju-*
lian period, 3393 of the world,

(1) *Hugo Cardinal. Gerard, Mercat. in chronol. Jos. Scaliger, Petav. Casvis, Lansberg, Capel, Cunæus, Spanheim; Jus. Le Clerc, & al. mult.*

and

THE next controverted point is, whether it was celebrated in the forty-ninth, or fiftieth year. We have already given a list of the principal authors who are for the former; those who declare for the latter (without reckoning *Philo*, *Josephus*, the *Targums*, and all the *Jews* in general, *Karaites* as well as *Talmudists*), are still more considerable. — Among these we may reckon some of the fathers^y, and a great number of moderns^z (R).

THIS

^y EUSEB. S. JEROM, AUGUST. GREG. MAG. ISIDOR. & al.
^z TOSTAT. BONFRER. FAGIUS, JUNIUS, DRUSIUS, VILLET. HOTTINGER, SCHINDLER, PFEIF, HEIDEKKER, LEWSDEN, CALMET, & al.

and 612 before CHRIST. As for the remainder, which he has carried down to the thirtieth, or to the year of the world 4030, they are only added in order to make a complete calculation of them to the thirtieth year of CHRIST, or to the beginning of the gospel. For it is plain, as *Maimon* observes in the place above quoted, that the *Jews* observed no *jubilee* after their return from the *Babylonish* captivity, either with respect to the cessation of agriculture, the restitution of lands, manumission of slaves, or any of those ends for which it had been instituted. Neither, indeed, was it practicable; for the seventy years captivity having quite obliterated the memory and pretension to their forefathers land, every one, at their return, settled himself as well as he could, in the confusion that then reigned, after which their affairs took a quite new face in *Judea*; whilst a very considerable number of their brethren chose to continue in the place of their captivity.

(R) The truth is, that either hypothesis may be defended from the different expressions which *Moses* makes use of in the institution of it; and, on the other hand, there are certain difficulties in each of them, which cannot be easily solved. We shall content ourselves with a bare hinting at them. In one place he expressly commands them to number seven sabbaths of years, or forty-and-nine years; and on this last to proclaim the *jubilee* by the sound of the trumpet (2); and in the very two following verses he says, that the fiftieth year shall be that of the *jubilee*. The grand objection against the first of these is, that if *Moses* had meant, that the forty-ninth should be the *jubilee* year, there would have been no necessity for his forbidding all kind of agriculture, and the like, on that year, since that was forbid of course by its being likewise the sabbatic year; for seven times seven make forty-nine.

On the other hand, it is objected, that if the fiftieth year

(2) *Levit. xxv. 8, 9.*

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THIS year was to be celebrated with the greatest tokens of joy, because it was designed to put them in mind of their *Egyptian* servitude, and to prevent their imposing the like on their brethren. But, whatever joy the masters and land-holders might outwardly express, we need not doubt but that of the slaves and poor was sincere, at the thoughts of their approaching deliverance. 'Tis true, this was not to take place till the tenth day of the month, otherwise called the day of expiation, which was therefore kept as a solemn fast; but, during the nine preceding days, the slaves were wholly exempt from doing any work for their masters, and spent that time in eating, drinking, and other diversions, and wore garlands about their heads, as the *Romans* did during their *saturnalia*; and, as soon as the tenth day was come, the sanhedrin caused the trumpet to sound all over the land; upon which they were restored to their liberty at that very instant, and the rest to their possessions^c.

^c Vide MAIM. halak shemita veyobel.

was to be the *jubilee*, it will follow, that the land must have had two sabbaths, or lain fallow two years, which is thought an unreasonable supposition, since, without a miracle, it must, in all likelihood, have caused a dearth in the land. This *Cunæus* insists very much upon, in favour of the forty-ninth year, though he passes by the great difficulty above-mentioned, as of no weight; but we think this objection of the two concurring sabbaths may be more easily answered. For, in the first place, those who are for the fiftieth year, do rightly enough observe, that there is no necessity for supposing, that the land rested two years, seeing the law-giver's intention seems fully answered by the repose of one, and that upon the account of its being sabbatical; and that therefore when *Moses* says, that the fiftieth shall be a year of

rest, he uses only that round number to express the uneven one of forty-nine. There is indeed hardly any other way of reconciling the difference of *Moses's* expressions; and one may add, that as the solemnity began on the first month of the civil, which was the seventh of the sacred year, it might be called indifferently the forty-ninth, or fiftieth year, without any contradiction or difficulty. What convinces us further, that this is more than a bare conjecture, is, that *Moses* makes use of the same calculation for the feast of pentecost. The analogy which seven weeks of days bear to seven weeks of years, is obvious to every understanding: now, as it is plain, that the pentecost did not begin on the forty-ninth, but on the fiftieth day, so we see no reason why the same may not be allowed with respect to the *jubilee*.

IT

It is plain, the design of this ordinance was to prevent the too great oppression of the poor, as well as their being liable to a perpetual slavery. By this means also their lawgiver restrained the rich from accumulating lands upon lands, and preserved, as much as possible, the freedom and order of *Israelitish* families, and a kind of equality with respect to their possessions, than which nothing could more effectually inspire them with a particular fondness for their country and patrimony, whilst they knew, that this last could never be alienated from their posterity above the space of half a century at the most.

Expiation-day, or day of atonement.

Expiation-day.

THIS is the last solemn day, that was of divine institution. It differed from all the rest, in that they were days of joy and thanksgiving; but this, a day of fasting, humiliation, and confession of sins, and the only one of that kind of divine appointment^d, if we except that occasional one, which GOD enjoined the *Israelites*, after their setting up the golden calf^e (S), but which we do

^d Levit. xxiii. 26, & seqq.

^e Exod. xxxiii. 4, & seqq.

(S) And yet we do not find one word of fasting on that solemn occasion of humiliation, nor even on this day of expiation, unless we suppose it to be implied in the words, *afflicting your souls*. However, it would be absurd to deny, that fasting had been in use long before *Moses's* time, because he has not taken notice of its being practised by any of the old patriarchs; or, that it was not intended as part of solemn humiliation, because it is not expressed in so many words. The contrary seems rather to follow from his silence, not only because the early custom of fasting among the *heathens* upon all particular occasions, as in the case of the *Ninevites*

(59), and many others, shews it to have been discovered by the light of reason; but because the very course of nature seems to give it a sanction; for when men are visited with any sensible affliction, or threatened with any immediate danger, it never fails of palling the appetite, and inclining them to fast. And what evinces that this practice was well known among the *Israelites*, is, the many instances which we meet with from *Moses's* time. Thus, after their unexpected defeat before *Hai*, *Joshua* and all the elders of *Israel* continued prostrate before the ark from morning till night without eating or drinking (60); the same was practised by the eleven

(59) *Jonah* iii. 5, 6.

(60) *Josh.* vii. 6.

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do not find to have been made annual by *Moses*, or observed by the people till after the captivity, when they became so religious, that they appointed as many fasts for the miscarriages and misfortunes that had happened to their nation before it, as filled near the fourth part of their calendar †; but this is not the proper place to speak of them. Those who conjecture, that this expiation-day was ordained in memory of the golden calf, limit the design of it too much, seeing it appears rather instituted to expiate the sins of the whole nation, both public and private, but more particularly those of the foregoing year. This is to be plainly inferred from the name which *Moses* gives it (T), as well as from the confession of sins, and other remarkable ceremonies, which he enjoined to be used on that day, of which we are now going to speak.

† Vide Mishn. megillath tahanith, per tot. LAMY, CALMET, & al.

tribes upon another occasion (61); by all the people at *Mizpeh*, in token of their repentance for having served *Baalim*, and other strange gods (62); and more particularly by *David*, in hopes of saving the life of the child he had got by *Bathsheba* (63). And by these, and many more instances of the like nature, it appears, that they not only abstained from eating and drinking, but from all other things that might refresh either the body or mind. Accordingly, the *Mishna* forbids these six things on these six days, eating, drinking, bathing or washing, anointing, putting on of shoes or sandals, and matrimonial intercourse (64); for every one of which they quote one or more precedents out of the sacred books.

(T) The original calls it יום הכפורים, *Yom kaphurim*,

the day of expiations or atonements; because on that day there was atonement made for the sins of the whole foregoing year, and of the whole people. For which reason the *Talmud* calls it, by way of excellence יוֹם יוֹמָא, *yoma*, the day; and perhaps, likewise, from a tradition they had, that it was on that day that *Adam* began to repent of his transgression, and *God* was reconciled to him (65). For the world, and consequently our first parents, according to them, were created on the first day of this month, as we have seen before; their transgression and punishment followed immediately after, and so, consequently, their repentance; for which reason some of them think, that this day was appointed in memory of the fall (66).

(61) *Judges* xx. 26.

(62) 1 *Sam.* vii. 6.

(63) 2 *Sam.* xii. 16.

(64) *Tr. yoma*.
Levit. xxxiii.

(65) *Rab. Eleazar*, in *Talmude*, *Vide Abarb. comm.* in

(66) *Vide* *vol.* i. p. 126.

We

We shall say nothing of the typical relation it bears to the grand expiation wrought under the gospel; that being out of our province.

It was to begin on the evening of the ninth day of the seventh month, and to last till the evening of the tenth, during which time they were obliged to abstain from all labour and pleasure, and to continue in the work of mortification, under the penalty of being cut off from among their people. They were likewise to hold a solemn convocation, to confess their sins, and to offer a peculiar sacrifice for them by fire §.

THE high-priest's office on this day was still more solemn and awful. It was the only time in the whole year on which he was permitted to enter into the most holy place, under pain of sudden death from the LORD^h; and therefore he was obliged to prepare himself for this grand ceremony in that extraordinary manner which was prescribed by GOD himself, as follows: he was first of all to wash himself, not his hands and feet only, as at other times, but his whole body. The *Talmud* adds, that he was to abstain, during seven whole days, from all matrimonial commerce, and from every thing that might cause an accidental pollution, and thereby render him unfit for this dutyⁱ; secondly, his mitre, breast-plate, and other priestly ornaments, were to be set aside on that day, and he only to appear cloathed in linen; this garb consisted only in a linen mitre or cap, a coat, breeches, and a girdle. He was in the third place to offer, as soon as he came to the holy place, a young bullock for a sin-offering, and a ram for a burnt-offering, for himself and his whole house, confessing his and their sins over them. After this, he received from some of the heads of the assembly a couple of kids for a sin-offering, and a ram for a burnt-offering, for the whole congregation. Then were two goats set before the tabernacle, and the high-priest cast lots for them, which of the two should be sacrificed on that day, and which should be sent away: and this latter was called *Hazazel* (U), or scape-goat.

He

§ Levit. xxiii. 27, & seqq.
præc. affirm. 209.

^h Ibid, xvi. 2.

ⁱ Vide

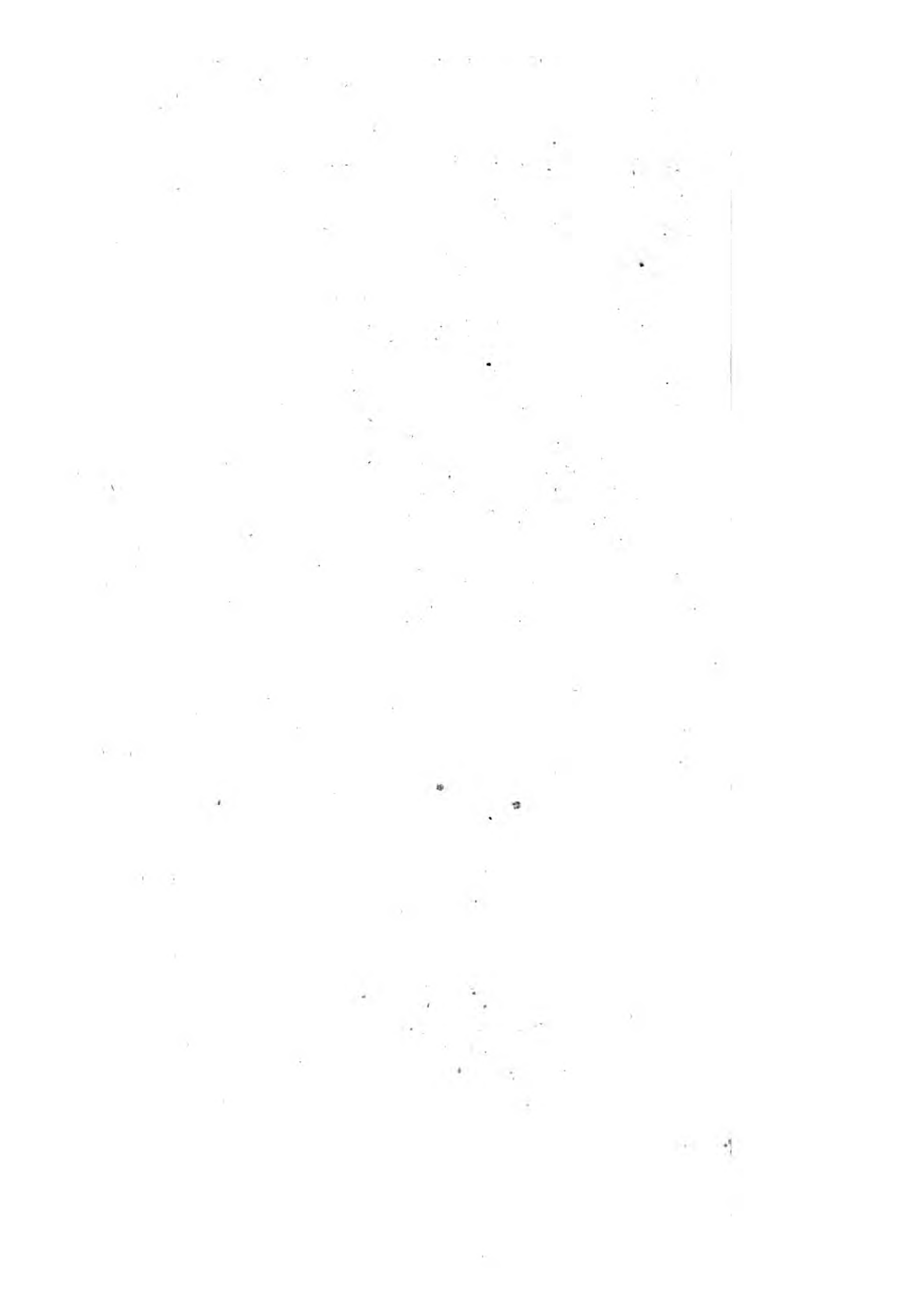
(U) We have here followed our version, and the generality of commentators, who derive the word זִיזִי, *Ghazazel*, from זִיז, a goat, and זָיַן to go, or to escape; in which they have followed the *Septuagint*, who have rendered it

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**THE HIGH PRIEST ON THE
DAY OF EXPIATION.**

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He then entered into the holy of holies, with his censet in one hand, and a large quantity of fine incense beaten small

ἰσπομπῆς, and the Latin after them *emissarius* (67): and it is certain, that the verb *זָחַל*, *zahal*, is often used in that sense in the Old Testament (68). However, from *Moses's* words (69), it should rather seem, that *Azazel* is the name of the place, whither the goat was led; for he says, that the man who lets the goat go *זָחַל לְבַזְאֵזֵל*, *lebazazel*—, which last cannot properly be rendered any other way than, to *Hazazel*; and in this sense most of the Jews, and some Christians, have taken it (70); and some of the former tell us, that it is a mountain distant about ninety furlongs, or about eleven thousand paces, from *Jerusalem* (71).

And here we cannot but take notice of a strange notion which *Spencer* has taken into his head, that this *Hazazel* was neither the name of a place, nor of the scape-goat, but of a devil, unto whom the goat was sent by the messenger (72). He mentions one *Mark*, an arch-heretic, who pretended to have a demon of that name, by whose assistance he performed wonders (73); and from this, and some expressions which he found in some cabbalistical writings, and in those of *Julian* the apostate, he pretends,

that this scape-goat was sent, with its load of sins, to the devil; in which notion he is followed by some others (74), who believe, that both the sacrificed goat, and the scape one, were typical of *CHRIST*; and think the first to be significative of his death, and the other of his being exposed to, and overcoming the power of *Satan*. But as for us, we should rather prefer *Mr. Le Clerc's* opinion, that *Hazazel* was a steep and cragged precipice, down which the goat was thrown: and this is not only more agreeable to the original, as we observed above, and to the Jewish notion of its being a rocky mountain; but the same author has further proved it from the words of *Moses*, that it should bear all their iniquities *אֶל עֵרֶץ גִּזְרָב*, *el eretz Gezarab* (75), which doth properly signify, not only an uninhabited land, or a land of separation, as our version renders it, but a land that is cut off, or broken off from another, such as precipices are. It might also be probably enough called *Hazazel*, from its being inhabited only by goats, as *Hottinger* observed in his notes upon *Goodwin*. *Le Clerc* doth further confirm it by a new etymon of the word *Azazel*,

(67) LXX. Aquil. Symmach. Theodorst. Bochart. de animal. sacr. Marfb. fecul. ix. Pagn. Jun. & al. (68) Vide Kimch. in rad. Buxtorf. thes. in voc. (69) Levit. xvi. 25. (70) Munst. Ar. Mont. & al. (71) Targ. Jonath. RR. Saad. Gaan. Kimch. Salom. Abenezr. & al. (72) Dissert. in hirc. emissar. (73) Vide Epiphân. hæres. 34. (74) Turretin. Coccei. Alting. Meyer, & al. (75) Levit. xvi. 22. Vide Le Clerc in loc. which

small in the other, that the smoke of it might fill the place, so as to cover the mercy-seat from sight: and as soon as he had set the censer upon the altar, he came out, and dipped his fingers into the blood of the bullock, which he had offered for himself, and went and sprinkled it towards the mercy-seat eastward seven times. This done, he killed the goat for the people's sin-offering, and went and sprinkled the mercy-seat with the blood of it, as he had done with that of the bullock; and by these aspersions the tabernacle was purified from all the pollution it had contracted, by standing in the midst of that sinful people. During all this ceremony, that is, till the solemn atonement had been made for the sins of the priests and people, neither priests, nor any person, were permitted to come, either within the tabernacle, or even into the courts of it.

As soon as these ablutions were ended, and the priests and people purified, the goat, whose lot it had been to escape (V), was brought to the high-priest, who laid his hands

which we shall not dwell upon. Neither is it easy to guess, either what was done to the goat, or what became of it, after it was brought to the place appointed. The *Talmudists*, if we may rely on them, affirm, that it was thrown down a precipice, and broken in pieces by the fall. They add, that during the high-priesthood of *Simon*, surnamed *the Just*, which was signalized by many remarkable tokens of the divine favour, the goat used to fall in pieces before it had reached half way to the bottom; but that, after his days, it used to be caught and eaten by the *Saracens* (76).

(V) How these lots were cast doth not appear from Scripture. What the ancient *Jews* tell us of it is, that there was an urn brought unto the high-priest, into which he threw two

wooden lots, upon one of which were written the words, FOR THE LORD; and on the other, FOR AZAZEL; and, after he had shaken them, he put both his hands into the urn, and brought up the lots, the one in his right-hand, and the other in his left; and as the goats stood on each side of him, their fate was determined by the lot that came up in the hand next to them. They also used to draw a good omen of GOD'S being pacified with them; if the right-hand chanced to draw the lot that was for the LORD, as they say it happened all the time of the high-priest mentioned in the last note. As for the rest of their customs, observed on that day, such as their mutual asking and granting forgiveness for past offences, making restitution, and

(76) *Mishn. tract. יומא*, vide § *Maim. in יום הכפורים*.

hands upon its head, and confessed his own sins, and those of the whole nation, in words to this effect: O LORD, thy people, the house of Israel, have sinned, have rebelled against thee;—and now, O LORD, I beseech thee, forgive their sins, rebellions, and backslidings, by which they have offended thee, according as it is written in the law of thy servant Moses: in that day he shall make atonement for you, he shall cleanse you, and you shall be clean from all your
sins

the like, though they are probably as old, or very near, as the institution of this feast, yet we rather chuse to refer our readers for them to the two last quoted books; or, if he pleases, to *Leo de Modena* and *Buxtorf* (76).

One thing, however, is worth observing, that on the eve of this solemnity the Jews of old used to take a white cock, if it was to be had, if not, of any other colour but red, and after a prayer, they struck their heads with that of the cock three times, saying, *Bear thou my sins, suffer thou the death I have deserved, die thou for me, and make thou reconciliation for me, that I may be admitted into a blessed life, with all the people of Israel.* After which they killed the cock, confessing that they deserved the death they inflicted on him, and threw his entrails on the top of the house, in hopes that the crows would bear them and their sins into the wilderness. 'Tis true, this ceremony is looked upon by the *Dutch Jews* as sinful, and that *Leo de Modena*, who owns that it was practised heretofore in the *Levant* and *Italy*, adds, that it was afterwards left off,

because it was found to be a mere piece of superstition, for which no tolerable reason could be assigned. But he seems to have forgot that they gave one, which, however ridiculed by our learned *Goodwin*, is not without a singular meaning. It is this: the word גֵּבֵר, *geber*, in the Scripture, signifying a man; and in the *Talmud* and *Chaldee*, a cock; the divine justice required, that as *geber* in the first sense had sinned, *geber* in the other sense should bear his sin. Now what other foundation can this custom have than the prophecies, that the MESSIAH, as *geber*, in his human nature, should expiate for the sins of man? unto whom therefore they substituted this typical *geber*, cock, till the antitypical one should accomplish that expiation by his death. And might not the Christians urging this against them be the motive of their abolishing it? Might not, moreover, the περὶ φηματα of the *Gentiles*, those human victims, which they chose out of the dregs of the people, to sacrifice yearly to their gods, by way of expiation (77), and their καθάρματα, which they offered in times of

(76) *Cerem. Jud.* part iii. c. 6. Vide & *Buxtorf. Synagog. Jud.* c. 20.

(77) Vide *Suid.* in voc. περιφημα.

sins before the LORDⁱ (W). The confession being ended, he delivered the scape-goat to a man appointed for the purpose, who conducted it into a desert place, and there left it to shift for itself according to some, or threw it down a steep precipice according to others, as we have seen in a former note. After this ceremony the high-priest washed himself all over, and having changed his cloaths, or, as seems most likely, having put on the ephod, mitre, breast-plate, and his other priestly garments, he was to offer a burnt-offering of two rams, one for himself, and the other for the people. As for the man that conducted the scape-goat, he was deemed unclean, till he had bathed himself, and washed his cloaths, as were also those who carried

ⁱ Levit. xvi. 30.

plague, famine, and other public calamities, and on whom they so liberally bestowed all the curses which they thought due to themselves, have had their original from hence (78)? This is what the apostle justly complains was practised against the first Christians (79), since there hardly happened any public calamity in the empire, but they were immediately persecuted with the utmost cruelty, as the cause of them; and were looked upon as proper victims to avert the divine anger.

(W) He was likewise to make such another confession when he offered the bullock for himself and family, before he ventured to enter into the holy of holies; but, instead of the house of *Israel*, he only mentioned that of *Aaron*. The reader may find it in the *Mishna*, in the place above-quoted. It is plain, however, from the ce-

remonies which he was to perform there, that he was to enter four times into it on that day; 1. To set the incense a burning; for he went in with both his hands full, and could carry nothing else with him (80). 2. When he carried some of the blood of the bullock that was offered for himself (81). 3. When he carried some of that which he offered for the people (82). And, 4. When he went to fetch out the censer and fire. The *Talmud* adds, that it was death for him to go in the fifth time. And therefore when the apostle says that he went in but once a year (83), it is plain he has followed the version of the *Septuagint*, which render the words אֶחָד בַּשָּׁנָה, *achath bashnanah*, by ἅπαξ τὴ ἐνιαυτῶν; but it is certain it might have been more properly rendered one day in the year.

(78) *Vide vet. scholiast. in Aristoph. annot. in pandect. de pœnis. Goodwin's Mos. & Aar. lib. iii. c. 8. §. 7, & seq.* (80) *Levit. xvi. 12, 13.* (81) *Ibid. ver. 14.* (82) *Ver. 15.* (83) *Heb. ix. 7.*

away the flesh, blood, and entrails of the bullock and goat of the sin-offering, to be burnt without the camp ^k.

It was likewise on this day that the high-priest entered the most holy place in the grandest manner, and gave the people the solemn blessing prescribed by *Moses* ^l, in which he pronounced the unutterable name of GOD, of which we shall speak in a more proper place in the sequel; for, according to the *Jews* ^m, the uttering of that word had been forbidden upon any other occasion, by a particular law, ever since the stoning of a notorious blasphemer ⁿ. However that be; the pronouncing of that tremendous name, joined to the sacred awfulness of the place, may be reasonably supposed to have filled him with uncommon dread whilst he stayed in it, which is the reason why he usually made what haste he could decently out of it, lest he should be struck dead for some accidental miscarriage or inadvertency during his short stay there; and when he came out he went backwards, keeping his face still towards the mercy-seat, and bending towards the ground. All these things, no doubt, took up a considerable time; the residue of the day was spent in prayers, and other works of mortification; and they were so afraid of shortening it, that they began it half an hour sooner, and ended it half an hour later than other feast-days; after which the trumpet gave notice that the solemnity was expired; and then they dressed themselves in white, or, at least, put on clean linen, and, after a blessing, sat down to break their fast. They seldom failed making a plentiful meal, and to rejoice that their sins were now expiated; but, above all, the high-priest expressed a more than ordinary joy, that he had gone through the solemn and dangerous office of that day, and was come alive out of the most holy place ^o.

Laws concerning other expiations or atonements.

BEFORE we leave this subject of expiations, it will not be amiss to give an account of some others, which were enjoined by *Moses*, upon their contracting of any legal impurities, such as those of a woman after child-birth, of a man by touching of any unclean thing, as a dead body

^k Ibid. xvi. pass. ibid. vi. 30. Vide FAG. in loc. HOTTING. & al.

^l Numb. vi. 24, & seq.

^m PHILO, in vit. Mos.

lib. iii. JOSEPH. Talmud, & al.

ⁿ Levit. xxiv. 10, & seq.

^o Vide Mishna, tract. yoma. MAIMON. tract. yom hakiphur. MEYER, c. xv. §. 9.

or carcase, or an unclean person, as a leper, and the like; and secondly by the breach of any one branch of the law, whether knowingly, or through ignorance. By these and such-like the persons contracted a kind of legal defilement, from which they could not be cleansed, but by offering such sacrifices as the law appointed (Y); and this purification was to be performed in the following manner. The person who had committed any trespass, whether knowingly or ignorantly, was to bring his victim or sin-offering to the door of the tabernacle. This offering was to be a bullock or a goat, if it was for a priest, and, if for a layman, a goat, sheep, kid, or lamb; and if the person was too poor to afford one of these, then two pigeons or turtle-doves, or even a small quantity of flour, was accepted of. One or more of these, according to the nature of the trespass, or the circumstance of the person, were brought to the priest, by the person to be purified by them, who, having confessed his sin, laying his hands upon the head of the victim, killed, and offered it up. The priest then took up some of the blood with his fingers, and, applying it to the horns of the altar of burnt-offerings, poured the remainder at the foot of it. He then took the fat of the caul, kidneys, and the rump, and burnt it upon the altar, and having prayed for the person, pronounced him pardoned and absolved from his trespass; the flesh of such victim thus offered, belonged to the priest alone; none other was allowed to eat of it P. This ceremony was somewhat more solemnly performed when the king, high-priest, or the whole nation, had committed a trespass; but, in the main, it was the same.

As for legal pollutions, such as we mentioned above, there was added another ceremony for their cleansing;

P Vide Levit. iv. v, vi. pass.

(Y) We believe it is scarce necessary to observe here, that in the language of the Old Testament, all transgressions, before they were expiated, are compared to a filth or defilement contracted by the transgressor; and the pardon that attends this expiation of them, to an ablution or purification from it. It is according to this allusion that the *Septuagint* have rendered the words כֹּפֶר and כִּפָּר, *kopher* and *kaphar*, as likewise those of שָׁחַט and חָטָא, *tabar* and *chatab*, when this last signifies a forgiveness, by καθαρισμὸς and καθαρίζειν and it is in the same sense that the writers of the New affirm CHRIST to cleanse and purify us from our sins by his blood.

namely,

namely, the ashes of the red heifer reserved for that purpose. The ceremony of killing and burning it, as prescribed by *Moses* †, was after this manner: The high-priest was to take care that it was without spot or blemish, and that it had never been yoked. It was to be carried out of the camp, where he killed it, and made a sevenfold asperision of the blood with his fingers towards the sanctuary; after which a large fire being kindled, it was flung into it, with its skin, entrails, and other appurtenances, and a bundle of cedar-wood, hyssop, and scarlet, and burnt to ashes before his face, himself helping to cast her into the fire; and this was to be done in the presence of the people. The ashes were then gathered, and laid up for use, and all that had had a hand in this ceremony were to be unclean until evening. Whenever afterwards any person had contracted a pollution, such as made him unclean seven days, he was to be sprinkled with water, in which some of these ashes had been thrown, on the third and seventh day, on which last he was to be clean; but if he neglected being sprinkled on the third, he was not to be clean till the tenth day. This law was so severe against those who were polluted by the touch of a dead body, or by coming into the tent or room where it lay, that if they offered to go to the tabernacle before they had been thus purified, they were to be cut off, as having polluted the sanctuary. The very vessels that were in the place uncovered, as well as the place itself where the corps lay, were likewise defiled, till sprinkled with this water of separation, as it is called in the text. How often this grand ceremony was repeated from *Moses* to the captivity is not agreed. Some affirm, that the heifer which was burnt by *Eleazar*, *Aaron's* son, did last them all that time; others, that there was one burnt every year, and that some of the ashes of it were sent to every city and town in *Israel* ‡ (*Z*). Whether or no this sacrifice was to be

† Numb xix. per tot.

‡ Vide *HIERON.* epist. 27.

(*Z*) It is justly wondered, that this water thus mixed with the ashes of the red heifer should purify the unclean, and at the same time pollute not only those who assisted at the slaying, burning, and gathering the ashes of it, but even those who sprinkled the unclean person with it (84). The *Jews* have a very antient tradition, that *Salamon*, who was master of all other mysteries and knowlege, and could account for every

(84) *Numb.* xix. 7, 8, 10, 21.

be numbered among the burnt-offerings which were made for the whole nation, is a dispute amongst the learned, both
Jews

precept in the law, even those which forbid the eating of swine's flesh, or wearing of mixtures of linen and wool, yet owned himself ignorant of this *red heifer* (85). However, our *Spencer* has ventured to dive deeper than he, by the help of his infallible rule of conformity or opposition to the *Egyptian* rites: he ranks therefore the red heifer under this last class, because that nation sacrificed nothing but male animals, and that they had an aversion to all red-haired creatures, and even to the colour itself, whereas the *Mosaic* law makes no distinction of colours in any case but this (86). But we beg leave to observe here, that the *Jews* were as little fond of the red as the *Egyptians*; and that *Moses* commanded the use of scarlet in sacrifices for sin, only to express the guilt of it. Accordingly all the inspired writers compared sins of the deepest guilt to crimson and scarlet, as they did innocence to white (87); and this we think doth sufficiently account for the colour of the heifer.

And here we beg leave to subjoin a remark to the same effect; which is, that in the 22d psalm, which abounds with many particularities relating to *CHRIST's* passion, there is

one expression, not hitherto observed, nor rightly rendered by any translation that we know of. It is where he is called a worm and no man (88); for it is plain the word תולעת, *tho-labath*, is no-where used in Scripture, but to express either the crimson or scarlet colour itself (in which case it is commonly joined to the word שני, *shani*, and signifies double dyed); or at most the insect from which that dye is made, unless it be figuratively taken to imply a deep degree of guilt, as in the place above quoted out of *Isaiab*. The most literally therefore that the psalmist's words can be rendered would be; As for me, I am a scarlet insect or worm, and not a man: but the figurative sense will be plainly this; I bear the scandal and reproach of the deepest guilt, and am wholly free from it; I am reputed a sinner, and yet am free from sin. But this by-the-by. We shall only add, that the *Jews*, *Maimon* excepted, whom *Spencer* affects to follow, allow, that there is a deeper mystery in the ordinance of the red heifer, than any in the whole Scripture, and highly condemn the presumption of those who pretend to dive into that deep abyss (89). However, what was a mystery to the *Jews* is sufficiently explained to

(85) *Mishn. tract. de פרה אדומה*. *Maimon. more nevoch. p. 3. c. 26.*
vide & lib. *Jacut*, & al. (86) *De leg. rit. lib. ii. c. 15.* (87) *Vide*
int. al. Isai. i. 18. (88) *Ver. 6.* (89) *Vide Mishn. ubi sup.*
R. Abr. Seba. in Zeror Hamor. fol. 118. & seq. RR. Salom. Abenez.
Abarban. & al.

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Jews and *Christians*, which we shall not enter into: sure it is, that the author of the epistle to the *Hebrews* looked upon it as a figure of *Christ*, who therefore suffered without the gates of the city, even as the heifer was burned without the camp^r; and whose blood is of much greater efficacy towards the purging and sanctifying of men, than that of bulls and goats, the ashes of an heifer, or any other legal sacrifices^s.

Laws concerning some other sacrifices and oblations, not mentioned under the former heads.

AS we had occasion to mention the sacrifices that were enjoined to be offered upon every solemn festival, under the head of each, and of those which were offered by way of expiation for sin; we shall now mention the few others that remain unspoken of. These may be reduced under the seven following heads: 1. The daily sacrifice. 2. Peace-offerings. 3. Meat and drink-offerings. 4. Offerings for cleansing. 5. First-fruits. 6. First-born; and, 7. Tithes. Besides these, there were other occasional sacrifices, one sort directed by some prophets, as in the case of *Samuel*^t and *Elijah*^u; and others observed by particular families, which were rather feasts, than sacrifices; as appears, by the pretence which *David* made for absenting from *Saul's* table^w, and the like; of which we shall take no farther notice, they being intirely arbitrary. As for those that were to be offered at the consecration of the high-priest, and of other inferior priests, they will be better seen in another place.

1. THE daily, or, as it is called in the original, the continual sacrifice, consisted first, and before all things, in burning a certain quantity of incense upon the golden altar; after which, they were to offer two lambs of the first year, and without blemish, as a continual burnt-offering for the whole nation: these were burnt every morning and evening, and with a slower fire than ordinary, that it might last

^r Heb. xiii. 11, 12. ^s Ibid. ix. 13. ^t 1 Sam. ix. 12. xii. 9. xvi. 2, & seq. ^u 1 Kings xviii. 30, & seq. ^w 1 Sam. xx. 29.

the *Christians* by the apostle to think *Spencer* has given but a the *Hebrews*, in the place quoted above, and to which we jejuné and trifling answer (90).

(90) *Ubi sup. sect. 6. obj. 3.*

the longer. They offered, likewise, a certain quantity of wine and flour, mixed with oil, for a meat and drink-offering: this was ordained by GOD upon mount *Sinai* ^x; and is therefore called continual, because it was not to be interrupted by any other sacrifices or solemnity, as we have seen under the article of each festival.

2. PEACE-OFFERINGS: this sacrifice was either eucharistical, in acknowledgement of some mercies received from GOD; or supplicatory, in order to obtain some blessings from him; or out of mere devotion, in honour to GOD; or, lastly, upon account of some vow. These were all free and voluntary, there being no law that obliged the *Israelites* to them; except where it is said, that *they should not appear empty before the Lord; but be liberat in these kinds of sacrifices, according as God had blessed them.* The votary was to bring it to the door of the tabernacle, lay his hands upon the head of it, and kill it; the priest then took some of the blood, and sprinkled it upon and round the altar, and poured the remainder upon the ground at the foot of it: all the fat of the offering, the kidneys, and, if it was a sheep, or lamb, the rump, were burnt upon the altar: the breast and shoulder of the victim was the perquisite of the priest in waiting, and the rest belonged to the owner, who might then dress and eat it, how and with whom he would, as if it had been killed within his own gates ^y.

3. THE meat and drink-offerings: these we have already spoken of occasionally, because they used to accompany the burnt-offerings of every festival, the daily and all other sacrifices made with fire: they consisted of a certain proportion of wine, oil, and fine flour, to every beast that was sacrificed.

4. OFFERINGS for cleansing we have spoken of above, under the head of expiation: there remain two more; namely, that of two pigeons, which a woman was to offer, for her purification, after child-bed, in case she could not afford a lamb; or, if the pigeons were also above her circumstances, an handful of flour and oil ^a: and that of two sparrows, which the leper offered, after his cure, for the cleansing himself ^b, and his house ^c. In both these cases, one of the birds was, instead of a lamb, for a burnt-offering; and the other for a sin-offering: the first bird was to

^x Exod. xxix. 38. Num. xxviii. 6, & seq. ^y Levit. iii. pass. ^a Levit. xii. per tot. ^b Ibid. xiv. 4, & seq. ^c Ibid. ver. 49, & seq.

be killed in a clean earthen vessel, over a running water ; after which the priest took the other bird, with a bunch of cedar-wood, scarlet, and hyssop ; and dipped them in the blood, and sprinkled the person, or house, seven times, with it, and then pronounced them clean ; and the living bird was let loose. Some portion of flour and oil was likewise made into cakes, and offered up to GOD, either of barley, or wheat-flour ; some with leaven, which, consequently, came not near the altar^d ; others without it ; all of them were to have some salt. Some were voluntary, others not ; some dressed one way, and some another, according to the discretion or circumstances of the votary.

THE next under this head is the shew-bread, called, in the original, *the bread of faces* (B), because it was always to stand before the LORD upon the golden table in the holy place. It was to be made of the purest wheat, into twelve loaves, or cakes, answering to the twelve tribes. The priests were to take care to bring fresh ones, warm, every sabbath-day, in the morning ; at which time, they took away the old, which were to be eaten by none but priests : each loaf was to contain two tenth deals, or about three wine-pints, of flour ; and they were to be set up in two piles, six to each pile. The *Jews* tell us, that there were some double plates of gold between each loaf, to give them air, and prevent their growing mouldy. This offering was accompanied with incense, with which the loaves were to be per-

† Levit. ii. 11.

(B) The words are, לחם פנים, *lechem phanim*, which name some, especially of the *Jews*, affirm to be given, because the loaves had four *phanim*, or faces, that is, were four-square (94) : but it is more likely that they were so called from their standing continually, לפני אלהים, *liphne Elohim*, in the presence of the Lord. Some have thought it improper to place this shew-bread among the meat-offerings, because they were not offered upon the altar as these were. For our part, we think, with some others,

that the sacred table, on which they were set (which may not improperly be deemed an altar ; their being kept before the Lord, and called hallowed bread, and, as such, allowed only to be eaten by the priests), may easily excuse our ranking them under this class, rather than any other ; especially, they being accompanied with incense, and offered in the name of the twelve tribes. The *Jews* add, that they were covered with leaf-gold ; but do no-where tell us where they are commanded to do so.

(94) Vide *Maim. tract. חמורין*, *Ab. Haroph*, שלשי גבורים, *Shalshah Gborim* fumed ;

fumed; but they were to be without leaven. Some commentators say, that there was a quantity of wine offered with them; but the text mentions nothing but incense and salt.^e These loaves were called the hallowed bread, in opposition to the common sort, which every-body might eat^f.

5. FIRST-FRUITS. We have already spoken of those that were offered at *Easter*, *Whitsuntide*, and at the feast of *Tabernacles*; and these were offered in the name of the whole nation: but, besides them, every private man was likewise obliged to bring the first-fruits of his fields, orchards, and vineyards, to the tabernacle, and afterwards to the temple, as an acknowledgement that GOD was the giver of them. Neither the time, nor the quantity, being prescribed by the written law, the former was left to the conveniency of the people, and the latter was determined, in some sort, by their wise men, yet so as to leave room for generosity to exert itself, more or less, according to the disposition of each person. Thus it was agreed, that they ought to offer, at least, the sixtieth part of the product; but some offered the fiftieth, and some even the fortieth part^g. After the building of the temple they were all obliged to bring them thither, and the ceremony was performed as follows:

As soon as the person who came to offer them had reached the court of the priests, the *Levites* began to sing the 30th psalm; after which, the person made this confession: *I do this day make a public acknowledgement before the LORD your GOD, that I am entered into the good land which he swore unto our fathers that he would give us.* Whilst he was speaking these words, he took his basket off his shoulder, the priest lending him a hand; and, whilst these two held it up, he made an end of his confession, in the remarkable words prescribed by *Moses*^h, which the reader may see in the margin (C); which being ended, the

^e Exod. xxv. 30. Levit. xxiv. 5, & seq. xxi. 3, 4.

^f Vid. 2 Sam. & bekorim, & commentat. in eund. vid. & MAIM. in loc.

^g Vid. Mishn. tract. terumoth & bekorim, & commentat. in eund. vid. & MAIM. in loc. ^h Deut. xxvi. 4, & seq. Vid. MUNST. JUN. & al. in Levit. xxii. xxiii. & Deut. xxvi.

(C) *A Syrian, ready to perish, there a nation, great, mighty, was my father, and he went and populous; and the Egyptians down into Egypt, and sojourned did evil-intreat us, and afflicted there with a few, and became us, and laid upon us hard bondage.*

the basket was set before the LORD by the side of the altar, and he offered the burnt-offering and peace-offering, which were always to accompany the first-fruits; and, having paid his devotions to GOD, he went to feast with his acquaintance, on his share of the peace and meat-offerings: and here he was likewise obliged to impart some portion of his good cheer to the fatherless, the widows, and the *Levites*, that they might rejoice with him. And this the rich, who sacrificed a bullock, might be the more ready to do, because they were forbid to leave any fragments till the next day ⁱ.

6. FIRST-BORN. The *Mosaic* law makes a threefold distinction of these; namely, the first-born of men, of cattle, and of the product of the earth (E). We shall, in the

ⁱ Levit. vii. 15, & alib.

age. And when we cried unto the Lord God of our fathers, the Lord heard our voice, and looked on our afflictions, our labour, and oppression. And the Lord brought us out of Egypt with a mighty hand, and stretched-out arm, and with great terribleness, with signs, and with wonders; and brought us into this place, and has given us this land, a land flowing with milk and honey. And now, behold, I have brought the first-fruits of the land, which thou, O Lord, hast given me.

The *Talmud* adds several other remarkable particulars, concerning the bringing the first-fruits to the temple, which we can neither warrant, nor disprove to have been used during the first temple. Thus, for instance, to prevent confusion, as much as possible, they used to join themselves by troops, of four-and-twenty to a troop; which drove before them a bullock crowned with olive-branches, and having his horns

tipped with gold or silver, which was to be offered with their first-fruits. They generally had a man to go before them, playing upon a flute, or some such instrument; and, in that order, they marched to *Jerusalem*, singing some psalm or hymn proper for the occasion. As soon as they came near the gates of *Jerusalem*, the inhabitants used to go out to congratulate, and bid them welcome; and after each band had performed their duty, in the manner mentioned above, they were to lie one night in the city, and then return to their homes (96).

(E) We must remind our *English* readers, that this expression has no such harshness in the original as it has in ours, and other languages; because the word which in these is rendered first-born, in the original is *בְּכֹרִים*, *becor*, which properly implies, the principal, or most excellent, of every thing or creature, in its kind, whether in a

(96) *Vid. Basnag. ex Cuneo, tom. iii. lib. iii. c. 2.*

the sequel, give the reason why the first of these were to be consecrated to GOD, and redeemed by their parents. But here we must observe, that the word first-born of the males must not be restrained to the eldest son ; for he may be eldest, and yet not first-born : and therefore *Moses* adds, that first opened the womb. So that it was possible among the *Jews*, where polygamy and polygyny were allowed, for a man to have several first-born, and all to be redeemed at the price of five shekels, as soon as they were thirty days old ; at which time they were presented to the priest, and the mother offered the sacrifice of her purification, mentioned in a former article ; and, the price being paid for the child's redemption, he began then to belong to the parents, and not till then ^m (F). How they redeemed them since the destruction of the second temple, is foreign to our present purpose ; the reader may see it in *Leo de Modena*, and other *Hebrew* rabbis : only we may observe, that the children of the priests needed not to be redeemed, at any time.

THE first-born of clean beasts, such as calves, lambs, kids, and the like, were also consecrated to GOD ; but with this difference, that they could not be redeemed, but were to be brought to the tabernacle, or temple, and there be killed : the blood was poured at the foot of the altar,

^m Exod. xiii. 2. Num. xviii. 15, & alib.

good or bad sense. Thus God expresses himself, concerning *David*, *I will make him my first-born, higher than the kings of the earth* (98) ; where the word means nothing like first-born, in a strict sense. On the other hand, a most cruel death is in *Job* called בכור מוֹת, *becor-maveth, the first-born of death* (99). And *Isaiab* called the poorest, or the weakest of all, בכורי רלי, *becore-dallim, the first-born of the weak* (100). It is therefore probable, that this word was figuratively applied

to the first-born, to imply their excellency in strength and dignity, according to *Jacob's* expression to *Reuben*, his eldest son (1).

(F) According to this law we find the *Virgin Mary* redeeming her child *Jesus* (2) nevertheless, it has been much disputed, whether he was subject to this, or not, though he is allowed, on all hands, to have been her first-born ; concerning which question, the reader may consult, among others, the authors quoted in the margin (3).

(98) *Psal.* lxxxix. 27. (99) *Job* xviii. 13. (100) *Isa.* xiv. 30
 (1) *Gen.* xlix. 3. (2) *Luke* ii. 22, 23. (3) *Cyrii. Hierosol. bomil. & occurf. Domin. Vid. Cornel. a Lapid. in Exod. xiii. & auct. ab eo citat. Origen Tertul. Ambros. & al. mult.*

the fat burnt upon it, and the rest of the flesh was the priest's perquisite; with this precaution, however, that if the beast had any natural or legal defects, such as blindness, lameness, the want of a limb, and the like, it was not to be sacrificed: the priest took it home, and there killed and eat it; and might invite whom he would to partake of it, as of any other common meat. But if it was an unclean beast, such as an ass, a dog, and the like; the owner was at his liberty either to redeem it with a lamb, or with five shekels of money, or to break the neck of itⁿ.

As to the first product of the trees, all that is meant by it is, that every new-planted tree was to be reckoned un-circumcised, and impure, during the first three years. It was not lawful to gather, much less to eat the fruit of it. On the fourth year, all that grew upon it was the LORD's, and, consequently, the perquisite of the priests; from whom, however, the owner might redeem it, if he thought fit, by an equivalent^o: but, from that time, the owner was at liberty to make the same use of them as he did of his old ones^p.

7. TITHES. These and the first-fruits, and the redemption of the first-born, were the most constant and considerable income of the priests and *Levites*; though the first is by far the more antient, as we shall shew in the sequel of this history: however, we confine ourselves to those prescribed by the laws of *Moses*, in which he has been so strict, that he ordained, that, of all those which consisted of clean animals, none should be redeemed, at any rate, but that they should all be sacrificed to the LORD; and that those which consisted of the fruits of the earth, such as grains, fruits, and the like, should not be bought off, without paying one fifth part more than their intrinsic value^q. We need not here observe, that they were given to them as an equivalent for their not having any share in the division of the land, nor any portion or inheritance with the rest of the people (H).

ⁿ Vid. Num. xviii. 17, & seq. Exod. xiii. 13. Deut. xv. 20, & seq. ^o Vid. præc. affirm. 137. ^p Levit. xix. 23.

^q Ibid. xxvii. 30, & seq.

(H) And perhaps, too, with a very judicious view of making them more careful to keep up the religious observance of God's laws among the people, ~~too prone naturally to back-~~ slide; since their income was sure to rise and fall, according as the spirit of religion and obedience proved more or less vigorous.

THESE

THESE tithes were of four sorts; namely, 1. Those which were thus assigned to the tribe of *Levi*^r (I); and these not being of the higher rank of holy things, all the *Levites*, men and women, clean or unclean, might eat of them. 2. The tenths of these tithes which were assigned to the priests; for these last did not gather the tithes themselves, but that office belonged to the *Levites*, who were not to touch any part of them till they had paid that proportion to the priests^s, and had sent it to *Jerusalem*. 3. After a layman had paid his first tithes to the *Levites*, he was obliged to set aside a second tenth, or exchange it for an equivalent in money, with an addition of a fifth part above the value; and this he was obliged to bring to *Jerusalem*, and there make a feast, and invite, besides his friends and relations, the priests and *Levites* to it^t (K). 4. The last kind of tithes which *Moses* commands, was to be set by every third year, and be consumed in feasts at

^r Num. xviii. 20, & seq. Deut. xiv. 22, & alib. Vid. & 2 Chron. xxxi. 4, & seq. ^s Num. xviii. 25, & seq. ^t Deut. xii. 17, 18. xiv. 22, 23.

(I) Some authors have been of opinion, that every man was obliged to bring or send by proxy these first-tithes to *Jerusalem* (8): but, besides that there doth not appear the least shadow of a precept for it, it seems rather from the second tithes, which the *Levites* were to send to *Jerusalem* (9), to the priests, that the first was to be paid upon the spot, or, at farthest, in the cities of the *Levites*. And, indeed, it would have been too great trouble and expence, especially for those that dwelt at a considerable distance from *Jerusalem*, to have even sent them thither. If it be objected, that it was equally so to the *Levites*, the answer is obvious, that it was much ea-

sier for them to send a tenth part, than to carry the whole thither, and be forced to bring nine parts back to their respective homes.

(K) That this tenth is different from the first that was paid to the *Levites*, whatever some commentators have thought to the contrary, is plain; 1. Because the first was the hereditary right of the tribe of *Levi*, which would have starved without it; and this was consumed by the owners and their friends. 2. The *Levites* were obliged to refund a tenth part of the first to the priests, but in this they were only invited as guests. 3. The first was paid all the land over, but this only at *Jerusalem*.

(8) *Joseph. ant. l. iv. c. 8. Vid. Sixt. Amam. de decim. & auct. ab eo citat.*
 (9) *Comp. Deut. xiv. 22, 23. with Nehem. x. 34, & seq.*

C. VII. *to the Babylonish Captivity.*

home, to which they were obliged to invite the *Levites*, the poor, fatherless, widows, and strangers v (L).

To

▪ Deut. xii. 28, 29.

(L) It is, however, more likely, that this last tenth differed in nothing from the third, but only in that this was spent at home every third year, and the other at *Jerusalem* on the other two years: so that there might be properly but three sorts of tithes; that of the *Levites*, of the priests, and these last, which were rather a kind of eucharistical *agapæ*, which the *Jews* therefore called מעשר עני, and the *Greeks* πτωχοδραμάτιον, the tenth of the poor, and *Tobit* the third tenth (10).

We read, indeed, of another kind of tithes, such as *Samuel* threatened the *Israelites*, their king, if they persisted in the choice of one, would levy upon them, out of their fields, vineyards, and flocks (11): but as there is nothing of such a right mentioned by *Moses* in the rules which he settled for the conduct of their future kings (12), it is likely the prophet only forewarns them of what they would be apt to do, rather than of what they might lawfully do.

What the first sort of tithes consisted in, which were thus appropriated to the maintenance of the priests and *Levites*, whether in all great and small cattle, and other kinds of animals, as well as all sorts of grain and fruits, or only in the latter, is

not easy to determine. The *Jews*, if we will believe some of the most learned among them (13), affirm, that they had no share nor title in the former; and that the flesh of all those creatures that were decimated, belonged to the owners: and *Obadiah de Barbenora* adds, that there is not one passage in the whole law that proves, that the priest had a right to any part of it (14). It is hardly worth while to dive farther into this matter, because we cannot attain to any certainty about it. As for the manner in which the cattle was usually decimated, we shall give it, in *Maimon's* own words (15):
 “ A man, says he, who out of
 “ ten lambs, for instance, should
 “ have set aside one, or ten out
 “ of an hundred, would not be
 “ reckoned to have paid the
 “ tithes of them. The right
 “ way, therefore, of doing it,
 “ was as follows: they shut up
 “ all the lambs, kids, or calves,
 “ in a stable, which had one
 “ door so streight, that two
 “ of them could not get out
 “ abreast; they then brought
 “ their dams to the door, that
 “ their young ones, hearing
 “ their voice, might strive to
 “ get out, pursuant to what is
 “ said in *Leviticus* xxvii. 32.
 “ Every thing that passeth un-
 “ der the rod. Accordingly it

(10) *Tob. i. 8.*
 14, & seq.
 in *zebacchim*, c. 5, & al.

(11) *1 Sam. viii. 15, & seq.*
 (13) *Vid. Maimon. in becoroth*, c. 6.
 (15) *Maim. ubi sup.*

(12) *Deut. xvii.*
 (14) *Barbenor.*

“ was

To these kind of offerings we might add some others ; such as that of incense (N), which the priests only were to burn every day upon the altar of perfume, before the morning and evening sacrifice, and the high-priest once a year in the holy of holies, both which we have already said something of ; and those which were offered on solemn festivals, new-moons, sabbaths, and the like, besides some others, of less note : but we have already dwelt too long upon this article ; and shall only add, that as *Jerusalem* became afterwards, to the *Jews*, what the camp was, during their abode in the wilderness ; those victims, which were ordered to be burnt out of the camp, were, after the building of the temple, to be burnt out of the walls of the city.

“ was required, that these
 “ young ones should come out
 “ of themselves, and not be
 “ driven out ; and as fast as
 “ they came out one after an-
 “ other, they that stood by
 “ told them one, two, three,
 “ and so on to ten. This tenth
 “ was immediately marked with
 “ red lead ; and whether it were
 “ male or female, whether with
 “ or without blemish, the owner
 “ said, *This shall be consecrated
 “ to pay the tithes.* If it was
 “ fit, it was then to be sacri-
 “ ficed to God ; if not, it might
 “ be killed and eaten where the
 “ owner pleased ; for it could
 “ be neither redeemed, nor ex-
 “ changed (23).”

(N) This mixture, which our version doth simply call incense, was rather a perfume, the composition of which is prescribed by *Moses*, and forbid, under pain of death, to be used by any but priests, or any-where but in the sanctuary (24) ; tho’ any other

composition might be, and was lawfully used ; as appears by several places of Scripture. Thus we read, that *Hezekiab* shewed several sorts of them, among other rarities of his treasure-house, to the king of *Babylon’s* ambassadors (25) : and king *Asa* had some such-like sort used at his funeral (26).

As to the reason of this continual burning of incense, tho’ we grant, that it might be typical of the prayers of the saints, yet we believe we may take that of the learned *Maimon* along with it, that the multitude of victims, that were continually offered up, would have made the holy place smell too much like a slaughter-house, and, consequently, have inspired the comers rather with disgust and contempt, than awe and reverence, had it not been overpowered by the agreeable fragrancy of those perfumes (27).

(23) *Vid. Basnag. rcp. Heb. tom. iii. l. xxxiii. c. 4.* (24) *Exod. xxx. 24. & seq.* (25) *2 Kings xx. 13.* (26) *2 Chron. xvi. ult.* (27) *Ap. Basnag. in Cun. tom. ii. l. i. c. 12.*

Laws concerning vows.

AS these made a solemn part of the *Jewish* worship and offerings, they may properly be joined, as an appendix to the former, though their being free and arbitrary doth not permit us to put them in the same rank. How soon they began to be in use, we shall see in *Jacob's* vowing the tenths of all his acquisitions, as he went to *Padan-aram*^b: however, we confine ourselves to those under the *Mosaic* dispensation, concerning which that law-giver made several regulations, in order to direct and enforce the performance of them^c.

Vows were of a twofold nature; namely, 1. Of such as devoted the thing vowed, whether men, beast, money, or any part of a man's possession, to the service of God^d. 2. Of such as devoted them to utter destruction^e (O). Under the first head it plainly appears, that persons who were *sui juris*, or *their own masters*, might vow themselves, their children, or any part of their possessions, to God. We say *sui juris*, because the vows of a son or a daughter, of a wife or slave, were of no further force, than as they were approved or disapproved by those under whose power they were^f: so that a parent, husband, or master, if he heard the vow when it was made, or when he came afterwards to be informed of it, was at liberty either to give it a sanction, or to disannul it; but, if the latter, he was obliged to do it on the same day, according to the

^b Gen. xxviii. 20.
2, & seq.

^c Levit. xxvii. pass.

^d Ver.

^e Ver. 28, 29.

^f Num. xxx. pass.

(O) The original distinguishes them by the words נָדַר, *nadar*, which signifies *to vow*, in the first sense; and חָרַם, *cherem*, which implies, to lay a thing or person under an anathema, or to devote it or him to destruction. Several learned commentators, indeed, will not allow of this last meaning, when it relates to men; but think, that those persons, who were thus vowed, were to become wholly devoted

to God beyond the possibility of redemption (28): but the reader may see, by the instances which we shall give above, that it meant quite another thing; namely, the death of the person, and extermination and destruction of the thing anathematized: and that the difference between the first and second vow was, that the first might be redeemed, but not the second.

(28) Vid. *Munf. Grot. Le Clerc, Pagnin. Jun. Calm.*

text; or in twenty-four hours, according to the *Jewish* doctors.

OF persons vowing themselves in this sense, we meet with no plain instance; but, of their vowing their children we have, among others, that of *Samuel*, who was dedicated to GOD by his mother's vow, ratified, as is to be supposed, from what we just now hinted, by her husband & ; and he was, accordingly, consecrated to GOD's service all his lifetime. However, in these cases, the law of *Moses* allowed of a redemption, or commutation for a sum of money, which was either greater, or less, according to the age and sex of the person vowed; for which the reader will find a rate fixed to each of them, and an allowance made for those who were not able to pay that sum, in the chapter above-quoted concerning vows ^h.

Anathe-
mas.

THE case was quite different with respect to those things which were vowed to destruction; for they could not be redeemed at any rate ⁱ. That which had life, was to be put to death; and that which had not, was to be destroyed by fire, or some other way. We meet with various instances of it in the *Jewish* history; but shall single only a few of the most remarkable, under the following note (P).

WHAT

§ 1 Sam. i. 21, & seq. ver. 28, 29.

^h Levit. xxvii. 3, & seq.

ⁱ Ibid.

(P) Thus, for instance, the kingdom of *Arad*, and the cities of the *Canaanites*, were under the same anathema (29), and, more particularly, *Jericho*; and *Achan*, and all that he had, fell under the same curse, because he had saved some of the plunder of that city (30), which was to have been destroyed. As for *Jephthah's* vow, besides that it was not exactly of the same nature, and authors are much divided about the manner of his fulfilling it; it will be more proper to examine it when we come to the history of that judge. The *Israelites*, assembled

at *Mizpeh*, vowed those to destruction that did not assist in punishing the tribe of *Benjamin*, for their barbarous usage of the *Levite's* concubine (31): and *Saul* would have sacrificed his own son *Jonathan*, for ignorantly incurring the curse, which he had laid upon those that should eat or drink whilst he was in pursuit of his victory, had not the whole army strongly opposed it. By all which instances, and many more that could be brought, it appears, that nothing less than death was the lot of the persons devoted by this kind of vows.

(29) Num. xxi. 1, & seq. Deut. vii. 23, & seq. xx. 15, & seq. (30) *Josb.* vi. & vii. pass. (31) *Judg.* xxi. 5.

Those

WHAT curse *Jonadab*, the son of *Rechab*, had laid upon his posterity, if they did not observe his arbitrary injunctions, of abstaining from wine, from planting, sowing, and

Those who think, that, when they related to human victims, they meant no more than that they should be dedicated to God's service as long as they lived; do, indeed, object the abhorrence which God expresses against all kind of human sacrifices: but we beg leave to observe, that the case here is not about sacrifices, but vows, and such as, for aught appears to the contrary, by all the instances we meet with, were not in the power of private men to make, but only either of the whole nation, as in the case of the land of *Arad*, or of the kings and judges, as in the other instances above-mentioned. Besides, they seem altogether to relate to those idolatrous nations they were going to conquer, the measure of whose sins had already provoked God to pass sentence of destruction against them: in which case, if they bound themselves by a solemn vow to put it in execution, they would be more likely to fulfil it. Accordingly, we find them very exact where that was the case, and as remiss when it was not; else they had not left so many nations undestroyed, to be a continual snare to seduce them into all manner of idolatries. If, therefore, it was of so great consequence to them to remove all such dangerous incitements, we need not wonder if they were, in some measure, led into it by the stronger obligation of an oath.

But, after all, this precept may be only an enforcement of that vow which *Moses* had exacted of the whole nation a little before his death, of observing all the commandments of God, one of which was the extirpation of all these nations, with all their monuments of idolatry: in which case, the meaning of those words will be only this, that, as they had solemnly vowed it to God, they must not pretend hereafter to exempt themselves from it, upon any pretence whatever.

Those who understand the original, know, that the future tense is very often used for the past, and so *vice versa*: so that the words may be properly rendered, *shall have vowed*, instead of *shall vow*. These two verses, therefore, seem to us to come in as an exception to the regulations which *Moses* had made a little before, concerning the redemption of those things which had been vowed in the first sense; and which he therefore prefaces with the word *אֲנִי*, *ak*, notwithstanding, or nevertheless, whatsoever shall be vowed in the second sense, that is, to destruction, whether of men, or beasts, &c. shall not be redeemed, but put to death: that is, ye have all bound yourselves, by a solemn oath, to destroy all those nations that will not accept of proffered peace, and forsake their idolatry, and to exterminate all that belongs to them: remember therefore, that there

and the like, doth not appear; but how strict observers they were of them, we may conclude, from their answer to *Jeremiah*, when he invited them to drink wine P. We shall conclude this article with a short account of the *Nazarites*, often mentioned in the Old Testament, who were persons that either dedicated themselves, or were dedicated by their parents, to the observance of the laws of *Nazaritism*. These were of two sorts; namely, of such who obliged themselves to it only for some short space, as a week, or a month; and those who were bound to it all their life; and the latter were, most commonly, dedicated by their parents. Of this kind were *Samson* and *Samuel* q; and all that we find peculiar in their way of life was, that they were to abstain from wine, and all intoxicating liquors; and to wear their hair to its full length. As for those of the first sort, they were, moreover, to avoid all defilement, even that of entering into an house where a dead person was; for, if they chanced to be polluted by it before the term was expired, they were obliged to begin afresh r. Women, as well as men, might bind themselves by this vow; and, after it was accomplished, they presented themselves to the priest, who brought them to the door of the tabernacle, or temple, where they offered the sacrifices prescribed by *Moses* in such cases s; after which he caused their heads to be shaved, and the hair to be thrown into the fire which was under the sacrifice; and then pronounced them freed from their vow.

THOSE who lived at such a distance from the temple, that they could not reach it by the time their vow was expired, might shave their heads at what place soever they

P Jer. xxxv. pass. q Judg. xiii. 5. 1 Sam. i. 11. r Num. vi. 1, & seq. s Ibid. ver. 13, & seq.

there is no redemption for them; and that if you suffer yourselves, either through pity or covetousness, to spare any of them, you will not only incur the punishment of perjury and rebellion, but be insnared into greater guilt, by conforming to their ways. Had *Saul* been mindful of this, he had not saved the king of *Amalek*, and

the choicest of the cattle and plunder (32). When, therefore, he made that weak and puerile excuse, that he designed the latter as an offering to God, *Samuel* did justly reprove him, by shewing him how vain it was to pretend to atone for one open violation of God's command by another.

(32) 1 Sam. xv. 9, & seq.

found themselves; at which time they set by the price of their sacrifice, in order to bring or send it to the temple by the next opportunity. This is what we find St. *Paul* did, who made this vow at *Corinth*, shaved his head at *Cenchrea*, and went, soon after, to *Jerusalem*, to accomplish it by the usual offering^t.

Laws concerning the priests, Levites, and Nethinims.

THE two last things to be considered, under this head *Laws concerning the worship of GOD*, or, as it is commonly called, *cerning the commands of the first table*, are, 1. The persons, and, *priests*. 2. The things, which were, in a more peculiar manner, consecrated to his service. Of the first sort were the priests, *Levites*, and *Nethinims*; of the second, the tabernacle, and afterwards the temple, with all the pompous apparatus of utensils prescribed by GOD himself to *Moses* on the mount, in order to inspire that carnal people with a greater awe and reverence for his religion. As to the tribe of *Levi*, we shall see, in the sequel, how, and upon what account, it was separated from the rest, and appointed for this important office (Q).

I. *Of*

^t Acts xviii. 18.

(Q) Before that time the priesthood is generally thought to have belonged to the first-born; and when *Moses* ratified the covenant between God and the people at the mount, he acted the part of chief-priest, and chose a set of young men to act under him (33); but after the tribe of *Levi* had been thus set apart for the inferior, and the family of *Aaron* for the higher offices of the ministry, it became a capital crime for any other tribe to interfere with them in the sacred function; insomuch that God's vengeance did miraculously display itself

in the punishment of the first offenders, *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*; and in confirming the priesthood in that family by the supernatural budding of *Aaron's* rod (34). It is not, indeed, easy to reconcile what is said of the *Levites* being chosen above all other tribes, upon the account of the zeal which they shewed in punishing the worshipers of the golden calf (35), with *Aaron's* being raised to the highest dignity in that tribe, who had so basely consented to, and countenanced that defection. This choice may therefore more properly be ascribed to

(33) *Exod.* xxiv. 5, & seq.
(35) *Deut.* xxxiii. 8, & seq. & alib.

(34) *Numb.* xvi, & xvii. pass.

I. Of the priests.

THE *Levitical* tribe, as will be more fully shewn in the sequel, consisted of three main branches, distinguished by their principal heads; namely, *Gershon*, *Kohath*, and *Merari*: but the priesthood was given solely to the family of *Aaron*, which was no more than a small branch of that of *Kohath*, whilst all the rest of it, even the sons of *Moses* himself, as well as the other two branches, remained in the common rank of *Levites*, and were only admitted to the inferior functions of the ministry, whether of the tabernacle, or afterwards of the temple. So that these were always subject to, and dependent on, the priests, as will appear in its proper place.

AT the head of the priesthood was the high-priest, who was also the head of the *Jewish* church, and the final judge of all controversies, whether concerning religion, or even about the administration of common justice. This last seems plainly implied in the directions which *Moses* gives the people, to have recourse to the priests in all difficulties of that nature, and to abide by their determination, under pain of death²: and, in this sense, *Josephus*, *Philo*, and

² Deut. xvii. 8, & seq. xix. 17. xxi. 5. xxii. 10. xxxiii. 20. Vid. & Ezek. xlv. 24.

the mere pleasure of God, like that which he made before of *Seth*, *Noah*, *Shem*, *Abraham*, *Jacob*, and since of *David*, and many more. But, however that be, *Moses* tells us, in another place, that God took the *Levites*, instead of the first-born of *Israel*, to be his own tribe: and it is remarkable, that when the sums of both were taken, and the number of the latter exceeded that of the former, he commanded, that the overplus should be redeemed at the price of five shekels *per* head, and the price to be given to *Aaron* and his sons (36). So that it is

plain, that here was an actual substitution or exchange of the *Levitical* tribe, in lieu of the first-born which God had claim'd to himself for his having spar'd those of *Israel*, when he destroyed those of *Egypt*; and a superiority given to the family of *Aaron* over all the rest of that tribe, both as to office and dignity, as we shall presently shew, under each head. As for the *Nethinims*, they were not so much as of the seed of *Jacob*; and we only rank them here, as being appointed to serve in the lowest offices of the tabernacle and temple.

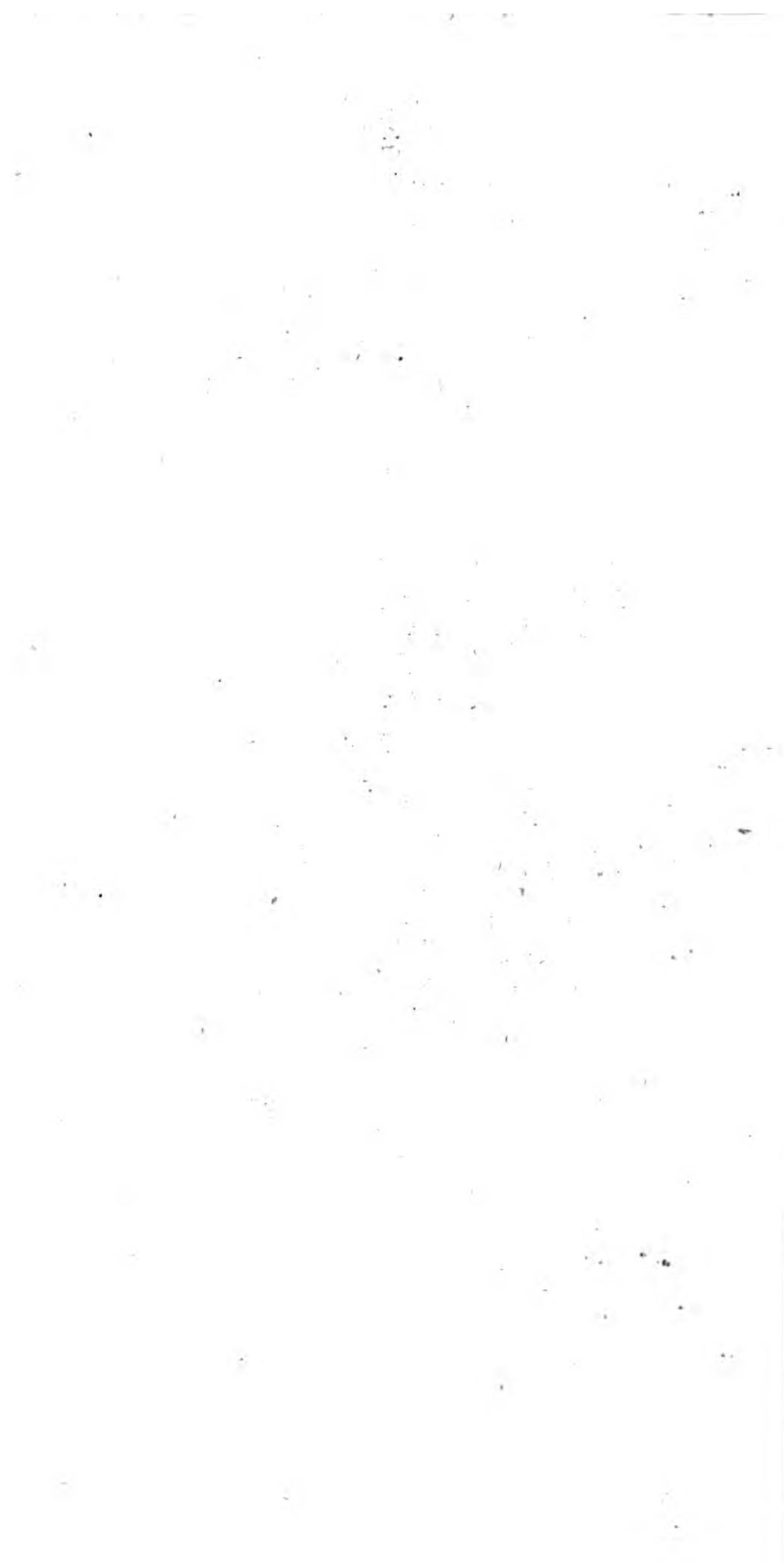
(36) Vid. Num. iii. 12, 13. 45, & seq.

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THE JEWISH HIGH PRIEST IN
HIS PONTIFICAL HABIT.

v. p. 46



C. VII. *to the Babylonish Captivity.*

most, if not all the *Jewish* rabbies, understand them ^a. However, in this respect, he acted rather as a civil judge, than as high-priest. The same may be said of the subaltern priests and *Levites*, who were commonly admitted to sit in their inferior courts of judicature: for it is plain, that the main end, for which they were set apart, was, to bless the people in GOD's name, and to offer up incense, and those sacrifices to him that were prescribed by the law, exclusive of all other tribes ^b, under the severe penalties above-mentioned.

THE laws relating to the high-priest are reducible to these three heads: 1. Such as related to his office. 2. To his consecration; and, 3. To his dress.

As to his office, besides his having it in his power, when-^{The high-} ever he pleased, to perform any of the functions of the in-^{priest's} ferior priests, and his being alone possessed of the divine^{office.} oracle of *urim* and *thummim*, of which more in the sequel, he was alone authorized to enter into the holy of holies, and pronounce that solemn blessing, on the day of expiation, mentioned under that head: all which great privileges were confined to him, and entailed on his son and successor, either of his own body, or family (R). There was such a particular

^a Cont. Apion. & alib. PHIL. MAIMON. Vid. SELDEN. de fynedr. vet. Hebr. & al. ^b Numb. xvi. & alib.

(R) Accordingly, we find the two branches of it, that of *Eleazar*, and that of *Ithamar*, the sons of *Aaron*, in the high-priesthood at different times, till the captivity, whilst the other occupied the next in rank; and this is the most probable reason why the sacred writers mention a high-priest, and a second priest (37). How *Phineas*'s line came to be set aside from the first rank, the text doth not tell us; but the legal imperfections, which disqualified a man for that high dignity, were so many, and so frequent, that it is probable, that some of them might be the reason of its passing to *Eli*, who was of the younger branch, in whose house it continued till *Saul*'s time. After this, it shifted once or twice more in *David*'s time, till *Solomon*, dissatisfied with *Abiathar*, restored *Zadok* of the *Phinean* family to the first rank again, where it continued to the end. So that *Abiathar* cannot so properly be said to have been deposed by that prince, as to have been reduced to the pristine rank of his branch. Accordingly, we find him named in the very next chapter but one, after his sup-

(37) *Jer. cb. ult. ver. 24. Vid. 1 Chron. xxiv. 2.*

particular sacredness inherent in his dignity, as obliged him to several strict laws, from which the rest of the priests were exempt. It was not lawful for him to marry a widow, a repudiated woman, or an harlot; the person whom he took to his bed was to be a pure virgin, and one of his own tribe: he was forbid to put himself into mourning for the nearest relation, or to go into any house where a dead body was: he was farther obliged to abstain not only from matrimonial commerce, during those festivals in which he was to officiate; but, also, from all food, and other things, which might occasion any defilement. Besides all these, he was, in common with other priests, to be free from all natural defects mentioned by *Moses*^d; that is to say, he was to be neither blind, lame, maimed, crooked, or a dwarf; he was to have neither scurvy, itch, nor any disease, in his skin, or defect in any of his limbs: as many as had any one of these blemishes, were absolutely excluded from all priestly functions, from entering into the sanctuary, and

^e Levit. xxi. 10, & seq.

^d Ibid. xiii, & seq.

posed deposition, as second to *Zadok*; And *Zadok* and *Abiathar* were priests (38).

It were needless to trouble our readers with the various conjectures that have been made about the reason of this translation of the high-priesthood from the eldest to the youngest branch: it is enough for us, that it was not done without divine approbation, as appears by what a prophet sent from God said unto *Eli* (39), to this effect — *I chose the house of thy father Aaron to offer up incense and sacrifices upon my altar — Why then do ye kick at my sacrifices? — Wherefore, tho' I said that thine house — should stand before me for ever — Now far be it from me to honour those that dishonour me — Lo, the time cometh, that thy sons Hophni and Phineas shall be cut off in*

one day — And thou shalt behold an enemy in my habitation — And I will raise me up a faithful priest — Whilst those that are left of thine house shall fall into the utmost poverty and contempt. How and when this prophecy was fulfilled, will be seen in its proper place. It is sufficient, at present, to have given the best light we can get to the manner of this sacred succession. We beg leave only to add, that where the prophet tells *Eli*, *Thou shalt see an enemy in my habitation*, the word signifies, more properly, a rival; and seems to point directly at the eldest branch, which, though set aside for a time, would again be reinstated to that supreme dignity, as it actually was, when *Saul* caused *Abimelech* to be slain, and *Zadok* to be put in his place.

(38) Comp. 1 Kings i. 26, 27. and iii. 4.

(39) 1 Sam. ii. 27, & seq.

offering

offering the shew-bread; only they were allowed to live upon a portion of the offerings that were made there ^e.

2. His consecration. This ceremony was prescribed by *Consecra-* God himself on the mount ^f, and was performed by *Mo-* tion. *ses*, upon his brother *Aaron*, with a solemnity answerable to the sacredness of his office. It consisted, chiefly, in the six following particulars, which the reader will find in the margin (S).

THERE is one thing to be observed in this first consecration, that not only *Aaron*, but his sons, were conse-

^e Ibid. xxi, & seq.

^f Exod. xl. 12, & seq.

(S) 1. Before all things, he was presented to the Lord at the door of the tabernacle, in the presence of all the people. 2. He was to wash himself all over in pure water, which was drawn out of a large capacious vessel, that stood near the altar, and was set up there for all such purposes. 3. He was then immediately invested with all the pontifical vestments, of which we shall speak under the next head, and with the breast-plate and *urim*. 4. His next business was, offering the sacrifices appointed for this purpose; namely, a bullock for a sin-offering, and a ram for a burnt-offering, and another for his consecration; with the blood of which, *Moses*, 5. Anointed the tip of his right-ear, his thumb, and great toe; besides the usual aspersions on the altar, and other wave, meat, and drink-offerings. The last ceremony was, the anointing him with the sacred oil, whose composition was likewise prescribed by God (40), and was not to be used for any other purpose. These ceremonies were repeated seven days

successively, at least as far as relates to the washing, the sacrifices, and the unction: for it doth not appear, that the ceremony was repeated relating to their putting on the priestly garments (41). During all this time, *Aaron* and his sons were not permitted to go out of the tabernacle, but continued there, and feasted themselves with the daily sacrifices, which they offered for their consecration, of which no fragment was to be left till the next morning, but was to be burnt that very night. On the eighth day *Aaron* entered into his office by a double sacrifice, one which he offered for himself, and the other for the people, whom he blessed for the first time; and this his inauguration was signalized by the glory of God appearing unto all the people, and by the descent of the holy fire from heaven (42), which was thenceforwards preserved till the destruction of the first temple, and the use of any other in the sacred ministry expressly forbid, under pain of death, as we shall see in the sequel.

(40) Exod. xxx. 22, & seq.
 7. pass. vid. ver. 23, & 24.

(41) Levit. viii. 1, & seq.

(42) Ibid.

crated at the same time, and with the same ceremonies, though these were to continue still in the rank of common priests. This may be the reason why *Eleazar* is afterwards said to have been installed into the high-priesthood, by the sole investiture of his father's garments, without any other ceremony: from which several commentators have concluded, that the rest were not to be used at the installation of any new high-priest. It is true, we can offer nothing conclusive out of the *Mosaic* text, to confute that notion; yet, if we believe the antient *Jews*, who may be properly enough looked upon as the best judges, they will tell us, that the unction did always accompany the investiture till the destruction of the first temple, when *Josiah* deposited the sacred oil in so secret a place, that it could never be found out after their return from the *Babylonish* captivity: from which time, and not till then, they began to content themselves with the bare investiture, without the unction ^k. However that be, it seems reasonable to think, that *Moses* was commanded to consecrate *Aaron's* two sons, *Eleazar* and *Ithamar*, at that grand ceremony, as being the two branches unto which the high-priesthood was confined, as he did, at the same time, all the priestly garments, the tabernacle, and all the sacred utensils of it, which were to be intirely dedicated to the service of GOD ever after ^l.

His dress. 3. His priestly vestments; concerning which, all that we can, with any certainty, advance, is, that they were likewise prescribed by GOD himself, and consisted of every thing that could make them truly rich, sumptuous, and venerable; such as a great variety of precious stones, gold, silver, purple, scarlet, the finest of silk, linen, and the like: but, as to the fashion of them, all that has been advanced about it, though with ever so positive an air, is mere conjecture; because *Moses* has contented himself with giving us the names of them, without any farther description, as being altogether needless. *Josephus* has, indeed, been more particular, in this respect ^m; but all we can depend upon him for is, that he has described them as they were worn in his time: and how far the fashion of them might have altered, during so long a space, and such a variety of circumstances which the *Jewish* commonwealth went through, is not easy to guess. The rabbies vary greatly from him, in their description of them; and St. *Jerom* both

^k Vid. SELD. de successione ad pontificat. l. ii. c. 9. BASNAG. rep. Hebr. tom. i. l. ii. c. 7. ^l Vid. Levit. viii. 10, & seq. ad 30. ix. pass. Vid. & ver. 23, & 24. ^m Ant. l. iii. c. 7.

from

from him, and themⁿ: so that we may truly say, that those moderns who have lately given us such lively descriptions of them, both in writing, and in various prints, have rather furnished the world with new models for masquerading habits, than informed us of any thing, either certain, or, indeed, material. This caution being premised, we shall now endeavour to give our readers, in the following note (T), the best account we can of them, with any tolerable

ⁿ HIERON. ad Fabiol.

(T) They were of two sorts, one made of linen, and common to him and all the other priests; and, if there was any difference between them, it was, that the former was made of finer linen, and woven in a richer manner. We have already mentioned them under the head of expiation, they being the only ones that he is supposed to have worn when he went into the holy of holies. Only one would be apt to think, that these were made of a finer linen, because they are called by another name, namely, *sheb*, which is thought a fine Egyptian sort; whereas that which is called *bad*, is a more common one: these were the mitre, or turbant, long robe, or vest, his drawers, and his girdle: the others, which were peculiar to him, and which he was to wear upon all solemn days and occasions, were so rich and magnificent, that the Jews called them *bagde zahab*, *vestures of gold*, to express the richness of them; and *Moses*, *the glory and ornament of Aaron* (43). The first was a blue or purple robe, which he put over his linen vest; this garment had no sleeves, nor any

seam, according to *Josephus*, being woven, like that of our Saviour's, from top to bottom, with a slit to put his head thro'. The border of it, which reached almost to his ankles, was trimmed with a rich fringe, to which were interchangeably hung little bells and pomgranates, curiously wrought in pure gold, at equal distances one from another, that, by their tinkling, his approach might be the more easily distinguished: this vest was tied round with a rich girdle, which went twice about his body, and hung down a convenient length before him.

Over this vest was a third, called the ephod, curiously wrought with gold, and other variegated embroidery, not unlike a short coat, about two feet in length: on the top of it, on each side, were two shoulder-pieces, to which were fastened two precious stones, set in gold, on which were engraven the names of the twelve tribes, six upon each stone, that he might always have before his eyes those that were committed to his pastoral care: upon the breast of it was a vacancy of about half a cubit in length,

(43) *Exod.* xxviii. 2.

and

rable certainty ; and refer the reader to *Josephus*, and those modern authors who have treated more fully of them P.

WHAT this oracle consisted in, and how it was consulted, shall be shewn, in a more proper place : and, as to its form and shape (X), we are left so much in the dark, that it

P Ant. l. iii. c. 7. CUNÆUS, BASNAG. LAMY, CALMET, & al.

and a proportionable breadth, on which the breast-plate was to be fastened ; this was a folded piece of the same rich embroidered tissue, on which were set twelve precious stones, in gold, on each of which was engraven the name of one of the tribes : these were set in four rows, three in each row, and the whole was fastened at the four corners, those on the top to each shoulder-piece by a golden hook, or ring, at the end of a wreathed chain ; and those below to the girdle of the ephod, by two blue strings, or ribbands, which had likewise two rings and hooks ; so that the whole might be tied fast to the garment, beyond the danger of falling off ; for these were never to be severed : and the *Jews* tell us, that if the high-priest did, at any time, either through inadvertency, or wilfully, put on one without

the other, he was to be punished for it : this ornament is therefore called the *memorial*, to put him in mind how dear those tribes ought to be to him, whose names he wore over his breast : it is also call'd the breast-plate of judgment, because it had the divine oracle fasten'd to it ; at least the far greatest part of interpreters have understood the command of God to *Moses*, of putting the *urim* and *thummim* to the breast-plate (51), as if it implied them to be a distinct thing from it : and this has made them run into various notions, as we shall shew presently.

(X) The stones of the breast-plate were divided from each other by the golden partitions into which they were set, and were ranged in the following order ; to which we have added their *Hebrew* names, together with the tribe that was engraven upon each of them (52).

1. צרם	Sardius	7. לשם	Ligure
Odem	REUBEN	Leshem	GAD
2. פטרה	Topas	8. שבו	Agate
Phiterah	SIMEON	Shebo	ASHER
3. ברקת	Carbuncle	9. אחלמה	Amethyft
Barketh	LEVI	Achlamah	ISSACHAR
4. נפך	Emerald	10. תרשיש	Beryl
Nophek	JUDAH	Tarshish	ZEBULUN
5. ספיר	Saphire	11. שוהם	Onyx
Saphir	DAN	Shohem	JOSEPH
6. יהלום	Diamond	12. יאשפה	Jasper
Jahalom	NAPHTALI	Yashphe	BENJAMIN.

(51) *Exod.* xxviii. 30.

(52) *Vid. Exod.* xxviii. 17, & seq.

Some

it would require a new *urim* and *thummim* to acquaint us with it; because no inspired writer has given us any hint: and those who have since wrote their conjectures about it, seem to have given so great a scope to their fancy, that one shall scarce find two or three of them agreeing in the same notion. Some antients thought, that there was a thirteenth stone in the breast-plate, whose extraordinary lustre and beauty, above the rest, did signify to the high-priest GOD's approbation or dislike of the thing inquired about⁹. And though St. *Austin* has plainly proved, that there was not the least foundation for such a supernumerary stone^r, some moderns have not scrupled to add another, in order to answer the two names of *urim* and *thummim*^s. An antient father, who is followed by a great many moderns, thinks, that those two words were either engraven on a plate of gold, and fixed to the breast-plate; or imbroidered, in raised work, upon it^t. Most of the *Jews* believe, that it was the *tetra-*

⁹ EPIPHAN. tract. de xii. gemmis. SUIDAS in E ϕ od.
^r Quæst. in Exod. 117. ^s ARR. MONT. & al. ^t CYRIL.
 exposit. symbol.

Some of these stones, it must be owned, are of so hard a nature, especially the diamond, that one may justly question how they came so soon by the art of engraving on them. But here the *Talmudists* wonderfully help us out, by assuring us, that they were not engraven by any tool, which would have wasted some part of the stone, but by a miraculous worm, not now in being, which, when set upon each of these stones, did sink itself all along those places which *Moses* had chalked to it, and so impressed the letters into the stones, in the same manner as we might do into some things of a soft and yielding substance, without taking off any part of it. They relate, likewise, several other wonders about this worm, and these precious stones, which we shall not trouble our readers

with, after what we have own'd in the last note, concerning the little certainty we can have, from any good authority, of even the true signification of their names. The *Jews*, among other things, tell us, that the names of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, were engraven also over the name of *Reuben*, in the first stone, and in the last, under that of *Benjamin* the words, ישראל יה , *shibte-Jah*, the tribes of the Lord; in order to make up the whole alphabet, some letters of which were wanting in the names of the twelve patriarchs (53). But this is only to confirm an hypothesis of theirs, that the divine oracle was known by the protuberance, or superior lustre, of such letters as composed the answer. But of this we shall speak in the sequel.

(53) *Maimon, kele bammikdash, c. 9.*

grammaton written upon a plate of gold, or some other way fixed to the breast-plate ^u; and *Le Clerc*, that *urim* and *thummim* were the names of two kinds of precious stones, set in a gold chain, or collar, which were hung about the high-priest's neck, and came down to his breast; probably, as he thinks, in imitation of the *Egyptians*, whose chief magistrate wore a gold chain, at the end of which hung the figures of justice and truth, engraven on some precious stone ^w. A modern traveller, in a letter dated from *Cairo*, tells us, that he saw a very antient mummy in *Egypt*, which had a large collar hanging down to its breast, with a bird engraven in gold fastened to the end of it ^x. *Spencer*, after *De Castro*, believed, that the breast-plate had two little golden figures, inclosed in a kind of purse, which gave answers, *viva voce*, to the questions of the high-priest ^y: and for this he quotes *St. Jerom* and *Cedrenus* among the antients, *Cornelius à Lapide* and *Ludovicus de Dieu* among the moderns, with some *Jewish* writers: but this notion has been so severely answered by the learned *Pococke* ^{*}, as absurd and impious, that we know not of its having been embraced by any author since. *Philo*, indeed, seems to hint something like it ^z, only with this difference, that he says those two figures, or virtues, namely, manifestation and truth, were only imbroidered upon it: and it must be owned, that, if there were any such figures, or symbols, it is more reasonable to suppose them, with him, to have been only imbroidered, than, with *Spencer*, that they were real figures, whether cast, or carved by any other way; because this latter seems too contrary to the prohibition in the second commandment. But we see no need of supposing any such figures, upon the authority of either; because *Josephus*, who was also a priest, and may be reasonably supposed to have been as well acquainted with it as *Philo*, doth not so much as hint any thing like such figures; but makes the oracle to consist in the supernatural brightness of the twelve stones at the time of inquiring, as we have seen already: and, as for *Spencer*, it is plain, that he is too fond of fetching the origin of every thing from *Egypt*. Sure it is, that whoever compares the places where *Moses* mentions the *urim* and *thummim* ^a, will have reason to won-

^u Ita rabbin. Vid. R. SALOM. Vid. EGUB. & MONT. in loc.

^w Comm. in loc. Vid. DIOD. SICUL. biblioth. l. ii. c. 3. ÆLIAN. var. hist. & al.

^x DELLA VALLE, epist. xi.

^y Dissert. de

ur. & thum.

^{*} Comm. in Hof. iii. 4.

^z In vit. Mos.

l. iii. de monarc. l. ii.

^a Exod. xxviii. 30. xxxix. 8. &

Levit. viii. 8.

der, that GOD, who took such particular care to give him the most exact directions for all the other garments, utensils, &c. should not give him the least hint about these; unless we suppose them to have been things sufficiently known, both to him, and to all the people. If, therefore, we might be permitted to prefer one opinion to all the rest, it would be that of the judicious *Höttinger*, who thinks, that, when *Moses* is commanded to put into the breast-plate the *urim* and *thummim*, which words, as has been shewn already, do signify *light* and *perfection*, in the plural; it means only, that he should make choice of the most perfect set of stones, and have them polished, so as to give the most consummate lustre^b (Z). And this seems most agreeable to what *Josephus* and *Maimon* said of it, except the miraculous lustre, which the former attributes to them, in order to account for the oracle, concerning which, we may, perhaps, in the sequel, offer a more probable conjecture. However, we are far from disapproving of that more spiritual notion of the learned *Prideaux*, who believes that those two words were chosen to express the clearness and certainty of the oracle, by a particular divine virtue communicated to the breast-plate at its consecration: only we are more inclined to suppose, that this latter sense was

^b In *Mos. & Aar. l. i. c. 5.* note 11.

(Z) This conjecture is so far from jarring with the literal sense of the original, that the very expression which *Moses* makes use of in the places above quoted (54), seems to lead one to it. For after God had given him all the particular directions for making the breast-plate, such as the length and breadth, the materials, the precious stones, &c. even to the hooks, rings, chains, and strings, by which it was to be made fast to the ephod; he adds, ונתת אל חושן המשפּת את האורים ואת התומים, which literally runs thus; *And thou shalt give to the breast-plate of judgment*

these lights, or lustres and perfections: namely, of the twelve stones before described. We need not add, that, according to the *Hebrew* idiom, the word אור, or *light*, doth often imply the brightness; and טוב, *thom*, the goodness of a thing in its kind; and that the plural number, as here, is often used to express the highest degree of it. However, we leave it to the reader to adopt which of all these seems most probable to him; and, if he is desirous to know more about this point, he may consult the learned *Buxtorf* the younger, who has almost exhausted the subject (55).

(54) *Exod. xxviii. 30.*

(55) *Exercit. iii. de ur. & thum.*

emblematically signified by the genuineness and brightness of the stones: at least we find, that the *Jews*, immediately after their return from the captivity, thought it necessary to imitate this breast-plate in all its parts, and to call it by the same name, though they own, that it had not the oracular virtue of the former^c. Now it is plain, that such an imitation would have been ridiculous, if not impious, upon any other supposition than that they understood the words *urim* and *thummim* to have been designed by God, not as absolutely expressive, but as symbolical, of the light and clearness of this oracle.

THE last garment, peculiar to the high-priest, was his mitre, or bonnet. Whether, and how far, it differed in fashion from that of the common priests, *Moses* doth not tell us, neither is it easy to guess; though their being called by different names, and made, at least, of different kinds of linen, inclines one to think, that there was some considerable difference between them; if not in shape, yet in beauty and richness. The reader may see, in the next note, all that can be conjectured concerning it (A), from
Jewish

^c Vid. MAIM. kele hammikdash, c. 10. §. 10.

(A) All that we can gather from *Josephus*, *St. Jerom*, *Maimon* (58), and others, concerning this ornament, is, that it was a kind of cap not unlike an hemisphere, which, consequently, did not come down lower than the ears, and was wrapped several times about with a piece of fine cotton or linen, of a considerable length, and tied behind the head with a blue ribband, or string, to prevent its falling off. *Josephus* adds, that the mitre was covered with another of fine blue or purple, having a triple crown of gold about it; and that on the top, just in the middle, it had a kind of golden cup turned upwards, resembling the bud of a plant

which he is there very particular in describing. But we shall refer the reader to the author. The *Jews* further add, that, as the crown or plate of gold did go but half way round the head, the other, that is, the hinder part, was filled up with artificial flowers, or festoons, to the place where it was tied. Both the high-priest and the inferior ones were very careful to tie their bonnets fast when they officiated, because it was thought a mark of reverence to appear with the head covered, and of irreverence and boldness to be seen bare-headed. According to which notion, the *Chaldeeparaphrast* renders those places, where the *Israelites* are

(58) *Joseph. ant. l. vii. c. 7. Hieron. ad Fubiol. Maim. kele hammikdash, c. 9, 10.*

C. VII. *to the Babylonish Captivity.*

Jewish and *Christian* authors; however, the pontifical one was remarkably distinguished from the common, by the golden plate on which were engraven, in *Hebrew*, the words HOLINESS TO THE LORD ^d. This plate is also called, in some other places, a crown ^e (B); and was fastened to the fore-part of the mitre by two blue ribbands, or strings.

Laws

^d Exod. xxviii. 36. ^e Ibid. xxix. 6. xxxix. 30. Levit. viii. 9.

said to have marched out of *Egypt*, with a high hand (59), by the words *bare-headed*, that is, with boldness and intrepidity. On the contrary, the greatest token of respect with them was, to be bare-foot; and this is the reason why we find no mention of shoes or sandals among the priestly robes, they being all obliged to perform their office barefoot: and in this they became so scrupulous, that if they perceived any thing, though but a straw, between their feet and the ground, they were obliged to remove it, or else their ministry was esteem'd null.

(B) These words, the *Jews* tell us, were raised by a kind of enamel, above the gold (60); but this seems contrary to the meaning of *Moses's* words, who expressly says, that they were to be written, like the engraving of a signet. However, there is no doubt but it was design'd to express the holiness of the character of the person that wore it, which was to be such, that the least defilement, however so involuntary, disqualified him for performing his office, till he had been legally purified

from it. Concerning this point, the *Jews* acquaint us with a particularity, which, tho' not mentioned by *Moses*, is well worth inserting here, as having no small probability. They tell us, out of their *Talmud* (61), that, on expiation-day, the high-priest, being to perform the service of that solemn fast, and it being far from impossible that he might contract some impurity, which might render him unfit for his office, notwithstanding all his care and caution; they used, on the eve of it, to appoint him a vicar to officiate for him, in case of such a defilement; this vicar was neither anointed nor consecrated for the place, though his new office obliged him to go into the most holy place, instead of the pontif. They add, that as soon as this last was cleansed, he re-entered into his office, and the other relinquished it, and returned into the rank of common priests; only with this difference, that he had some kind of superiority and rule over the rest; and, if the high-priest died before him, he succeeded him in that dignity, of course. *Josephus* confirms this

(59) *Exod.* xiv. 8, & alib.
(61) *Idem in m. ffec. in Yoma.*

(60) *Maim. ubi sup. c. 9. sect. 1.*

Laws concerning the priests.

Laws con-
cerning
priests.

WE have already taken notice, that these were descended from *Aaron*, the first high-priest, by his two sons *Eleazar* and *Ithamar*. *Moses*, indeed, mentions only these two, as being the heads of the two main branches of the priesthood; but it were absurd to suppose, from thence, that they were the only two that officiated under their father: for we find, that *Phineas* was already come to years of manhood, by that zeal which he shewed against the *Midianitish* defection^k; and, probably, there were more of age sufficient to perform the priestly functions. These being subordinate to the high-priest, and of a rank and office superior to the *Levites*, may be considered in a threefold view; namely,

^k Num. xxv. 7, & seq.

by the instance of the high-priest *Matthias*, who, having defiled himself by a dream, on the night preceding the expiation, *Joseph*, the son of *Eli*, a near relation of his, officiated for him (62). *Maimon* calls this vicar *Sagan*, and adds, that he had two priests to wait upon him, as he himself waited on the high-priest; with some other particulars, which we shall not dwell upon, because they appear of later institution (63). However, with respect to the high-priest, it is plain, that he might be sullied so many unforeseen ways, and ran such risque if he entered the most holy place with any such pollution, that, it is more than probable, there was some person appointed, by way of precaution, to perform his office, in all such cases. But who this substitute was, how, and by

whom, he was appointed, we dare not affirm; though it is not improbable, that he might be the head of the other branch, which, as we observed at first, did hold the next rank to him; and is therefore most likely to be the person meant in the last chapter of *Jeremiah*; where it is said, that *the captain of the guard took Seraiah the high, and Zephaniah the second priest* (64). In this sense, likewise, it is thought, by many of the learned, that *Annas* and *Caiaphas* are said, by *St. Luke* (65), to be high-priests in the same year: but, concerning the person that named him, or the ceremony by which he was qualified for it, *Moses* has left no written direction, any more than about the choice of a successor to the pontifical dignity, when the next immediate heir was unfit for it.

(62) *Ant.* l. xvii. c. 8. (63) *Vid.* *Maim. kele hammikdash.* (64) *Ver.* 24. (65) *Luke* iii. 2. *Vid.* *Casaub. advers. Baron. Jos. Scaliger. prolog. in Euseb. Hist. in Goodwin's Mos. & Ar. l. i. c. 5. sub not. 19, & al.*

with

with regard to their consecration, office, and dress. But of these we shall not need say much, because there was nothing of pomp or solemnity used in any of them.

THEIR consecration, if we except that of the sons of *Their con-* Aaron, which we mentioned in a former article, was *per-secration.* performed with little or no ceremony. They were first carefully examined, whether they were free from all natural defects and impurities (C); and if so, they were intro-

(C) These were the same as unqualified the high-priest, and are mentioned under that head out of *Leviticus* (1); but the *Jews* tells us, that these are but a sketch of those that exclude from the priestly functions, which their superstitious nicety hath enlarged at a very strange rate. We shall just mention the heads of them. They reckoned eight of them belonging to the head, nineteen to the eyes, five to the eye-lids; seven to the eye-brows, nine to the ears, as many to the nose, six to the mouth, three to the lips, two to the neck, three to the belly, three to the back, sixteen to the genitals, twelve to the joints of the hands and feet, eight to the skin and flesh, and at least, eleven to the upper skin (2).

Besides these, which unqualified a man, either for being admitted to the priestly office, or for being continued in it, if he contracted them after his admittance, there were several other voluntary ones for which he was set aside from the ministry, either for a time, or for his life. Of the first kind were

several legal pollutions, the greatest of which was that of a dead body. For this reason they were not allowed to assist at the funeral of any but the nearest relations, that is, a father or mother, and a brother or sister that died virgins. In all such pollutions they were forbid not only to perform any sacerdotal office, but even to eat of holy things; till they had thoroughly purified themselves according to the law (3). Those that excluded them wholly from the priesthood, besides the natural and accidental ones above-mentioned; were, for instance, unlawful marriages, that is, the marrying an harlot, or a *Canaanitish*, or any strange woman, and refusing to put her away. Something like this we find practised in the time of *Ezra* (4), after the captivity; to which we may add that of the prophet (5), that they were even forbid to marry the widow of any but a priest. Idolatry likewise, and many other crimes of that high nature, did wholly exclude a person from the priesthood (6).

(1) *Ch.* xxi. 18, & *seqq.*

Rasnaq. ubi sup. tom. iii. lib. ii. c. 4.

(4) *Ezr.* x. 10, & *seqq.*

(5) *Conf. Ezek.* xlv. 22, & *Levit.* xxi. 13.

(6) *Vide Maim. biath hammikdash, c. 1.*

(2) *Vide Maim. in biath hammikdash. ch. 8.*

(3) *Lev.* xxii. 6, & *seqq.*

(5) *Conf. Ezek.* xlv. 22, & *Levit.* xxi. 13.

duced into the court of the tabernacle or temple, where they washed themselves with pure water, preserved there for that purpose; after which, being clothed in their priestly habit, they were brought to the high-priest, who presented them to the LORD; and after the usual sacrifices prescribed by *Moses*, that pontif, or the priest in waiting, sanctified them; or, as the original imports, *filled their hands*; by which is understood, their being immediately set about some branch of the priestly office (D).

Office.

THEIR office, which was severally determined by lot, and which they did cast at their first coming into waiting, was either to burn incense morning and evening in the holy place, or to offer up the daily sacrifice, to kill, dress, and offer up, the victims proper for the day, to pour the blood at the foot of the altar, to keep up a continual fire on the altar of burnt-offerings, to light the lamps, and to make and offer the shew-bread upon the golden table, with some others of the like nature; the most material of which we have had occasion to mention under the articles of sacrifices, first-fruits, purifications, and the like. Their waiting was weekly from Sabbath to Sabbath, and quarterly, according to their classes; the age in which they were to begin to minister, was fixed by *Moses* at about 25 or 30 years of age, and ended about 50ⁿ; but in *David's* time they were made to serve from the age of 20^o. Those who, either by age or infirmity, were disabled from ministering, were maintained by the offerings of the altar, and other perquisites of the priesthood; and any *Levite*, that willingly offered himself to serve in the temple all his days, was admitted to the like maintenance^p, as we shall see in its place (E).

IN

ⁿ Numb. iv. 3. viii. 24. ^o 1 Chron. xxiii. 24. 2 Chron. xxxi. 17.
^p Deut. xviii. 6.

(D) At least these ceremonies are inferred from those of the consecration of the *Levites* (6); for as the latter were of an inferior rank, it is reasonable to suppose, that the priests could not be consecrated with less ceremony; but even here it is very much questioned whether any of these, except only

the two or three first, were ever used, unless in cases of some signal defection, or long disuse, of their office, and the like; such as frequently happened during the reigns of some of their wicked kings (7).

(E) Some other important parts of the priestly office were the instruction of the people,

(6) *Numb.* viii. 5; & *seqq.*

(7) *Vide 2 Kings* ii. 5.

(8), *judg-*

IN *David's* time, the two families of *Eleazar* and *Ithamar* were, for better order's sake, divided into 24 classes, according to the number of each family; so that the former, being the more numerous, was divided into sixteen, and the latter into eight classes. These took their turns in the ministry, according as it was assigned to them by lot, which was commonly cast before the king, high-priest, and other persons of distinction, to avoid fraud and confusion: an account of which the reader will find in the xxivth chapter of the first book of the *Chronicles*. All that we shall add is, that these classes took their names from their heads or chiefs, and continued to be called by them to the end of that commonwealth, and from this the heads of each class came afterwards to be called *chief-priests*. This is the reason why we meet, in two of the evangelists ^a, with

^a Matth. xxvi. 3. Mark xv. 1.

(8), judging of controversies (9), of leprosy, and other pollutions (10), causes of divorce, and the use of the waters of jealousy (11); of vows, and of the fitness or unfitness of victims; blowing the trumpets, in order to proclaim the Sabbath, and solemn feasts; the calling of assemblies; sounding to war; encouraging the combatants, and others of the like nature, which have been occasionally spoken of already. But the most sacred part of their function was the bearing of the ark, preserving the volumes of the law, and blessing the people in God's name (12). There were likewise some severe inhibitions relating to their office, some of which were explicit, and some implicit. Of the first sort were those which forbid them to make use of any strange fire (13), of drinking

either wine, or any intoxicating liquors, when they came to minister (14). They were likewise forbid to begin any sacerdotal function, till they had first washed their hands and feet (15). The implicit ones were not to appear in the ministry without their priestly garments, or with any rent in their cloaths, because they were tokens of mourning, or with their hair grown to too great a length, or their heads uncovered. To these the *Talmudists* have added some others, such as sitting down whilst they performed any part of their office; making use of the left-hand instead of the right (because *Aaron* and his sons had their right ears, thumbs, and great toes, sanctified by the blood of the victims); and others of less consequence (16).

(8) *Lev. x. 11. Malach. ii. 7.* (9) *Deut. xvii. 8, & seqq. xix. 17, & alib.* (10) *Lev. xiii. xiv. & xv. pass. & alib.* (11) *Numb. v. 12, & seqq.* (12) *Numb. vi. 23, & seqq.* (13) *Lev. x. 1, & seqq.* (14) *Ibid. ver. 9.* (15) *Exod. xxx. 21.* (16) *Vide Maim. biqtb hammikdash, c. 1, & seqq. Basnag. R. H. tom. iii. lib. ii. c. 4.*

an assembly of them, which ought therefore to be distinguished both from the high-priest and from his suffragan (F).

Laws concerning the Levites.

Levites.

TH E S E related either to their office, or to their privileges and incomes; for, as to their descent, the choice of their tribe, and their consecration, we have had already occasion to mention all that is material concerning them: only, with respect to the last of these, it is observable, that this ceremony was begun with sprinkling them with the water of separation, which was that with which they used to purify those who had contracted any legal impurity, with shaving their whole body, and washing all their cloaths before they were presented by the people

(F) We have already said something of their dress, when we spoke of that of the high-priest going into the holy of holies. It consisted of a vest, a pair of drawers, a girdle, and a mitre, or cap, all of linen. The cap resembled, according to *Josephus*, and those who follow him, an helmet, or pointed turban. Their girdle was variegated with the finest colours, about three fingers breadth, and woven round like an eel-skin. Their vest, or long coat, it is pretended, was without seam, woven from top to bottom, and with the sleeves to it. Some of those authors have ventured to give us the print of a loom, or frame, for making such kind of garments (17). No priest was to wear his hair to its full length, but was obliged to clip it with a pair of scissors, at least when he went into waiting (18). As to their dress, they were only bound to

wear it at the time of their ministering; at other times they were left at their liberty. What relates to their maintenance, revenue, and perquisites, will be best seen when we come to speak of the *Levites*: in the mean time, we cannot forbear making one observation upon the garb both of the high and lower priests (in describing of which we have followed *Josephus*, and the current of interpreters); namely, that if their vests had been of the length which they tell us of, and they had really had what all versions render breeches, or drawers, under them, there would scarce have been any room for that precaution of building the altar without steps, for fear of their discovering that which modesty requires to be hid (19). We hope this will be a sufficient excuse for our enlarging no farther on that subject.

(17) See the version of *Josephus*, *Lamy*, *Calmet*, and others. (18) *Comp. Levit. xxi. 5. & Ezek. xliv. 20.*

(19) *Exod. xx. ver. ult.*

to the high-priest^d. As to their dress, it was the same *Their con-*
with that of the rest of the *Israelites*, *Moses* not having *secration*
appointed them any particular one. We shall, in its pro- *and dress.*
per place, give an account of their number, classes, en-
campments, marches, carrying, setting up and taking
down the tabernacle, and all its moveables^e; of their being
subject to their brethren of the family of *Aaron*, and offi-
ciating under them in the lower and more laborious
branches of the ministry, during all the time that the ark,
and the tabernacle, &c. were removing from place to
place. But, after these were once fixed, they were freed
from that labour, and their service became easier and more
delightful^f (G).

THESE

^d Numb. viii. 5, & seqq. ^e Ibid. ver. 15, & seqq. ^f Vide
MAIM. & BASNAG. ubi sup.

(G) This seems to be the reason why *Moses* ordered at first, that they should not be admitted into their office till they had attained to the age of between 25 and 30, and that they should be discharged from it at 50 (20), their office being then such as required more strength and vigour; but in *David's* time, when they were eased of it, they were then thought fit for it at the age of 20 (21). And it is more than probable, that they continued in it much longer than to the 50th year, as we shall shew presently.

Before *David* had divided them into classes, their ministry was in common; they took it by turns, from week to week, as the priests did; and their business was, some to bring the water, wood, and other things, that were used by the priests; others to keep the court of the sanctuary, and all the utensils that stood out of the tabernacle, clean

and decent; and others to keep guard at night before the tabernacle. Some were likewise appointed to sing, and play upon instruments; others, to study and expound the law to the people, and to assist at the inferior courts of judicature; and these provinces were, in all probability, assigned to them according to their several capacities. But after *David* had once fixed the ark at *Jerusalem*, by which time they were become very numerous, and yet not more so than the vast project he had premeditated of building the temple would most likely require; that wise monarch made several necessary regulations concerning their different employments, which continued till the dissolution of the *Jewish* polity. We have seen above, that they were distinguished into three families, namely, *Gershon*, *Kobath*, and *Merari*. To each of these, which he also subdivided into 24 classes, which were to suc-

(20) Comp. Numb. iv. 3. & viii. 24.

(21) 1 Chron. xxiii. 27.

THESE singers king Solomon distinguished from their brethren, by their being allowed to wear a linen kind of robe, or surplice, when they were upon duty ^k; but the rest did not obtain that privilege till the reign of king Agrippa, about the year of CHRIST 62, and about six years before the destruction of the last temple. *Josephus* adds ^l, that the priests did highly resent it; and observes, that such innovations seldom went unpunished. It is true, that he calls them singers; but it is plain he must have been either mistaken or miscopied; unless we suppose, that he there speaks of a particular garment to be worn by them at all times, as well as at divine service.

Their revenues.

2. THEIR REVENUES. We have chosen to speak jointly of those of the priests and *Levites*, because they were intermixed together by GOD's own appointment, at least in their main branches, those of the tithes, cities, and some other perquisites. As for what either of them had in particular, it is scarce worth mentioning. The reader may recollect, that, according to *Jacob's* prophecy, the tribe of *Levi* was to be interpersed among the other tribes; and they were excluded by an express law of *Deuteronomy* ^m, from having any share in the division of the land; and had

^k 2 Chron. v. 12.
xviii. pass.

^l Ant. lib. xx. c. 8.

^m Ch.

ceed one another weekly in their turns, he appointed their several functions, as follows: to the one he assigned the assisting the priests at the tabernacle, preparing of flour, cakes, wine, and oil, for the sacrifices, and all other services of that kind. The second was appointed to sing, and play on musical instruments, at proper periods of the divine service; and the third, to keep a constant guard about the tabernacle, and afterwards about the temple. Over these classes he appointed from among them proper officers and overseers of several ranks, according to their merit or capacities. He chose

likewise from among them men of learning and piety, to teach and breed up the younger *Levites*, either to their ministry, or to expound the law to the people; besides those whom he appointed to assist at the courts of judicature of every city. Now it is plain, that in all these functions there was nothing that could incapacitate a man for performing them after the age of fifty, if we except, as the *Jews* do, that of singing, for which it is possible enough for old age to render one incapable, by reason of the disagreeable tremor which that brings to the voice (22).

(22) *Vide Obad. Bartensr, tract. scholin, c. i. §. 6.*

their

their portion assigned to them out of the tithes, offerings of the altar, and the redemption of the first-born of the *Israelites*, in whose stead they were substituted. We have already spoken of all these; but as it was necessary, that they should have some certain places of abode appointed for them, as soon as they were come to the plain of *Moab*, over-against *Jericho*, God was pleased to assign them 48 cities, with their suburbs, 13 of which were to belong to the priests, and the other 35 to the rest of the tribe of *Levi*ⁿ (H). The only difference between them was, that the cities of the priests were, for the most part, of the tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, and consequently nearer to *Jerusalem*; whereas those of the *Levites* were divided to them by lot, out of all the other tribes on either side *Jordan*. Thus did God turn *Jacob's* curse into a blessing, and the priests and *Levites*, whose business it was to preserve knowledge, became so dispersed accordingly, that the people might be every-where supplied with it. What those cities were, hath been seen in the beginning of this chapter. All that we shall examine at present is, what their rights, privileges, immunities, and revenues, consisted in, and how far they extended (As for the six cities of refuge which were chosen out of that number, we shall speak of them in a separate article). With respect then to the privilege of the former, which some authors extend no further than the bare enjoyment of their revenues, we may observe, that their owners had power to sell or mortgage

ⁿ Numb. xxxv. 1, & seqq. Josh. xxi. 10, & seqq.

(H) The right of the *Levitical* tribe to these cities, and lands adjacent, is not without some difficulties, which have made some authors doubt whether they had any more than the bare use and income without the power of alienating them (23). Thus it is objected, that *Hebron* was given to the priests as a city of refuge; and yet *Caleb*, who was of the tribe of *Judah*, had the fields and villages belonging to it assigned to him (24). This difficulty may be easily remo-

ved, by supposing, with our author, that *Caleb* did yield the city unto them, because the LORD had determined it for a city of refuge; but that he reserved the territories to himself, as being out of the case. However, as to the priests and *Levites* having power to alienate their houses and lands, or even to purchase new ones, exclusive of those allotted to them, we have sufficient proof; as the reader will see by what follows in the text.

(23) *Vide Basnag. ubi sup. c. 7.*

(24) *Josh. xxi. 11, & seqq.*

had

them, as well as the other tribes; only with this advantageous difference on their side, that they might redeem them at any time, if they were able; and if not, they devolved to them on the year of *jubilee*: whereas those alienated houses of the laity, which stood in walled cities, if not redeemed within the year, were irrecoverably lost to the first owner ° (I).

° Levit. xxv. 29, & seqq.

(I) Hence it is plain, that their right to their houses was even stronger than that of the people; for which reason it is called their inheritance (25). The case was indeed different with respect to the grounds that were annexed to those cities, which could not be alienated upon any account (26); but the reason of it was, that they were in the nature of a common to them, to which therefore every one had an equal right, they being the only pasture-ground they had for their cattle; and if they agreed by consent to inclose or appropriate any part for fields, orchards, gardens, and the like, the division was made in proportion to the largeness of their families, which could not have subsisted, had such an alienation been permitted.

It is likewise manifest, that their being excluded from any portion in the distribution of the land, was so far from depriving them of the right of possession, or even of purchase, that we have several instances to the contrary in both cases, and them authorized by God,

With respect to the first, we find, among other regulations concerning vows, that if a man had vowed his house or land unto the LORD, and had not wherewith, or was unwilling to redeem them, they were then to continue sacred unto God (27); that is, the priests became the right owners of them: accordingly we find, that the high-priest had some estate of his own, into which he was relegated by *Solomon* (28); and, even in the apostles time, *Barnabas*, who was a *Levite* of *Cyprus*, had some land which he sold for the use of the church (29). To this we may add, if what *Maimon* tells us be right, that the tribe of *Levi* had their twelfth share of all the lands which were got by the sword (30). As for their having it in their power to purchase estates, we need but read the xxxi^d chapter of *Jeremiah*, who was a priest; where we shall find a curious account of his purchasing a piece of land, and with it all the formalities that were then used in such cases (31).

(25) *Ibid.* ver. 33.
xxvii. 14, & seqq.

(26) *Ibid.* ver. 34.

(27) *Levit.*

(28) *I Kings* ii. 26.

(29) *Acts* iv. 36, 37.

(30) *Halak seemit. weyohel. Vide Basnag. ubi sup.*

(31) *Ver.* 7, & seqq.

EVERY one of these cities had suburbs, the limits whereof were also appointed by GOD himself ^x; but *Moses* has expressed them in such terms, that it has given more pains to interpreters to reconcile the two numbers mentioned by him, than our readers would care to be troubled with: in which uncertainty we are unwilling to rely on the *Jews*, who tell us, that those two numbers were to be taken jointly; so that those suburbs, or rather territories, should extend to the distance of 3000 cubits from the out-walls ^y. They add, that the first thousand were assigned for pasture-ground; on which therefore it was not lawful to build, sow, or plant; but, within the limits of the other 2000 cubits, they might do any of them. One thing further is remarkable, namely, that they were not permitted to bury their dead either within those cities, or their suburbs; but that they had, according to the *Jews*, a piece of ground allotted to them by the people for a burying-place, which was quite out of the verge of those limits (K).

^x Halak havoda. hacocabin umazaloth, ap. BASNAG. R. H. tom. i. lib. i. c. 7. ^y Vide Commentat. in Ex. xxi. 13. Num. xxxv. 6. Deut. iv. 21. & xix. 2.

(K) We shall venture no further on the rights and privileges of these cities, concerning which the *Jews* tell us wonders, but without any probability: those that are fond of such fables, may find more than they can give credit to in *Maimon* (1), and other *Jewish* commentators, on the places of the pentateuch where mention is made of them (2). This however we may safely add concerning the cities themselves; namely, that they were not taken by equal numbers out of every tribe, but according as they were found more or less abounding in each of them. Thus, for instance, the tribe of *Judah*, whose share was full of them, allotted nine, whereas that of *Benjamin*, which had but a few, was obliged to part with four only (3). As to the distribution of them among the *Levites*, it was made in the same manner as that of the land itself, namely, by lot; which was the most effectual way to prevent all difference; for even this tribe do not seem to have been so disinterested, that any other method could have satisfied them.

(1) In Numb. xxxv. 45. *Munf. Jun. & al. in loc.* (2) *Rab. Salom. in loc. vide & Mos. de Cotxi,* (3) *Josh. xxi. pass.*

Laws concerning the six cities of refuge.

Cities of
refuge.

THESE were chosen out of those 42 which had been assigned to the tribe of *Levi*^c. They differed from the *asyla* of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, in that they were designed to protect innocent persons only from the rigour of the law, in cases of involuntary homicide, whereas theirs did equally shelter the guilty and innocent. There is an express command in *Exodus* with relation to wilful murder, that the guilty person shall be torn even from GOD's altar to be put to death^d; from which one may naturally infer, that the tabernacle was a sanctuary to the innocent, not only during their wandering in the wilderness, but all the time of their abode in the land of *Canaan*; at least, the instance of *Joab's* taking refuge there seems to imply as much, though his crime excluded him from the benefit of it^e. And indeed so severe were GOD's laws against murder, that if it was even committed in a fray, in correcting a servant, or in some other cases, which our milder laws call chance-medley, the guilty person could not go unpunished^f. And where the fact was accidental and involuntary, though GOD's concern for the life of the innocent person was such, that he not only appointed these cities for his protection, but seemed, as it were, to take the fault upon himself (L), yet he condemned him to a kind of banishment, till the death of the high-priest for the time being § (M); inasmuch that if he ventured out of the limits,

^c Numb. xxxv. 6. ^d Exod. xxi. 14. ^e 1 Kings ii. 28. ^f Exod. xxi. 12, 20. § Numb. xxxv. 25, & seqq.

(L) The words are, *if a man lie not in wait, but GOD deliver him into his hand*. This we purposely take notice of, because these, and such-like expressions, which occur in Scripture, whatever sinister sense some may put upon them, import no more, according to the genius of the *Hebrew* idiom than that, tho' a man may die contrary to the seeming course of nature, yet he cannot be taken off without the permission of heaven, whose providence directs all such

events, either for the punishment of the person, or for some other wise purposes beyond our reach. However, it is plain, that it is only used in this place to shew the injustice there would be in punishing a man for an act which had been directed by providence, without the least design in him of hurting the other.

(M) The reason which the *Jews* give for this is, that the death of so great a person, which was universally lamented, was the

limits, *Josephus* says out of the walls, of the city^h, it was lawful for any relations of the deceased either to kill him, or to have him put to death by the hand of justice.

THESE cities were not only for the *Israelites*, but for all strangers that either lived among them, or came occasionally. The *Jews* indeed confine the benefit of them to their proselytes, but this sense seems to flow more from their narrowness of soul, than from the words of the textⁱ. We may remember, that *Moses* ordered three of them to be assigned on either side *Jordan*^k. This partition seems indeed somewhat unequal, because one side had but two tribes and half, and the other nine and half; the reason of which some *Jews* tell us was, because there were a great many more homicides committed in the former by way of self-defence, than in the latter: but this is ridiculous, and that of R. *Nachman* is by far more probable and judicious; namely, that the extent of the country of the former was at least as large as that of the latter, though less inhabited; which made it necessary for them to have so many of those cities. However, as to those tribes on the other side, God permitted them to add three more to their number, whenever the largeness of their conquests should make it necessary^l.

How, where, and by whom, the examination of the manslayer was made, in order to his being admitted to, or excluded the benefit of the city of refuge; that is, whether by the next judges of the place where the fact was committed, or by those of the city whither the man fled for sanctuary; is neither clear from the text, nor agreed on by interpreters. However, as a late author justly observes^m, from an expression in *Deuteronomy* and *Joshua*ⁿ, there

^h Ant. lib. iv. c. 7. ⁱ Vide Numb. xxxv. 15. ^k Ibid. ver. 14. Deut. xix. pass. ^l Ibid. ver. 9. ^m CALM. sub voc. Refuge. ⁿ Deut. xix. 11, 12. comp. with Josh. xx. 6, 9.

the most proper motive to make all resentment on the part of the prosecutor to cease (4); and one would wonder, that they should have been followed by any Christians. But the far greater part of these look upon this circumstance to have been typical of the reconciliation which CHRIST, our eternal high-priest, made of sinners to God by his death (5). This is what the apostle to the *Hebrews* seems to intimate (6).

(4) Vide *Maim. more nevoch. c. 40.* (5) *Hieron. August. & al. vide*
& Gros. Jun. Corn. a Lep. & al. mult. in loc. (6) *Heb. ix. 15.*

seems to have been a double tryal, one before the judges of the city of refuge, and one before what the text calls there the congregation; by which are understood either those of the place where the fact was committed, or perhaps the great council; and this seems to us to have been necessary only when the avenger of blood appealed from those of the place of refuge. As soon therefore as a man had been unfortunately guilty of accidental homicide, his first business was to flee with all convenient haste to the next city of that kind. The ways leading to it were, by God's own appointment, to be kept in good repair (N), that nothing might retard his speed. As soon as he came to the place, he presented himself to the judges of it, and declared the occasion of his coming, and the manner of his killing the person; and according as his account appeared true or false, he was admitted to or excluded from their protection. If the avenger of blood, who was always the nearest relation to the deceased, came to demand justice, he and his evidence were heard, and the judges either confirmed their

(N) The text (7) says only, *Thou shalt prepare thee a way, and divide the coast of the land into three parts, that every slayer may flee thither.* But their rulers added a number of other laws for keeping those roads in continual repair, that the person might meet with no obstruction in his flight. These roads, according to them, were to be 32 cubits in breadth, smooth, plain, and without ascent, descent, or ditches. At every place where the road parted, a post was to be set up to direct them, which had the word מִקְלָט *miklat*, *refuge*, engraven upon it. Every brook or river was to have a good bridge; all watery places were to be drained, and the surface kept smooth and hard. To these precepts the words of the baptist, *Prepare the ways of the*

LORD, make his paths strait; every valley shall be filled, and every mountain levelled, &c. are thought to allude. Once a year at least, in the month of *Adar*, which answers in part to our *February*, the magistrates of every city were obliged to visit them, and see that they were kept in good order; otherwise, in case the avenger chanced to overtake and kill the slayer, the magistracy of the place were judged guilty of his death. As for the cities of refuge, they were to be of a moderate bigness, well furnished with water, provisions, artists, and all manner of conveniences, weapons excepted. The reason they give for excluding this last was, lest the avenger should, in a fit of anger, make use of them against the slayer (8).

(7) Deut. xix. 3.

(8) Vide Gemar. tract. טְהִלָּה, præcept. aff. 75, & seqq. Rab. Salom, Maimon, Onkelos, Munster, & al. in Num. xxxv.

former sentence in favour of the manslayer, or delivered him up to be punished, if the fact was proved to be wilfully done; but if the former, he was to be conducted to the place where the fact was committed, and there tried a second time; and if he was found innocent, he was reconducted to the place of refuge, with a sufficient guard, and remained there free from all further prosecutions; and, at the death of the high-priest, he was at liberty to return to his own home. This, at least, is what the generality of interpreters conclude to have been their proceeding in such cases. However, as the account we have of it from *Moses* is far from being clear in this point, and the cities of refuge were sometimes at such a distance from the place where the fact was committed, that the manslayer might be easily overtaken by the prosecutor, before he could reach it, we think it, at least, as reasonable to suppose, that he went and surrendered himself to the judges of the nearest place; and, having cleared himself before them from the guilt of wilful murder, was, by their order, conducted safely to the next city of refuge, where the magistrates had a further hearing of the cause, and either confirmed or revoked the sentence of the former. It is true, that what we quoted out of the rabbies in the last note, about the conveniences of the roads leading to such places, would be needless in this case; but we look upon their testimony to be very dubious, and in some cases plainly wrong. Thus the Talmud tells us ^o, that those cities were to be situated by some rivers, in order to be well supplied with water, and all kind of provision; that access to them was to be easy, and without ascent; and yet it rather appears, that the far greater part were built upon rocks. They tell us many other particulars there, which we purposely omit, because they are still more incredible. But the reader is at liberty to choose which supposition he likes best.

BESIDES these cities of refuge, the tabernacle, as we have partly observed above, and afterwards the temple, had likewise the privilege of being sanctuaries, especially the altar of burnt-offering ^p. The rabbies indeed tell us, *The altar* latter was only for priests; but we have seen the contrary, *a place of* in the instance of *Joab*, mentioned above. Those indeed, *refuge.* who were guilty of wilful murder, sheltered themselves there in vain, and were, by GOD'S express command, to be taken away from the very altar, to condign punishment. To this end there were proper judges appointed there also,

^o Gemar. Tract. Maklot. ^p Vide PHILLO. legat ad Cai. whose

whose business it was to make a strict examination of the case, and either to deliver up the criminal into the hands of justice, or send the innocent, under a proper escort, to one of the cities of refuge ^q (O).

Nethinims.

THE *Nethinims* are the last sort of persons dedicated to the worship of God. These were not of the children of *Israel*, but of the *Gibeonites*, who obtained a treaty of peace with the former by a stratagem, which will be taken notice of in the sequel, and whom *Joshua* condemned to the lowest and most laborious offices in the tabernacle under the *Levites*; such as drawing of water, fetching and hewing of wood for the altar, and the like ^r. We do not find, that this name of *Nethinims* was given to them till after the captivity, when a small number returned with *Ezra* and the rest of *Israel* from *Babylon* (P).

II. Of

^q Vide MAIMONID. apud Hotting. in Goodw. lib. ii. c. 5. note 2, & commentators in Numb. xxxv. ^r Josh. ix. 23, 27.

(O) There are several other material circumstances relating to those kind of cases, which, *Moses* having left no particular directions about, may be reasonably supposed to have been left to the discretion of the judges. Such as, for instance, when the fact was committed just before, and the sentence of the judges not obtained in favour of the homicide till after the death of the high-priest; or when it was done in the time of an interregnum; or in case the high-priest was killed by some friends of the exiled person; or, lastly, when the high-priest himself became a manslayer, which was far from impossible: concerning which, and several others of the like nature, the Talmudists have made very judicious and equitable regulations; but which

we shall not trouble our readers with.

(P) That name imports as much as *given*; and *Ezra* says (1), they were given, or appointed, by *David* and other kings, to serve in the temple under the *Levites*; and in another place, that they were the children of *Solomon's* servants (2). So that by this time the name was not confined to the *Gibeonites* alone, but was given also to the *Canaanites*, whom these princes had conquered and converted (3). We read of some such abject persons also in the time of *Moses*, who mentions them in his last pathetic speech, in these words: *You all stand this day before the LORD—your little ones, and your wives, and the stranger that is in your camp, from the hewer of thy wood, to the*

(1) *Escr.* viii. 20. (2) *Ibid.* ii. 58. (3) *1 Kings* ix. 20, 21, & *alib.*

II. *Of things consecrated to the service of God.*

THESE were, 1. The tabernacle. 2. The ark. 3. The two altars. 4. The candlestick, and other utensils belonging to it. 5. The table of shew-bread. And, 6. The court, with all the utensils which were repositied in it. Concerning all which, whatever can be said, with any tolerable certainty, is so well known to the curious in this kind of learning, and so disregarded by the rest of the world, that we should gladly content ourselves with the bare mention of them, did we think that our readers would be satisfied with it, without a further description of them. It may indeed appear somewhat surprising, that *Moses* should have bestowed almost as many pages in describing the structure of the tabernacle, and its sumptuous furniture, as he has lines in his account of the creation, and yet that we should be so much in the dark about it, and that there should be so much room left for conjecture, for want of knowing the proper signification of a great number of its parts and materials. But as this is plainly the case, we shall not expatiate upon them, unless we can do it upon some sure grounds, or where they have an apparent relation to the gospel.

I. THE tabernacle was built by the command and directions of GOD himself, that he might dwell in the midst of his people^a. Their rebellions and murmurings having provoked him to prolong the term of their wandering in the wilderness, and thereby delayed the time of their en-

The tabernacle.

^a Vide Exod. xxv. 8, & alib. pass.

drawer of thy water (4). And probably, the lowness of their condition might be one reason why so few cared to return from the captivity, where they did perhaps fare better. For we do not read of above 220 that came with *Exra* (5), and 392 with *Zorobabel* (6); which number was so insufficient for the exigences of the temple, that, *Josephus* tells us, they instituted a festival, which he calls *Xylophoria*, on which the people were obliged to carry a certain quantity of wood to the temple, to supply the altar of burnt-offering (7): and not unlikely, that also of bringing water thither from the pool of *Siloah*, on the last day of the feast of tabernacles, the institution of which is attributed to the prophet *Zachariah*, of which we have made some mention before.

(4) *Deut.* xxix. 11.

(5) *Exr.* viii. 20.

(6) *Ibid.* ii. 58.

(7) *Wars of the Jews*, lib. ii. c. 17.

tering into the possession of the *Promised Land*; it was necessary that this sacred place, where the most solemn parts of the divine worship were to be performed, should be fitted to their frequent marches, and be easily set up and taken down, as occasion required. For which reason, among other names it has in the *Mosaic* writings (Q), it

(Q) The tabernacle is called by several names in Scripture, the most common of which is that of *אהל מועד*, *ohel mo-bed*, the tent or tabernacle of the congregation or assembly, because it was made in the fashion of a magnificent tent or pavilion (90). For this reason *Josephus* calls it *μεταφερόμενος ναός*, a portable temple (91): we find it elsewhere called *שקדש*, *mikdash*, the holy place (92), and by the *Septuagint* *ἀγίασμα*, because it was made holy by God's presence; it is therefore elsewhere called by way of excellency, *הבית*, *hamishcan*, the habitation, which the *Greek* renders *σκηνη*, accordingly (93). Sometimes this last is joined with the word *העדוּת*, *habeduth*, testimony (94), the habitation or tabernacle of testimony, because God delivered his oracles from thence: lastly, it is in other parts of Scripture called *הבית*, *hecal*, palace, and the palace of the LORD (95), which name was afterwards given to the temple.

Our learned *Spencer* has here again been at the pains to fetch this tabernacle, the ark, altars, and all their appurtenances, from *Egypt* (96). He quotes

the sacred and profane writings, to prove that the *Heathens* had such portable temples, in which they deposited the most valuable utensils that belonged to their religion. It is, indeed, easy enough to prove, that they had both these, and many other things, very like those of the *Jews*; but to infer from thence, that they had them before them, and that God condescended so far to the genius of the *Israelites*, as to introduce them into his own worship, to be a kind of fence against their proneness to idolatrous superstitions, is not only very presumptuous and unlikely, but doth too evidently thwart the known design of them, and the typical application which the apostle to the *Hebrews* makes of them (97). And yet this sophistical way of reasoning is justly enough observed by a later author (98) to run thro' all his writings on this subject; for which reason we shall forbear saying more about it, having so often given our reasons for dissenting from him. The reader, however, may see this last supposition sufficiently exploded by the author last quoted, and but weakly defended since by *Le Clerc* (99).

(90) *Exod.* xxviii. 43, & *alib. pass.* (91) *Ant. lib. iii. c. 5.* (92) *Exod.* xxv. 8. (93) *Ibid. ver. 9.* (94) *Ibid. xxxviii. 21.* (95) *1 Sam.* i. 9. iii. 3. *1 Kings* xxi. 1, & *alib. pass.* (96) *De leg. rit. Hebr. dissert. i.* (97) *Heb. ix. pass. & ver. 8.* (98) *Vide Saurin's discourse on the Pentateuch, disc. liv. pass. & alib. pass.* (99) *Bibliot. A. M. tom. xii. pars ii. §. 1. pass.*

is most commonly called by that of *Obel*, which doth properly signify a tent; but such a magnificent one, both in its structure, materials, and utensils, as might inspire both the *Israelites*, and all other nations, with an awful respect and regard for the service of *God*. To this end, the most costly and precious things, which they had brought with them from *Egypt*, and those other kingdoms which they had conquered, were liberally bestowed by the people, and put into the hands of the ablest artificers, to be wrought in a manner suitable to the design of it, and to the richness of the materials ^b.

THE tabernacle was of an oblong square figure, thirty cubits long, ten cubits broad, and ten in height. It had two apartments within, divided by a row of four columns of *shittim*-wood (R), covered over with massive gold, fixed in the same number of pedestals or sockets of silver; from

^b *Exod.* xxv. 1, & seqq.

(R) This wood, though so famous in Scripture, is yet so unknown, that interpreters have not ventured to translate its name. *St. Jerom* has retained its *Hebrew* one, and the *Septuagint* only calls it imputrable wood; and, indeed, it is more than probable, that it was called *shittim*, from the place where it grew, often mentioned in Scripture (100). Our readers, therefore, may be, perhaps, willing enough to be let into that little light that can be got about it. The most probable account we can meet with is, that of *St. Jerom*, who says, that it is an hard smooth wood, free from knots, and of exquisite beauty and lightness; inasmuch that the rich used to make screws of it for their presses: that its leaves and colour were not unlike the white thorn; but that it grew to such

a height, as to be sawed into boards of a considerable length; and that it was found in the *Roman* empire, but only in the uncultivated parts of *Arabia* (1). Hence some authors have concluded, that *Jerom* meant the black *Acacia*, not only because it has all the smoothness, hardness, length, and beauty, which he speaks of, but because this latter is the only one that is to be found in those parts of *Arabia* (2). But whoever reads the description, which other authors give us of the *acacia* (3), will find, that it cannot be the *shittim* of *St. Jerom*, though we are told by very many travellers, that it is the only tree that grows in those deserts (4); but be it which of the two it will, it is plain, they were both very fit for *Moses's* purpose.

(100) *Num.* xxv. 1. xxxiii. 49. *Micah* vi. 5. (1) *Hieron. comm. in Joel* iii. ad fin. in *Micah* vi. 5, & alib. (2) *Bellon's observ. lib.* ii. c. 56, & 80. *Aëtius, lib.* iv. c. 11. (3) *Vide Prosp. Alpin. ap. auctor. notar. in lib.* iv. *Theophrast. Thevenot, La Roque, & al.* (4) *Vide Le Clerc, Gailmet, & al. comm. in Exod.* xxv. 5. *Theven. La Roque, Radmirvil, Ludolph, & al. Vide Basnag. ex Cunæo, tom.* iii. lib. ii. c. 3.

which probably might come that antient method of setting porphyry columns on bases of white marble. *Moses* doth not tell us whether they were round or square; but it seems more likely that they were square, not only because they became much in vogue in the inside of great buildings, under the name of pilasters, but also because they were more proper for the design for which they were intended, and more easy of carriage, with the boards and other flat pieces, than round ones. To the tops, or rather chapiters of these, was fastened by golden hooks a rich embroidered curtain, which divided the whole breadth of the place, and distinguished the outward, called the holy, from the inward apartment, called the most holy, or the holy of holies. This latter was but ten cubits deep, and consequently square. The other was twenty cubits, and at the entrance, at the west end, hung a second curtain to another row of five columns of the same fabricature with the former, only the bases of these were of brass; and this covered the inside of the holy place from common sight. The curtain, or, as it is called, the veil, that parted the holy from the most holy place, was made of the richest stuff, both for matter and workmanship; and adorned with cherubim, festoons, and other ornaments, curiously embroidered upon it. The whole was inclosed on the north, west, and south side, with a flight of boards of the same wood, covered also with plates of gold, and fixed below and above into sockets or mortises like the columns. These boards were ten cubits in length, and one and half in breadth; so that there were twenty on each side, and eight at the west end. They were, moreover, fastened to one another by a fivefold row of golden rings, at equal distance one over the other, five to each board; and through these were run five bars of gilt shittim-wood, which locked or unlocked them on those three sides. As for the east end, it had no boards, but was sheltered by a veil, like that which divided the two apartments, except that this outward one had no cherubim embroidered upon it, as the innermost had; for these were never exposed to public sight; but it was only adorned with flowers, leaves, and such-like embellishments of needle-work^e. How low this curtain hung, is neither expressed in the text, nor agreed about; some thinking that it came no lower than five cubits, and afforded the people a view of what was done in the holy place^f; others believing that

^e Exod. xxvi. 36.^f JOSEPH. ant. lib. iii. c. 6.

C. VII. *to the Babylonish Captivity.*

it touched the ground, and concealed it all \S ; which last is the more probable of the two (S).

Of

\S PHILO ap. Basnag. tom. ii. lib. i. c. 5.

(S) *Josephus* adds, farther, that there was another curtain over that which came down to the ground, and was to preserve it from the weather; being made of stuff that was proof against rain; but that it was drawn aside on the sabbath, and other festivals, to give the people a view of the inner one, and of its ornaments. If so, it must, at the same time, expose the altar of incense, candlestick, &c. to public sight. *Philo*, on the contrary, pretends (3), that no layman was suffered to see the fumigations which were performed within that place; the priests being the only persons who had that privilege. This seems, at least, more likely, by what we read of *Zachariab's* tarrying longer than usual in the holy place, and of the people's waiting without, not knowing what had happened to him (4). However that be, *Moses* calls these two curtains, or veils, by different names; namely, this outward one by the name of מוסך, *mussak*, which only signifies a covering; whereas the inward, which divided the holy from the most holy place, he calls פרוכת, *paroketh*, from *parak*, which signifies to take, or snatch away, and, figuratively, to free; because it covered the mercy-seat, and kept it from public sight.

The whole had four different coverings, the two innermost

of which were, by far, the richest; being of a beautiful light blue mohair, striped with scarlet and purple, or crimson, and adorned with cherubim (5). The other two were made, the under one of rams skins, with the wool on, of scarlet dye; and the uppermost of all of badgers skins, of a light blue. These two last were intended to preserve the other two from wind and rain; for which reason, they were made to hang down to the ground on the three sides that were boarded, whilst they left the outward veil open to public view on the west end, which was the entrance into that sacred place. The inside of both these apartments was still made more awful by the darkness that reign'd in them; for we do not find, that there were any apertures made for the light: so that the most holy had none but what the censer gave it, when the high-priest went into it on expiation-day. As for the holy place, it had the golden candlestick, with a sufficient number of branches to enlighten it in the night. We shall follow the *Jewish* lawgiver no farther in his succinct account of every minute part that composed this portable edifice, much less those who have commented upon him, the greatest part of whom have given such a scope to their luxuriant fancies, that they

(3) *Ap. Basnag. ubi sup.*

(4) *Luke i. 21.*

(5) *Exod. xxvi. 1, & seqq.*

Of the mercy-seat, and ark of the testimony.

The ark,
and mercy-
seat.

THESE were the two chief things that were deposited in the most holy place, and the former was as a lid or cover to the latter; for which reason some interpreters have fancied, that this was all that was meant by the word *kaphoreth*, by which *Moses* calls it. But most versions do more properly render it the *propitiatory*^k, others the *Oracle*^l, and ours the *mercy-seat*; because GOD is said to have heard their prayers, to have delivered his oracles from thence, and to dwell between the cherubim which cover it. Besides, it is plain, that it had a more than ordinary sanctity attributed to it, and that it was looked upon as the place of GOD's immediate presence; for which reason there were such severe judgments inflicted on those who presumed to approach it^m (T).

THE

^k LXX. ^l HIERON. Vulgat. & al. ^m Vide I Sam. vi. 19. 2 Sam. vi. 6, & seqq.

seem rather to have viewed it with the utmost nicety, than to have taken their description from him. We think it sufficient for us to say, that there was nothing wanting in it that could make it rich, sumptuous, and venerable; firm, lasting, and easily moved (6).

(T) *Moses* was commanded to make it of pure gold (7); from which we may conclude, that it was not made of shittim-wood overlaid with gold, like the ark, the golden table, and other sacred utensils. The length of it was two cubits and an half, and the breadth one cubit and an half; so that it exactly fitted the dimensions of the ark. It was fixed with the cherubim that overshadowed it, in a frame, or, as *Moses* calls it, a crown (8), not of a round, but oblong square figure, which

closed the upper part of the ark, like a rim, or ogee. As to the cherubim, it is certain, that they were made of gold; but whether solid, and cast of the same piece, and in the same mould, with the mercy-seat, as some *Jews* and *Christians* render it (9); or only chased and hammered, as the original, which only expresses it by hardened gold, seems rather to intimate; is not worth disputing. It would, indeed, be more material to know something concerning their form, posture, and attitude; but *Moses* has here, also, left us in the dark; except where he says, that they stretched out their wings on high, and covered the mercy-seat with them from each end of it, and faced one another, with their faces turned down towards the mercy-seat (10);

(6) *Exod.* xxvi. per tot. (7) *Ibid.* xxv. 17. (8) *Ibid.* ver. 11. (9) *Chald. paraph.* R. Sal. Arr. Montan. Tremel. & al. in loc. ver. 18. (10) *Exod.* xxv. 20. from

C. VII. to the Babylonish Captivity.

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THE ark was a small chest made of shittim-wood, and covered over with beaten gold. We have seen the dimensions of its length and breadth, by those of the mercy-seat; its height was equal to its breadth; that is, one cubit and an half. It is called the ark of the covenant, and the ark of the testimony; the first, because it was a symbol of the covenant made between GOD and his people, and contained the two tables of it, the pot of manna, and Aaron's miraculous rod, which were deposited in it, to be as so many witnesses against every deviation of theirs. It had on each side two gold rings, through which were fastened the two bars, by which it used to be carried on the priests shoulders (U).

BESIDES

from which we may reasonably conclude, that they were, at least, in a kind of bowing posture. This attitude, tho' not so clearly expressed by *Moses*, may be further evinced, not only as it was the most decent and respectful, but as it seems to be alluded to by the psalmist, who, having declared that GOD was seated between the cherubim, and expressed his majesty, justice, and power, in the two or three verses following adds, *Prostrate yourselves before his footstool* (11). Neither is it improbable, that what is said of their looking down upon the mercy-seat, in a kind of admiring posture, might give occasion to that beautiful allusion of *St. Peter*, when, speaking of the mysteries of our redemption, he says, *Which the very angels desire to look into* (12). We might likewise give a very probable conjecture of their height, if it be allowed, that their wings, which met about the middle of the mercy-seat, did bear the usual proportion to the

rest of their bodies: but these inquiries are more curious than useful.

(U) These bars were made of the same wood with the ark, and, like it, overlaid with gold; and these were never to be taken off. The ark, with its covering, stood lengthwise, and not crosswise, as some have imagined, in the midst of the most holy place. *Moses* does not tell us whether or no it had either feet, or some pedestal, to stand upon; and yet it is hardly to be supposed, that it stood upon the bare ground.

Several learned rabbies have a notion, that there were two arks, the one made by *Moses*, and the other by *Bezaleel*; because *Moses* is said, in one place, to have made an ark of shittim-wood, into which he put the two tables of stone (13); and, in another place, that *Bezaleel* made an ark, and cover'd it with gold (14). But they might as well conclude, that *Solomon* built one temple, and his workmen another. However,

(11) *Pf. xcix. 1, 5.*
(10) *Exod. xxx. 1, & seqq.*

(12) *1 Pet. i. 12.*

(13) *Deut. x. 3.*

BESIDES the ark, and mercy-seat, there was still in this most holy place the volume of the law, which *Moses* gave the *Levites* to deposit by the side of the ark^a; whether on the in or out-side is not agreed, but most probably on the latter^b. However, as to the book itself, we must not suppose, that it was the only copy, seeing it would not have been lawful for the high-priest to have fetched it out and in but on expiation-day; whereas the public reading of it was to be on the feast of tabernacles. We may therefore suppose, with the *Jews* (X), that there were several copies of it, and that this prototype was thus carefully preserved to prevent the rest from being corrupted. Lastly, after the ark was brought back from the *Philistines*,

^a Deut. xxxi. 9. 26. ^b Vide PAID. connect. part i. lib. iii.

they add, that *Moses* did always carry his own, and the priests the other; and that this latter, which had in it the book of the law, was always carried with them when they went to engage their enemies (15). *Abenezra* endeavours to confirm this opinion, by what is said in *Josua* of the distance that was to be kept between the people and it (the ark) (16). He pretends, that the pronoun *it* is in the plural in the original; and that the words should be translated, *Between you and them*, that is, the two arks (17). But, besides that his criticism has no foundation, but on the different reading of the *Masorites*, and that grounded on the disputed authority of the points; we have elsewhere seen, that the plural is sometimes used to express the excellency of a thing: so that we see no reason to suppose two arks, from either of these arguments; and yet some Chri-

stians have given into that opinion (18).

(X) They tell us, that there were thirteen copies of it, one for each tribe, and one to be preserved in the ark. There is nothing improbable in all this; but there is one particularity they add, which is not quite so clear; namely, that, after the building of the temple, this last was taken out of the sanctuary, and deposited in the treasury of the temple; and that it was this volume which was found there by the high-priest *Hilkiah*, in the reign of *Josiah* (19). But if the latter be true, it is more likely, that it was taken out of the sanctuary, and repositied in some such private place, to prevent its undergoing the same fate that all other copies had done, during the wicked reigns of *Ammon* and *Manasses*, than that it was removed thence in *Solomon's* time, without any necessity, or command from God.

(15) *Nachman, Kimchi, Zacob, & al. Vide Basnag. ubi sup.* (16) *Josb. iii. 4.* (17) *Abenez. in Deut. x.* (18) *Goodw. & Hotting. ubi sup. Dissert. de tabernacul. §. 13.* (19) *2 Kings xxii. 8, & seqq. 2 Chron. xxiv. 14, & seqq. Vide Kimch. in loc, & Basnag. ubi sup. c. 8.*

they

they deposited the little chest with the golden mice and emrods, not in it, but by the side of it ^e.

THE utensils in the holy place were, 1. The altar of incense. 2. The golden candlestick. And, 3. The table of shew-bread.

1. THE altar of perfume is sometimes called the golden altar, because, though it was made all of shittim-wood, yet it was so well covered over with that metal, that it looked like a solid piece of gold. It is also called the inner altar, to distinguish it from that of burnt-offerings, which stood without the tabernacle. Its use was twofold, namely, to burn incense morning and night, as we hinted elsewhere, and to be sprinkled with the blood of the sacrifices, which were offered for sins of ignorance committed either by particular priests, or by all the people in general ^f. It was one cubit square, and two cubits high, so that the smoke had still eight cubits to ascend. Two bars of the same wood covered with gold, and put through four gold rings, served to carry it about, like the ark; only these might be taken off. There was a golden crown or ornament like an ogee round the top of it, and four horns on the four corners (Y), likewise covered with gold. The main difficulty is how to understand what is meant by the top or roof of it ^g, and how it could be ordered so as to

^e 1 Sam. vi. & alib. ^f Vid. Levit. iv. 3, & 7, 13, & 18.
^g Exod. xxx. 3, in the margin.

(Y) It is scarce worth inquiring after the various forms interpreters have given to those ornaments (18). What is worth observing to our *English* readers is, that the word (קרן, *keren*, signifies either *an horn*, or *a ray of light*; from which, perhaps, as *Cunæus* observes, those rays which shone about *Moses's* face may easily have been transformed into horns: so that these, on the corners of the altars, might, probably, be nothing else but ornaments resembling, in some measure, the rays of the sun. However, those

who think them to have been in shape like the horns of an ox or ram, may as probably guess right; since any of these forms might answer the purposes for which they seem intended; namely, in this small one for the greater ease and steadiness in moving and carrying it about; and in the great one for tying the victims to them, according to the allusion of the psalmist (19); and, perhaps, likewise, to hang the flagons of wine on, which usually accompanied those sacrifices (20).

(18) *Villalpand. Arr. Montan. § al. Zecbar. ix, 15.*

(19) *Pf. exlviii. 27.* (20) *Vide*

bear the heat of the burning coals, without burning wood through the gold that overlaid it (Z).

THE author of the second book of *Maccabees* tells that *Jeremiah*, seeing the captivity approaching, too

(Z) This has induced St. *Jerom*, and others, to translate it a grate, through which the small coals and ashes fell to the bottom (21); but the construction of the altar is incompatible with it. *Josephus* calls it a golden fire-hearth, which is equally liable to the same inconvenience; unless we suppose it to have been of more than common thickness. The difficulty is still greater with respect to the altar of burnt-offerings, which, tho' made of the same wood, and only covered with copper, did yet bear a much more intense heat, by reason of the great number of victims which were burnt constantly upon it. *Le Clerc* hath offered two ways of solving this difficulty, either by supposing the metal that covered it to be very thick, or that the shittim was the same with the *larix* of *Vitruvius*, which was an incom-bustible wood (22); and because he found the first solution to be insufficient, he published a short dissertation to prove the probability of the latter (23): but the misfortune is, that we have no sufficient testimony that any such wood did grow in the neighbourhood of *Sinai*, or, indeed, in *Arabia*. We shall speak of the latter altar by and-by. As for this of incense, *Cunæus* seems to have found

out the best expedient: the *Jewish* rabbies, by posing that the burning were not set upon the altar itself, but upon a censer or chafing-dish: which conjecture he backs by a text or two, where such censers are commanded to be filled with coals and set upon the altar. However, if the readers shall scruple to admit of these, but supposing, that this grate, or roof, with its crowning frame, was so fixed, as to be some small distance above the altar itself, and the wood would be out of danger of being burnt, though it had not been overlaid with gold; because the smoke naturally ascends. The situation of it is not clear in the text, which says, that it was to stand before the veil (24). *Josephus*, who is universally followed, places it between the candlestick and the table of shew-bread (26). We cannot contradict it, and yet we think that if the candlestick were placed in the midst, which is the properest place for it, and the other two, which were near of the same form, height and bigness, put on each side and at a little distance between it and the sides of the tabernacle, it would be more agreeable to the rules of symmetry.

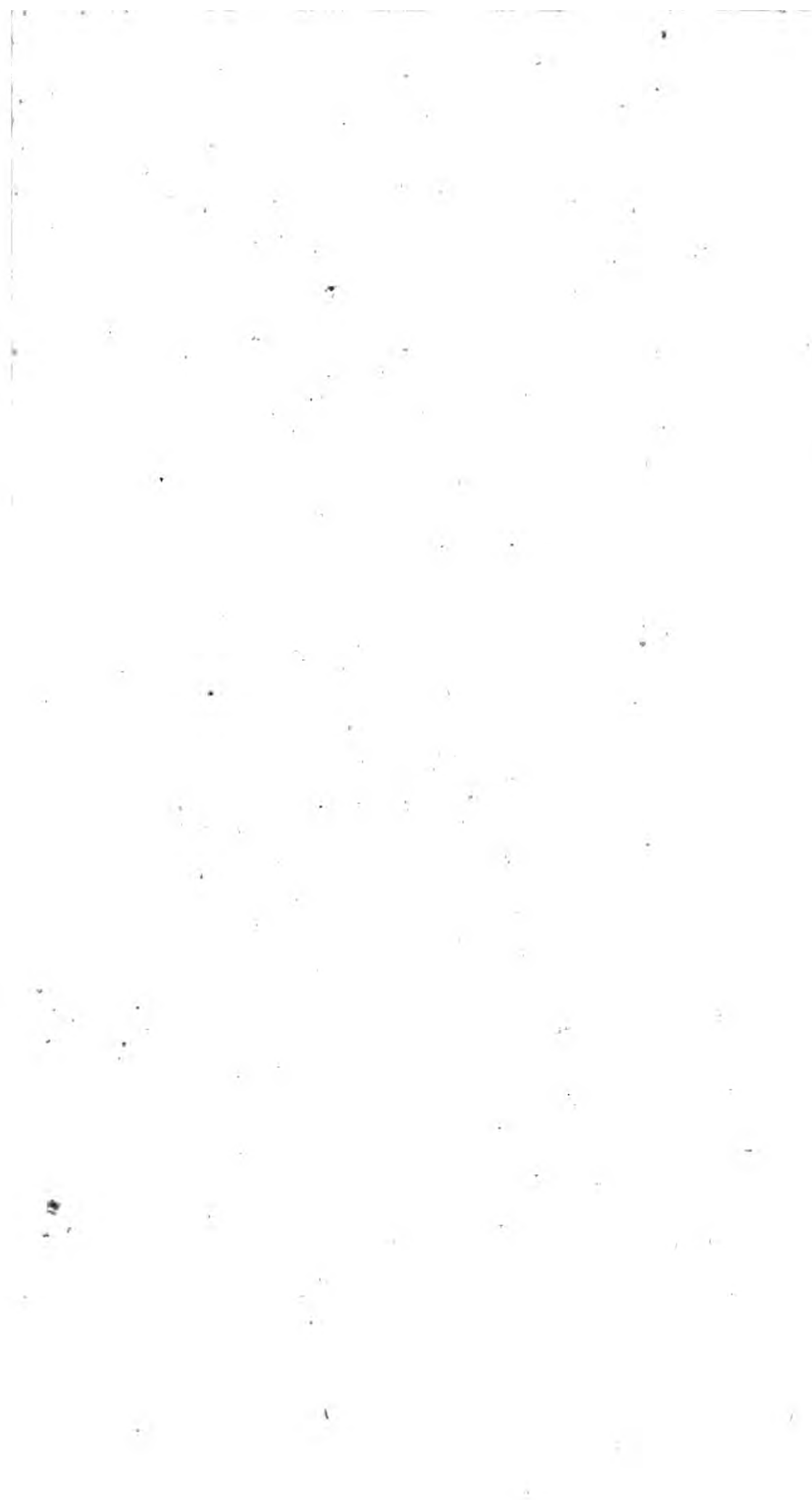
(21) *Cbald. paraphr. Fagius in loc.*
 (23) *Bibliot. ant. & mod. tom. xii. p. 57, & seqq.*
 x. 1. xvi. 12. *Num.* xvi. 6, 7.
 lib. iii. c. 6. *ad fin.*

(22) *Comm. in Exod. in loc.*

(24) *Comp. Levit.*

(25) *Exod.* xxx. 6.

(26) *Ant.*





THE GOLDEN CANDLESTIC.

altar and the ark of GOD to mount *Nebo*, and hid them in a cave there, and stopped the door so close, that it could not afterwards be found ^o. The Talmudists give a different account of it, namely, that *Josiah*, having been admonished by some prophets, that all the precious vessels of the sanctuary would be carried away to *Babylon*, deposited the holy fire, the ark, the pot of manna, *Aaron's* rod, and the breast-plate of *urim*, and this altar of incense in a subterranean place, which *Solomon*, from the same forecast, had caused to be built, with such extreme care and privacy, that, at the return from the captivity, they could never be found, nor ever will be, if we believe the *Jews*, till the coming of the MESSIAH. One thing, indeed, seems reasonable to suppose, that if they had been carried to *Babylon*, with the rest of the sacred utensils of the temple, they would have been also restored to them; but we find, on the contrary, that they were forced to make them new ones at their return, whatever became of the old P.

2. THE candlestick was by far the richest piece in the whole sanctuary, seeing it weighed a talent, not the common, but that of the sanctuary; and was made from top to bottom of pure beaten gold, all of a piece, without joint or solder ^q. Its base, or foot, or, as the original words it, its thigh, because it probably resembled an inverted one, had a trunk over it, out of which proceeded six branches, three on each side, and this last made the seventh in the middle. These branches were adorned with cups, knops, and flowers, alternate and equidistant; and on the top of each was fixed a lamp, shaped like an almond, which might be taken on or off, as occasion served ^r, and in them were put the oil, and the wick, or cotton. These had their tongs, or snuffers, to draw the cotton in or out, and snuff-dishes, to receive the sparks and filth that fell from the lamps. All these were of pure gold also. It was the priest's business in waiting every evening, at the time of incense, to go in and light them, and about the same time in the morning to put them out, to clean and replenish them ^s(Z).

3. THE

^o Ch. ii. 1, & seqq. P Vid. BUXTORF de arc. c. 21, 22. R. JACKUT. PRID. conn. part. i. lib. iii. CUNÆ. BASNAG. & al.

^q Exod. xxv. 31, & seqq. ^r Comp. Exod. xxv. 37, with

Num. iv. 9. ^s Comp. ver. 16, with Exod. xxx. 8. Levit. xxiv. 2. 1 Sam. iii. 3.

(Z) As to the height of it, some have lowered it to the level of the altar of incense, *Moses* has not mentioned any thing about it; so that, whilst which would have cast but an imperfect

Table of
shew-
bread.

3. THE table of shew-bread. We have spoken of the bread elsewhere : as for the table on which it was set, it was made of the same wood, and covered with gold like the ark : it was two cubits long, one cubit broad, and one and half high : it had a golden border, or crown, which may be supposed to be a kind of rim round it, like that of our tea-tables ^w. It was also of pure gold, and might have an ogee, or some such ornament, about it (A).

4. THE

^w Exod. xxv. 23, & seqq.

imperfect light, especially on the table of shew-bread, where the loaves stood one upon another ; others have carried it up to the height of five cubits, which is a worse extreme, since it must not only have required a ladder, or steps, to have reached it, but, it being the half of the height of the place, the smoke of it would soon have sullied and spoiled the rich curtains over head : it is therefore more reasonable to suppose it of such an height, that a man might easily reach the top of it, that is, about six feet high. We are likewise left to guess at its shape, breadth, situation, and several other particulars ; in which every commentator thinks he has hit better than his brethren (1) ; for which reason we shall follow them no longer in the dark. It may not, however, be amiss here, to say something of the oil that entertained these lamps ; and this, the text tells us, was to be the purest virgin oil of olives, with which the land of Canaan abounded very much, as we have seen in the geography of it : and indeed, none but such would have been fit

to burn in that place, where the furniture was so exquisitely rich. We shall only add, that, after the building of the temple, *Solomon*, instead of one, placed ten candlesticks in the holy place, all of the same metal, with their other appurtenances (2) ; but whether that of *Moses* was one of the number, or made the eleventh, is not certain ; the latter seems the more probable of the two, because the holy place here being considerably larger than that of the tabernacle, and all the vessels being made so accordingly, it is likely that the candlesticks did bear the same proportion ; in which case the old one would not have been uniform with the rest. But whether it was new cast, or reposed in the treasury of the temple, or what became of it, is uncertain.

(A) *Moses* seems to intimate, in another verse, something like a second crown, or rim, though some take it to be the same with the former ; but it is more likely that it was a lower one, which went round the four feet near the bottom, and kept them steady. To

(1) *Vide int. al. Joseph. ubi sup. Hieron. Arr. Mont. Villalpand. Cun. Basnag. Villet, & al.* (2) 1 Kings vii. 49. 2 Chron. iv. 7.

4. THE court of the tabernacle, with its utensils, is the *Court of* last thing we have to speak of. The court was an oblong *the tabernacle* square, 100 cubits long, and 50 broad, inclosed on all *naele* but the east side, which had an opening of 20 cubits for the priests and *Levites*, and people, to go in and out with their offerings. This inclosure was not designed to conceal what was done in the court, since the curtains, that surrounded it, were made of a kind of net, or point-work, through which even the heathens might have a view of it. These curtains, which *Moses* therefore calls by a particular name (C), to distinguish them from those of the tabernacle, whose use was of a different nature, were supported by four flights of pillars, probably of shittim-wood, with

the upper rim were fastened four gold rings, two on each side, through which the bars were put that served for its carriage. On the top there were, besides the two rows of shew-loaves, some pots, or chafing-dishes, of gold, in which the incense used to be burnt, with several other smaller utensils, which served for inferior uses in this holy place (3); but we shall not dwell on them, there being almost as many different opinions about the significations of their names, their forms and uses, as there are interpreters. This table was afterwards changed for another by *Salomon* (4). *Josephus* tells us (5), that it was larger than the old one, probably to answer the largeness of the place. The author of the book of *Chronicles* adds, that he made ten more, five on the north, and five on the south side of the holy place, which served to

set all the other utensils upon (6); and *Josephus* says, that there were as many more of different makes and sizes, as served to hold 20,000 cups, and other vessels of gold, and twice that number of silver ones (7).

(C) The word here used is *יָלָן kelagh*, which signifies either a sling, or a net, or open work (8), probably because slings, with which they slung their stones, had the bottom made of some such kind of open net-work. For this reason, the *Chaldee* paraphrast translates it grate, or crib-work; in which he is followed by the generality of Christian interpreters (9). Some rabbies add to it a flourishing of all sorts of leaf and flower-work (10); but they all agree, that the ground was open and transparent; so that these hangings might, in some measure, resemble a piece of point, or lace.

(3) *Exod.* xxv. 29, & alib. pass. (4) *1 Kings* vii. 48, & seqq. (5) *Ant.* lib. viii. c. 2. (6) *2 Chron.* iv. 8. (7) *Ubi sup.* (8) *Vide Buxtorf. thesaur. & Arr. Montan. sub voc. יָלָן.* (9) *R. Sal. Jarch. Vide Munst. Jun. Oheft, & al.* (10) *Kimch. in rad. & al.*

brass pedestals, or sockets; and adorned with silver fillets, or rather chapters, for such they were ^e (A).

THUS the whole court had a circuit of 300 cubits. Those therefore who suppose that the curtain, which surrounded it, was one intire piece, seem not to consider what a laborious task it would have been to the *Gershonites* to have folded or rolled it up; besides, the text, speaking all along of them in the plural number, shews that there were more than one or two ^f. However, though this court bore the same proportion with the tabernacle, and the four sides ran parallel to it, yet is not the tabernacle to be supposed to have stood in the centre of it. There was no necessity for the area on the west end to be of the same extent with that on the east, because we do not read of any considerable utensils placed in it; whereas this latter had the altar of burnt-offerings, the laver, and several other things, of which we are going now to speak; so that, though *Moses* has not left us the dimensions of either, this last is supposed to have been of equal length with its breadth, that is, fifty feet square; and, indeed, less than that space could hardly suffice for all the work that was done there, and the multitude of utensils that were used in it, since it was the only place in which all the victims were slain, and both they, and all other kind of offerings, were brought and offered up (B).

THERE

^e Vide Exod. xxxviii. 28. ^f Ibid. xxvii. ver. 9, 10, 12, & seqq.

(A) As for their height, as *Moses* has said nothing of it, authors have conjectured it variously, from ten to five cubits; but as the design of them was only to support the curtains, and to hinder the approach, and not the view of the tabernacle, the last seems the most rational, it being the height that *Josephus* assigns, as well as that of the curtains; only we may reasonably suppose, that the silver chapters did rise above the curtain. We are likewise left to guess at their figure, only a square one may reasonably be supposed fitter both for carriage,

and for holding the hangings tight, than a round one. They were fifty-six in number, twenty on each side, ten at the west, and six at the east end, besides those which supported the blue curtain which covered the entrance of the court, which was of a fine sky-blue, flourished, and was made either to draw on either side, or to lift up; the text doth not say which, but the *Jews* believe the latter (11).

(B) For this reason it is disputed, both among the *Jews* and Christians, whether the people who brought the victims were suffered to enter in-

(11) *Exod.* xxvii. 9. *ad fin.*

C. VII. *to the Babylonish Captivity.*

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THERE have been also various conjectures concerning the reason of its situation, and facing of the west, which we shall not dwell upon : the best we meet with from the *Jews* is, that it was done in opposition to the heathen, who worshiped towards the rising sun. As for the mystical interpretations of some Christian divines, they are out of our present province.

THE altar of burnt-offerings was placed, as we have observed before, at the east end of the court ; and one may suppose it to have stood at such a convenient distance from the tabernacle, that neither the smoke of its constant fire, nor that of the victims which were burned upon it, might damage its outward veil. This altar is also called the outward, to distinguish it from that of incense, which was within the sanctuary. We have already taken notice, that it was made of shittim-wood, and covered over with brass. It was five cubits square, and three cubits high ; and because it was portable, like the other, it had four brass rings, through which the two bars were put, by which it was carried upon the priests shoulders. It had four horns at the four corners, of the same wood, and covered with the same metal, but whose shape is equally uncertain with those of the other altar. In the cavity of it, which probably went through, and may be supposed as capacious as the bigness of the altar will admit, was hung, by four brass rings, a cross-bar grate, which reached down to the middle of the cavity, and through which the ashes fell. This was to be placed under that part which is generally rendered the compass of the altar^h ; but is variously understood, or rather fancied, in order to save the wood from being con-

^h Exod. xxvii. 1, 5, & seqq.

to it, in order to lay their hands on the heads of the victims, and to stay the whole time of the ceremony, as the letter of the law seems to require ; or, whether they were not met by the priests or *Levites* at the entrance into the court, and, having performed the ceremony of imposition of hands and confession of sins there, did go to behold the remainder of it, from the openings of the inclosure. If the

former be admitted, it must be owned, that they must have been very much crowded at some particular seasons. We need not add, that the brass stakes and cordages all round, within as well as without, and designed to secure both the court and the tabernacle from storms and winds, took up a good deal of room ; so that they must have had some regulation touching the number of persons to be admitted at a time.

fumed

sumed within the copper-work. We shall content ourselves with giving our readers, in the margin, the most probable and approved conjecture, which is that of the author of the *dissertations upon the pentateuch*¹ (E).

It was on this altar that the sacred fire, which descended from heaven at the consecration of the tabernacle, was to be continually kept. If it be asked how this could be done in their marches, when this and all other utensils were wrapped up in several coverings, the uppermost of which was of badgers skins, without either burning those coverings, or extinguishing the fire, we need not have recourse

¹ SAURIN'S discours sur le pentat. disc. liv.

(E) He supposes the cavity of the altar to have been about seven feet and an half wide, from side to side, and the shittim-wood to have been cover'd with brass, within as well as without. The cross-bar grate he supposes to have been a vessel, made in the most convenient form to receive and keep up the fire, which was constantly supplied with fresh wood, and to have been hung about a foot deep within the cavity. As for the *carcob*, which we render the compass, or circuit, he thinks that it was another copper vessel, whose form he leaves to the discretion of the reader, capacious enough to contain the flesh of the victims, which were to be consumed upon, or in it. This vessel being likewise suspended by four brass rings over the grate, at a convenient distance, was consequently surrounded by the continual flames from below, and might consume all that was in it in a very little time, without endangering the wood of which the altar was made; and both

the *carcob* and the grate, being thus suspended, might be easily taken on and off, whenever the altar was to be cleared or transported. Thus far our author; the reader may see his reasons for these suppositions in the original; to which we may venture to add, that the whole might be so artificially contrived, that the flesh being thus embraced on all sides, by a fierce and constant fire, and this by the circumambient air, might centre the heat to such a degree, as to consume every particle, and yet be intirely free from that offensive smell which such quantities of flesh and fat must have necessarily caused. But this we submit to our readers, and shall only add, that we have seen, both in *France* and *Holland*, such kinds of hearths, made in the form of a chafing-dish, which would consume the most fetid, as well as the most odiferous materials, without casting either smoke or smell beyond the limits of its focus.

to miracles, as the rabbies do here and every-where else (G). We may reasonably suppose, that the *carcob*, or vessel which held the fire, and was to be taken off when they removed, was carried in such a manner as to preserve fire enough to kindle a greater one, when occasion required, as on the morning and evening sacrifice.

THE brazen laver is the last considerable utensil that was ^{The great} in the court of the tabernacle. It was conveniently situate ^{laver.} between the east end of it and the altar of burnt-offerings. Its shape and capaciousness not being mentioned by *Moses*, we can affirm nothing certain about them. Its use was twofold. First, it served for the priests to wash their hands and feet, who were expressly forbid, under severe penalties, to presume upon any part of their function till they had performed that ceremony ^m. Secondly, to wash the entrails and legs of the victims ⁿ. Some *Jews* fancy, that there was another reservoir of water for this last use ^o; which is not im-

^m Exod. xxx. 19, & seqq.

ⁿ Vide Levit. xxii. 18, & seqq.

^o Vide KIMCH. in loc.

(G) It is by the same miraculous power that they pretend it was preserved against violent winds and rains, to which the altar was exposed, by standing in such an open place; but we may more reasonably suppose, that they took proper means to shelter it from both, such as *Moses* might leave to their discretion. We need not tell our readers how early this sacred fire was in use among the *Chaldeans* and *Persians*, from whom it passed to the *Greeks*, *Romans*, and other nations. It was called, in the old *Perfic*, *Orismada*, which some critics pretend to be derived from the *Hebrew* words *urim esb yab*, *light and fire of God*, or from *or esb men yab*, *light and fire from God*; and from thence infer, that they had this custom from the *Jews* (1): but that is

what we will not venture to warrant. As for the *Jewish* one, we read in the *Maccabees* (2), that, at the approach of *Nebuchadnezzar* towards *Jerusalem*, the prophet *Jeremiah*, with some other priests, took it from the altar, and went and hid it in the bottom of a dry well; and that, at the return from the captivity, *Nehemiah* sent some of their grandchildren to the well, who brought him some dirty water instead of fire; but, upon his pouring it upon the altar, it immediately blazed into a clear flame; which was kept afterwards till the destruction of the second temple. This story is likewise apocryphal, but the *Jews* believe it; only they compare this second fire to a dog, whereas the first, they say, was like a lion (3).

(1) *Basnag. ex Cumæo, tom. ii. lib. i. c. 14. & seqq. ii. 1, & seqq.*

(3) *R. Zaccub, ubi sup.*

(2) *2 Marc. i. 19.*

probable, not only as it was more decent, but because we find it so ordered in *Solomon's temple*, where the brazen sea was for the sole washing of the priests, whilst there were ten other lavers besides for the washing of the victims ^p. If this was not the case here, we must suppose, that they only took the water out of the laver into some other vessels, to wash those entrails in; for it was not even lawful for a priest to wash his hands and feet in the same water. For this reason they suppose, that this laver had a quantity of cocks, at which the water was set to run upon their feet first, and then upon their hands, and was received into a basin underneath ^q. This fountain was to be kept continually replenished with water; and this office belonged to the *Levites* ^r, unless they made perhaps the *Nethinims* bring it to them to the entrance of the court (F).

To

^p 2 Chron. iv. 6. ^q Mishn. ap. ARR. MONTAN. in loc.
^r Vide N. DE LYRA in loc.

(F) *Moses* tells us in another chapter, that this brass laver and its foot were made of the looking-glasses of the women that came in crowds to the door of the tabernacle (3): which has given ground for various speculations; and some interpreters have even ventured to turn the brass there mentioned into steel (4), as if those antient mirrors had been made of no other metal. For our part, we take it for granted, that they were made of other metals also, such as brass, tin, silver, and the like, and some with brass, mixed with tin or silver; the last of which, *Pliny* tells us (5), were the most esteemed; but we are apt to think, that there is an error crept into the text, or an exchange of one letter for another like it; and that it should be rendered, he made

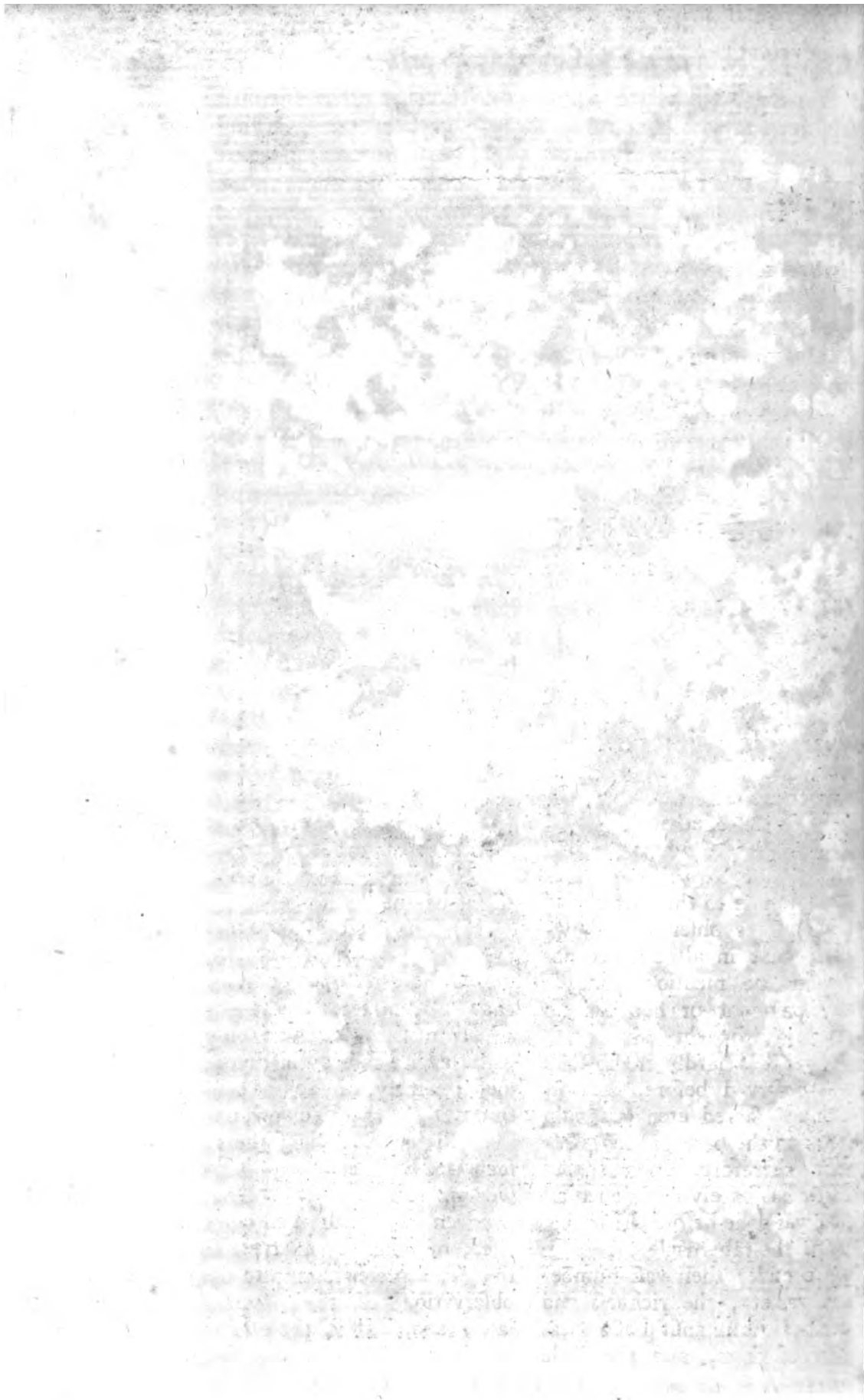
the laver and its foot of a brass, like the looking-glasses of the women that croud about the door of the tabernacle; by which is meant, that he made them either of the same metal, or that he gave them the same degree of brightness and smoothness. And, if what an antient father tells us be true, of the *Egyptian* women (6), that they used to go into the temple with a looking-glass in one hand, and a timbrel in the other, it will still give us a greater light into the meaning of the *Hebrew* women wearing such an ornament when they came to the tabernacle. As for what is said of their repairing thither in crowds, it was no more than what they usually did, as appears from other places of Scripture (7).

Those who understand the original know, that it is far from improbable, that the

(3) *Exod.* xxxviii. 8. (4) *Vide Tremel. in loc.* (5) *Lib.* xxxiii. c. 9.
(6) *Cyrl. Alexand. de adorat. in spirit. lib. ii. ap. Calm. sub voc. Miroir.*
(7) *Vide 1 Sam. ii. 22, & alib.*



THE BRASEN LAVER.



To these we might add a multitude of other furniture subservient to other uses, such as kettles, pans, frying-pans, ovens, shovels, tongs, pickaxes, hatchets, cleavers, knives, forks, tables, tubs, trays, dishes, and many more; all of which were either made of brass, or of wood covered with it; but it is sufficient to have named the most considerable of them. We shall only add, that the charge of all these was committed, the most sacred ones to the priests, and the rest to the *Levites*, whose business it was to pack and cover them up with proper cloths and skins, made for that purpose, whenever they removed (G).

THESE are the principal laws relating to the worship of GOD, or, as they are commonly called, of the first table; but, before we pass to those of the second, it will be necessary to say something of those which related to the profelytes (H). There was an express command of GOD, that,

betb may have slipped in here instead of the \beth *caph*, by reason of their likeness; especially if they remember, that the former is never used, that we can recollect, to express the metal or matter of which a thing is made; so that this letter is here altogether irregular; whereas the \beth , which signifies *as, like unto, according to*, gives a good sense to the phrase.

(G) It is observable, however, that in all this account we find no mention made of any pavement or flooring, so much as for the tabernacle; and yet it is hardly credible, as was observed before, that its rich and sacred utensils should stand on the bare ground. We may therefore suppose, that *Moses* has barely mentioned all that was done before the setting up of the tabernacle. And, if we consider their vast number and variety, the richness and curious workmanship of a great part of them, and the little

time the whole was finished in, not much above five months (8), we shall have cause to wonder at their dispatch, unless we suppose a vast number of hands to have been employed in it; but this need not hinder us from supposing, that *Moses* might add many others, as he saw needful in process of time; among which, this flooring might be one.

(H) The text distinguishes them only by the words γ , *ger*, a traveller or sojourner, and η , *neker*, a stranger or alien. However, we may make a threefold distinction of them; namely, of such as continued still in their idolatry, and the religion of their fathers; such as had renounced it to worship the only true GOD, but remained still uncircumcised, or bound themselves, as the *Jews* pretend, only to the observation of the *Noachid* law; and, lastly, those who by circumcision were bound to

(8) *Ita Judæi. Vide sedar olam. Munst. Cun. Uffer ann. p. 16, & al.*

that, if any stranger was desirous to be admitted to eat of the passover, he was first to be circumcised; after which he was to be admitted, not only to that grand solemnity, but to all the other religious privileges, in common with the *Israelites*^z. Of this number was a great part of the mixed multitude which came with them out of *Egypt*, and of the conquered inhabitants of *Canaan*. And indeed the condition of those who became circumcised was so preferable to that of those who continued in their old religion, that the number of the former increased very much; and this is supposed to have put the selfish *Jews* upon the distinction between proselytes of the gate, and proselytes of righteousness, the former of which, continuing uncircumcised, and being bound to observe only the precepts of *Noah*, were kept in a state not many degrees better than slavery. We find no less than an hundred and fifty-three thousand and upwards of this kind in *Solomon's* time, who were all employed in the most servile and laborious works^a. But because this would have proved a most effectual way to have made them embrace the *Jewish* religion, in hopes of bettering their condition, the *Jews* tell us, that they admitted few, if any, especially in the happy reigns of *David* and *Solomon*, lest they should be induced to it only from worldly ends^b (I).

MOSES

^z Exod. xii. 48. Numb. ix. 14.

^a 2 Chron. ii. 17, 18.

^b MAIMON. Vide SELD. de fynedr. BUXT. fynagog. & alib.

observe the law of *Moses*, and were thereby intitled to the same privileges with all the *Israelites*. It is true, they were not to suffer any of the first sort to live among them; but it is plain by the sequel, that they became extremely remiss and negligent in this respect, and were often reproved for it by the prophets. The second sort were called גרי השער, *gare hasbahar*, strangers of the gate, from the expression often used in the pentateuch, *the stranger that is within thy gates*. But, when any of either sort became cir-

cumcised, they were then distinguished by the name of גרי הברית, *gare haberith*, strangers or proselytes of the covenant, and גרי צדק, *gare zedek*, proselytes of righteousness.

(I) The *Talmud* compares those proselytes to the rust in iron, or ulcers in the body; and adds, that too much caution could not be taken in the admission of them (37). For this reason they add, that they were refused three times; but, if they persisted in their desire of being admitted, they were then to be circumcised before

(37) Vide Seld. de fynedr. lib. ii. c. 2. art. 5.

MOSES made likewise some difference between nation and nation, with respect to their admission, into what he terms *the congregation of the LORD*^e. The *Edomites* were received after the second generation, because they were brethren; and so were the *Egyptians*, because *Israel* had been a stranger in *Egypt*. The *Moabites* and *Ammonites*, on the contrary, were not to be admitted till after the tenth generation, as some understand the text, or, according to the letter of the original, not even after the tenth generation, because, instead of receiving the *Israelites* with a brotherly hospitality, they hired *Balaam* to curse them (K). Bastards, and all illegitimate issue, were under the same exclusion with them (L). The *Amalekites*,

as

^e Deut. xxiii. 1, & seqq.

two or three sufficient witnesses, to be baptized, in order to wash away the filth of heathenism; and lastly, to offer up the usual sacrifices for sin, &c. after which they were received as servants of the God of *Israel* (38).

(K) The *Jews* observe, that *Moses* expresses himself only in the masculine, *Ammoni* and *Moabi*, a man *Ammonite* or *Moabite*, to intimate, that he did not mean to exclude a woman from being admitted upon some extraordinary account. For *Ruth*, though a *Moabite*, was, for her extraordinary piety, married to *Boaz*, the great grandfather of *David* (39). But we shall see in the next note, that this is not the only instance of their admitting persons expressly excluded by that lawgiver.

(L) The original word is ממוזר, *mamzer*; by which the *Jews* generally understand, not only all kind of incestuous and

adulterous issue, but likewise children begot in fornication, or even in wedlock, when either of the parents were *Canaanites*, or of any idolatrous nation, and unconverted (40). The *Septuagint*, *Vulgate*, and the canonists, take it to signify only the son of a prostitute. The truth is, the right meaning of it cannot be fixed, because it is used only in this place, and in *Zechariah* (41); but in neither is explained by the context. What has induced the *Jews* to understand it of incestuous, and other unlawful issue, is, that the *mamzer* is mentioned just before, and put upon the same foot with the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, who were born by incest (42); but if that were the case, how came the two sons of *Judab*, *Pharez* and *Zarah*, whom he had by his daughter-in-law *Tamar* (43), not to be reputed spurious? If it be said, he knew her not, yet it is plain

(38) Vide *Basnag. ex Cunaeo*, tom. ii. lib. i. c. 1. (39) Vide *Munst. in Deut. xxiii. 1, & seqq.* (40) *Idem ibid.* (41) *Ch. ix. 6.* (42) *Gen. xix. 31, & seqq. Vide sup.* (43) *Gen. xxxviii. 13, & seqq.*

as well as eunuchs of all kinds, were totally excluded; the former, because they were under the divine *anathema*^f; and the latter, because their condition was accounted a legal defect^g (M). Thus much for the laws of the first table.

Laws

^f Exod. xvii. 14, & seqq.

^g Vide Levit. xxi. 20.

she knew him; and the *Jews*, against whom we object this, pretend, that either in incest or adultery, though neither party be conscious; as, when a woman, believing her husband long since dead, marries another, or *vice versa*; yet the issue of such a marriage is *mamzer*, or spurious; so that, according to this canon, those two, and their posterity, ought to have been excluded.

Again, as to the children of whoredom, it is plain, they have not always been rejected, since *Jephthab*, who was both judge and general in *Israel*, was the son of a concubine (44). We must therefore suppose, either that these were particular cases excepted, or, which is most probable, that *mamzer* signified something different from either of these; perhaps, the children begot by an *Hebrew* upon a *Canaanitish*, or any idolatrous woman, in order to deter them from such unlawful mixtures, by the consideration, that the issue of them must be excluded from all the privileges of the *Israelitish* commonwealth, both civil and religious; but, whatever it meant at first, the *Jewish* canonists, according to their usual rigidity, have extended it, not only to all illegitimate issue,

but even to that, whose legitimacy is any ways doubtful (45).

(M) What is meant, by *not entering into the congregation of the LORD*, is not agreed; some understanding by it, their being denied admittance into the *Israelitish* commonwealth by circumcision; and others, their being only excluded from places of authority. This last is the most probable, and most received among *Christian* interpreters. The *Jews*, however, understand it of contracting affinities and intermarriages with the *Israelitish* women; for it was a received maxim among them, that the children did follow the quality of the mother. Every proselyte of righteousness was obliged to circumcise all the males, and baptize all the females in his family, under the age of thirteen; but those that were above that age, might chuse whether they would submit to it, or remain in their own religion. On the other hand, those under thirteen could not be admitted to proselytism, without the consent, either of their parents, or, in case of their refusal, that of two or three judges. In this case, their admission was looked upon as a new birth, and their parents were no

(44) *Judg.* xi. 1. (45) *Vide Seld. ubi sup. & de jur. nat. & gent. lib. v. c. 16. & lib. de success. bon. l. ii. & alib. pass. Munst. ubi sup. & al. it. præc. neg. 117.*

longer

Laws of the second table: or, concerning the Jewish government, with the customs relating to it.

THESE we shall mention in the same order as they are in the decalogue; and begin with those which relate to parents, whether in a political or natural sense. The patriarchal government being become impracticable, by reason of its being branched out into so many families, whom GOD nevertheless designed to live as one, under one head, one religion, and one body of civil laws; and the precepts of *Noah*, or rather the laws of nature, being, perhaps, partly forgot, and partly corrupted, during their *Egyptian* thraldom; GOD was pleased to prevent all murmurings and opposition, which such a change might cause in so untractable a people, by declaring, that himself would be their King, and appoint proper vicegerents from time to time, under whom the heads of families should govern and administer justice to those under them, in exact conformity to his laws. *Moses* was declared the first vicegerent, and accordingly it is said, that he *gave a law*, or rather a body of laws, *and an inheritance, unto the congregation of Jacob, and was king in, or over, fe-*

longer esteemed as such; inso-
much that they believed this
kind of new converts to receive
a new soul after baptism (1).
Well might therefore our Sa-
viour wonder, that *Nicodemus*,
who was a master in Israel,
should hesitate at his discourse
concerning a new birth (2).
We find several other regula-
tions concerning the preroga-
tives of these profelytes in the
Talmud, and other *Jewish*
writings, which we shall not
dwell upon; but shall only
take notice of a flagrant one,
namely, *that their admission*

*did so totally cancel all former
ties, either of blood or alliance,
that even parents and their
children might intermarry with-
out committing incest.* And
might it not be on this account
that CHRIST condemns the
*scribes and pharisees for com-
passing sea and land to make a
profelyte, and leaving him ten
times more a child of hell than
themselves* (3)? for in what
other sense they could be made
worse than that proud hypo-
critical sect, is hardly possible
to guess.

(1) *Vide Seld. ubi sup. & de J. N. & G. & Jac. Atting. disput. de profelyte. R. Mos. Kotz. R. Mos. Ægypt. issur biath perek. Serrar. tribæres. lib. ii. c. 2. Drus. de trib. sect. Pag. in Exod. xxii. 21, & al in Deut. xxiii. 1. Vide & præc. neg. 113. & seqq. Leo de Moden. pt. v. c. 3. Calm. sub voc. Profelyte, & al.* (2) *John iii. 3, & seqq.* (3) *Vide Matth. xxiii. 15.*

shurun, that is, *over* Israel (M), *when the heads of the people and the tribes of Israel were gathered together*¹; that is, as we understand the original, when the divided power of the heads of tribes and families centred in one head. To him succeeded *Joshua*, the judges, and lastly the kings, but still by God's appointment (N).

AND

¹ Deut. xxxiii. 4 & 5.

(M) The word יְשׁוּרֹן *jeshurun* is derived from יָשָׁר *jasbar*, to be righteous; which name is given them, not so much for their righteousness, as for that of their progenitors, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*; or more likely, perhaps, on account of those righteous laws which God himself had dictated unto them.

(N) Nothing evinces more the reasonableness, or rather necessity, of this change of government, than their constant backslidings into all manner of idolatry and wickedness at every interregnum, when their inferior rulers became so remiss, that as often as we read that there was no judge among them, so often we find, that *every one did that which was right in his own eyes, or that they did evil in the sight of God* (4): but, as every defection brought its punishment with it, they at length grew weary of their frequent captivities. But, instead of having recourse to God by repentance, they bethought themselves of that expedient of having a king, who should be always ready at hand to defend them; and God, having condescended to their desire, appointed *Saul* to be their mo-

narch; and the *Jewish* commonwealth took then the name of a kingdom. This may be the reason why God, whom their ingratitude could not provoke to forsake them, though he resented this their imprudent desire of being governed by a king like other nations, gave them so few laws to enforce their obedience to him, whilst he made some coercive ones to restrain him from oppressing them. The universal passiveness of those nations, whom they wanted to imitate, as well as their own, whenever they were kept with a rigid hand, made the former unnecessary; and, on the other hand, the excessive power, which was then lodged in the regal dignity, made it extremely dangerous, unless limited by wholesome restrictions. We need not a more lively instance of this early despotic power of kings, and of the people's base submission to it, than the horrid slaughter which *Saul*, their first king, made of eighty-five guiltless priests, and of all the innocent inhabitants of *Nob*, even to their very sucking children, and all their cattle (5): and, if this had not been likewise the case of other nations, *Samuel* could not have

(4) *Vide* Judg. ii. 11, & seqq. xxi. 25. (5) 1 Sam. xxii. 18, 19.

AND what is very remarkable with respect to the latter is, that we find nothing in the whole body of the *Mosaic* laws, to enforce an obedience to them, except the command, *Honour thy father and thy mother* ^m; which alluded most likely to the patriarchal government; and an express prohibition against cursing the rulers of the people ⁿ; whereas there are several very express ones, to restrain them from abusing their power, and oppressing their subjects. Of this nature are those which exclude all strangers from being raised to that dignity ^o, that forbid a king of *Israel* to multiply horses, wives (O), riches, to marry strange women, and the like ^p; that oblige him to write a copy of GOD's law, to read and meditate upon, and to

^m Exod. xx. 12, & alib.
xvii. 14, 15.

ⁿ Ibid. xxii. 28.

^o Deut.

^p Ibid. ver. 16, 17.

given so pathetic a list of the hardships they were to expect under an absolute monarchy.

Maimon tells us, out of the last part of the *Mishna*, that *Moses* gave the *Israelites* three express commands; namely, 1. To chuse them a king: 2. To destroy *Amalek*: and, 3. To build a temple, after they were possessed of the land of *Canaan*. The same we find likewise enjoined in the 114th, 115th, and 116th affirmative precepts of their oral law, according to which that rabbi observes, that they chose *Saul* for their king before they declared war against the *Amalekites*. But, if this had been the case, there could have been no room for GOD's resenting, and *Samuel's* reproving them so severely for it. *Maimon* doth indeed endeavour to waive this objection, by pretending, that what displeased GOD was their coming in a tumultuous and disrespectful manner to *Samuel*, and ask-

ing a king, not in obedience to the divine command, but out of a desire of being like their neighbours; but this is neither agreeable to the text (6), nor to *Josephus*, who imputes this desire of a kingly government to the intolerable corruption which had crept into all the courts of justice, through the baseness and avarice of *Samuel's* two sons, whom he appointed to officiate for him in his old age (7).

(O) What the *Jews* understand by multiplying wives, is, that he shall not have above eighteen at a time, that is, two more than *David* had, who, they say, is recorded to have had but sixteen; and, by multiplying horses, they understand, having more than served him and his retinue (8): but we shall shew, that, if there was any such oral law, *Solomon* made very light of it in either case, even from the first year of his reign.

(6) *Vide* 1 Sam. viii. pass.
prac. neg. 222, & seqq.

(7) *Ant. lib.* vi. c. 4.

(8) *Vide*
govern

govern himself by it, without deviating from it to the right or left^q; that injoin him to make choice of persons of wisdom and integrity to be judges over the people, and such-like^r. So that they had no other enforcement for the people's obedience and loyalty, than their free promise and oath to them; whilst they were tied to their just and equitable government, not only by their oath, but by the most strict and severe injunctions and threatenings from GOD.

HOWEVER, as they looked upon themselves as accountable to GOD only for the breach of these laws, so no kings were restrained by them, but such as feared him: as for the rest, it is plain from their history, that they made no scruple of transgressing them in instances of the highest nature; and that their power was so great, that none dared to controul them, or even reprove them, except such prophets as were commissioned by GOD for so doing. Their being anointed, at least in the beginning (P), by some celebrated prophets, and appointed sovereigns of a nation, which the Scripture stiles a royal priesthood^s, gave them a full power, not only in matters

^q Deut. xvii. 18, & seqq. vide & præc. negat. 221, & seqq.

^r Deut. xvi. 18, & seqq. vide & præc. affirm. 96, & seqq.

^s Exod. xix. 6, & alib.

(P) The *Talmudists* tell us, that the immediate heir of a king, who had been anointed, was himself proclaimed king, without unction, especially in the family of *David*; and that the ceremony was only used when a younger son was preferred to the eldest, as in the case of *Solomon* (9). One thing is certain, that the custom of consecrating any thing to GOD, by this profusion of oil, is very antient, as appears from the instance of *Jacob's* anointing the pillar of *Bethel* (10). How much earlier it began, and how

introduced, is impossible to guess; but it is plain, that it became in use, during the whole *Mosaic* dispensation, in the dedication both of men and things to the immediate service of GOD. Of the first kind, were the kings, priests, and prophets; and, of the second, all the sacred utensils of the tabernacle: all which are supposed, not without good grounds, to have been typical of CHRIST, who is emphatically called the Messiah, or Anointed, and of the spiritual unction, under the gospel.

(9) 1 Kings i. *pass.*

(10) Gen. xxviii. 18, & seqq.

purely

C. VII. *to the Babylonish Captivity.*

Purely civil and military, but in ecclesiastical also (Q): and what profound respect was paid to the regal dignity, appears both from the submissive language with which they were addressed^t, and the humble manner of approaching them; insomuch that even queens and prophets did prostrate themselves with their faces to the ground before them, as *Nathan* and *Bathsheba* did to *David*^u; though there is no doubt, but his son *Solomon* raised the grandeur of the throne to a much greater height (R).

Laws

^t Vide int. al. 1 Sam. xxv. 23, & seqq. & ver. 40, & seqq. 2 Sam. xiv. pass. xxiv. 3, & alib. ^u 1 Kings i. 16, 23.

(Q) This is, indeed, denied by very many divines, who think, that they never exercised any authority in the latter, as kings of *Israel*, but as prophets, and inspired persons, such as were *David* and *Solomon*. But the contrary doth plainly appear from the reformations and regulations which *Hezekiah*, *Jehoshaphat*, *Josiah*, and others made, who were neither prophets, nor inspired persons. We have already taken notice, that they had power to consult the oracle of *urim*; and, indeed, they were commanded so to do upon all emergencies, as well as the grand council or *Sanhedrin*, over which they presided, whenever they pleased to assist at it (10). Thus we find, that *David*, after he had been anointed king, even in *Saul's* time, did consult the divine oracle concerning the success of his undertaking (11). They had likewise an absolute power of life and death; and though, according to the law

of *Moses*, no man was to be capitally punished, till he had been convicted before proper judges, and upon the evidence of at least two or three witnesses; yet we meet with frequent instances of persons being put to death by the sole will of the prince. The same may be presumed to have been, with respect to property, by the instances of *Mephibosheth* and his servant *Ziba* (12), and others of the like nature. From that of *Naboth* (13) we may likewise conclude, that, in some cases, the estates of persons condemned devolved to the king: but, from the laws lately mentioned against oppressing the subjects, it appears rather to have been a tyrannical usurpation, than a command, or even permission, from God.

(R) The *Jews* affirm, that even the high-priest was obliged to stand before the king; whereas the latter only stood before the high-priest, when he was consulting God by *urim* (14).

(10) *Maim. balak melakim, c. 2. Basnag. ubi sup.*

(12) 2 Sam. xix. 29.

(11) 1 Sam. xxx. 7, & 8. Vide

(13) 1 Kings xxi. pass.

(14) *Maim. ubi sup.*

They

*Laws and customs relating to judges, and courts of
judicature.*

*Courts of
judica-
ture.*

WE need not speak here of those judges, emphatically so called, who governed *Israel* from *Jeshua* to *Saul*: these, being appointed, from time to time, by GOD himself, we find, were intirely governed by his laws, and, in doubtful cases, by his Spirit, with which they were endowed: they had the supreme authority, during their life, and differed in nothing from kings but in title, pomp, and grandeur, and their dignity not being hereditary: in all other cases their power was the same. They could make peace and war, summon the tribes to arms, consult GOD by *urim*, and the like. It is said, that they judged *Israel*, that the people repaired to them for judgment, and that they took yearly circuits through the land to administer ju-

They add, that he alone was allowed to sit in the court of the temple, even in the most sacred part of it, namely, that of the priests, provided he was of the lineage of *David*; whereas their senators were only allowed to sit in that which belonged to the people (15). The magnificence of their dress did not a little contribute to raise an awe in their subjects. It is true, that there is nothing prescribed concerning it, either in the *Mosaic* law, or any other inspired writer, and that we have no clear description of it in the sacred books; but it is plain, from *Jehoshaphat's* going to fight against the *Syrians* in his royal robes, whilst *Abab* changed his own for a common dress (16), that there was a manifest difference between them, if

not in shape, at least in beauty and costliness, such as jewels about their crown, the purple mantle, and the like. *Josephus* tells us (17), that *Solomon* did usually go clad in white; but this was a colour common both to the priests and nobles: so that the difference must be in the richness, whether of the linen or silk of which they were made. However, as they were not tied, by the law, to any dress, we need not doubt but they followed the fashions of other countries, and were more sumptuously clad upon some particular occasions (18). The psalmist has likewise given us a beautiful description of the dress of queens (19), which was still richer than that of kings; but we shall not here inlarge upon it.

(15) *Maimon balak betb babkir.* (16) *1 Kings xxii. 30.* (17) *Ant.*
l. viii. c. 2. (18) *Vid. 1 Sam. xxviii. 8.* *1 Kings xxii. 10. 30.* *Joseph.*
ant. l. vi. c. 10, & alib. Rasc. & al. (19) *Psal. xlv.*

stice;

C. VII. *to the Babylonish Captivity.*

ffice^f; but whether this was done by way of appeal from the judgment of inferior courts, as the dernier resort, or by way of consulting them in doubtful cases, is not easy to determine (R).

BUT, besides these, *Moses*, and, after him, those who were at the head of the *Israelitish* commonwealth, were commanded to appoint a number of judges and magistrates in all cities, to administer justice to the people in every tribe. These were to be men of wisdom and probity, well versed in the law of *Moses*, free from covetousness and partiality, such as would protect the innocent, the fatherless and widow, the helpless and stranger, and punish the guilty and wrong-doer^g. We find, likewise, several denunciations against those who should suffer themselves to be bribed to act contrary to the strict laws of justice; but as they were appointed by the kings, so did their virtue rise and fall, according to the goodness or wickedness of these. We may say more: *Samuel* was himself a most upright judge; and yet his two sons, who acted under him, proved most unrighteous. *David* was likewise a pious monarch; and yet, had there not crept a great

^f Vid. Judges iv. 5. 1 Sam. iii. 20. iv. 1. vii. 15, & seq. & alib. ^g Exod. xxiii. 8, & seq. Deut. xvi. 18, & seq. xvii. 2, & seq. xix. pass. xxiv. 16, & seq. xxv. 1, & seq. & alib. pass. Ezek. xliv. 24. præc. affirm. 97. 100.

(R) The latter, however, seems most probable, from the command of *Moses*, that *In all doubtful cases, whether criminal or civil, wherein the inferior judges could not easily determine, they should apply themselves to the priests, and to the judge or head of the people then in being, to whose judgment they should submit, under pain of death* (59). The *Jews*, indeed, pretend, that this application was to be made to the great council, or sanhedrin (60), which they pretend to have subsisted ever since the time of *Moses*. But we shall shew in

the sequel, that the council, which *Moses* appointed, lasted only during the lives of those elders; and that this sanhedrin was a new institution, of a much later date. So that, in all doubtful and disputed cases, no persons could be more proper to be applied to, than these judges, who were indued both with the spirit of GOD, and the supreme authority; since even this latter was thought sufficient afterwards, in the time of their kings; as appears, from very many instances, especially those quoted in the margin (61).

(59) Deut. xvii. 8, & seq. (60) Præc. affirm. 3. (61) 2 Sam. xiv. pass. 1 Kings iii. 16, & seq. 2 Kings viii. 3, & alib. pass.

deal

deal of corruption into the courts of judicature, his son *Abfalom* could have had no pretence for wishing that he had been a judge, that he might do justice to every one that applied to him ^h.

THESE courts were held at the gates of the cities, and became, in time, very considerable ; but how they were kept, or how many judges belonged to each, whether their power was equal, or some subordinate to others, cannot be gathered from Scripture (S). In the flourishing reigns of *David* and *Solomon* they increased very much ⁱ; and, in process of time, became so corrupted, that the prophets were obliged, from time to time, to exclaim against them. One of them, having been sent to *Jehoshaphat*, to denounce GOD's heavy judgment against *Israel* for those abuses, wrought so upon that good king, that he immediately set about making a thorough reformation, appointing new judges in every walled city, some of whom were of the tribe of *Levi*, and charging them, in the most pressing terms, to be more watchful and upright than their predecessors : he likewise appointed two tribunals for the city of *Jerusalem*, the one consisting, chiefly, of priests and *Levites*, for matters of religion ; and the other, which was mostly made up of the heads of families, for matters of state. In this condition they are supposed to have continued till the captivity, 'bating that, as the princes became more and more wicked, so did the judges under them, till GOD was provoked to drive them out of the land. This is all we can say, upon that article, with any tolerable cer-

^h 2 Sam. xv. 2, & seq. pass.

ⁱ Vid. 1 Chron. xxiii. & seq.

(S) We read, indeed, that *Moses*, during their abode in the wilderness, appointed rulers over thousands, over hundreds, fifties, and tens (62) ; and these were, in all likelihood, subordinate to one another : but how far this model was followed, when they came into the land of *Canaan*, doth not appear. However, we may suppose, that these courts consisted, at first, but of very few persons ; and

that every thing was transacted in them with the utmost plainness and simplicity : neither were there many kinds of offices or dignities, since we read but of four sorts of officers, even in *Joshua's* time ; namely, the elders, the heads, the judges, and the officers (63). It is impossible to determine what their officers were ; only the last are supposed to have been a kind of beadles, or executioners.

(62) *Exod.* xviii. 24, & seq.

(63) *Josh.* xxiv. 1.

tainty ;

tainty (T); and thus much we know concerning those tribunals, that they took cognizance of all civil and criminal cases,

(T) As for what *Josephus* and the *Talmudists* add concerning magistrates, and their courts, as their accounts differ from one another, and as we are not sure, but even the former doth rather describe them as they were after, than before the captivity; we shall chuse to subjoin them, in as few words as we can.

Besides the grand council of seventy, mentioned above, to which, they pretend, all other tribunals, throughout the land, were subordinate; the *Talmudists* tell us, there were two other courts, one consisting of three, and the other of three-and-twenty judges; and these, they say, were to be in every city and town that had 120 inhabitants, according to some; or families, according to others. The first of these courts were only chosen *pro re nata*, one by each party, and the third by the other two: their cognizance extended no farther than to small matters, such as servants wages, petty larcenies, restitution, and the like: neither could they inflict a heavier punishment than whipping. That of twenty-three was allowed to judge of all capital causes, and to condemn criminals to death: and if there arose any difference in their judgment, it was carried by the majority; for which reason, they say, their number was to be odd: but in cases of moment, and of a dubious nature, the high-priest was to be consulted.

If a man was condemned to death, he was to be immediately led to execution: a crier was to go before him, and proclaim the crime he was to die for; to the end that, if any person knew any thing that could clear him of it, he might be brought back to the judges, and have a second, and, if occasion offered, a third hearing. The same indulgence was to be allowed him if he complained of being unjustly condemned, whilst he went to the place of execution; in which case, he was to chuse two wise men to plead for him, and, if possible, to obtain a reversal of the sentence: but if in neither case he could prove himself innocent, he was then to be forthwith executed by the witnesses: for it is here to be observed, that, if the crime was such as deserved hanging, the criminal was first to be stoned to death, and then hanged. But, before execution, he was to be exhorted to confess his crime, and to pray that his death might atone both for it, and for all his other sins; which if he did, they gave him then a dose of wine mixed with myrrh, or frankincense, to stupefy him; after which, he was put to death. If he was to be hanged after it, as in cases of idolatry, blasphemy, and the like, they stayed till about an hour before sunset, and then tied his hands behind him, and hoisted him up till just before sunset, at which time he was taken down, and both the halter and the gallows,

or

cases, even where the offence was of a religious nature ; such as idolatry, blasphemy, witchcraft, sacrilege, and the like :

or tree, were buried with him (65). They except, however, out of the cognizance of these courts of twenty-three, all cases, whether criminal or civil, which related to the high-priest, to a whole tribe, and to false prophets ; which, they pretend, were only to be tried by the grand council (66). To this a learned author* thinks that expostulation of *Christ* to allude (67), O *Jerusalem!* — *thou that killest the prophets* (68). We own, indeed, this to have been the case of the sanhedrin, in our Saviour's time, and even some time before, but not before the captivity ; but how, or by what court or judges, these extraordinary cases were to be tried, is impossible to say ; unless we suppose, that it was done by a general assembly of the whole nation, or, at least, of the heads of them ; as we find it in several instances (69).

We shall, however, conclude this note with an account of the form of the court of the twenty-three judges, according to the *Jewish* doctors ; because it had a near resemblance, not only to that of the sanhedrin, but, also, to those of other polite nations. They sat in the form of an halfmoon ; in the centre of it was the president, whom they call נַשִּׂיף, *nassi*, or *prince* ; having the אֶבֶן בֵּית דִּין, *ab beth din*,

or *father of the senate*, at his right-hand : the rest sat on each side, according to their seniority, or merit. At each end was a clerk, or secretary, who took the depositions in writing ; some add a third, whose office was, to gather the votes of the court : at the feet of the judges sat their disciples, in three rows, or forms, whose business was, to observe every thing that was said or done ; and these were chosen to succeed those on the bench, either at their death, or when they became unqualified by old age, or any other impediment. The accused person was placed upon an eminent place in the court, that he might be easily seen by all ; and the witnesses stood fronting him ; these were to be diligently examined, and their character inquired into ; and, if any flaw was found in it, they were set aside : but if any was found to have given false evidence, the *talion* law was his portion (70) ; that is, he was condemned to the same punishment as his evidence would have brought upon the innocent. The סוֹטְרִים, *soterim*, that is, the *officers*, or *executioners*, were also to attend the court constantly, with rods, and leathern scourges, in their hands, to execute the sentence of the judges : the accused person was

(65) *Vid. præc. aff. 97, 98, & seq. ad 111.*

(66) *Vid. Mishnah,*

tract. סנהדרין, c. 1.

(67) *Cun. rep. Heb. l. i. c. 12.*

(68) *Luke*

xiii. 34.

(69) *Vid. Josb. xxii. 11, & seq. Judg. xx. 1, & seq. xxi. pass. Vid. & Mishn. ubi sup. Maimon in loc. & alib. Mos. Kotz, Selden de Synedr. Goodwin's Mos. & Aar. l. v. c. 3, & seq. Lamy, Calm. dissert. sur la police des Hebreux, & al.*

(70) *Deut. xix. 18, 19.*

likewise

like: for which reason the priests and *Levites* were appointed to assist, if not to preside in them. The next in authority to the magistrates, were natural parents; and these were to be honoured and obeyed in a most particular manner^m (U). *St. Paul* observes, that this is the first command

^m Exod. xx. 12. Deut. v. 16, & alib.

likewise allowed a counsellor to plead for him, who was called בַּבֶּל־רִיב, *babal-rib, the master of the process*; and he stood on his right-hand, and pleaded for him. Many expressions there are, in the psalms, in the prophets, and other places of the Old Testament, that seem so plainly to allude to one or other of these judicial forms, as make it more than probable, that they were in use long before the captivity. After a full hearing, the votes were gathered and examined; and, according to them, the person was either absolved, or condemned, in words to this purpose: *Thou, Simeon, art innocent; thou, Judah, art guilty*: and if the latter, and his crime was capital, he was immediately put into the executioner's hands, and led to execution; but if the crime was such as only deserved whipping, it was forthwith performed, before the whole court (73).

(U) The *Talmudists* observe, that the law lays a greater stress upon honouring our parents, than upon honouring God; because we are only enjoined to honour the latter with our substance (74); whereas we are

bound to honour the former, whether we have any substance or not; and to work, in order to be able to maintain them (75). This is a duty to which the *Egyptians* seem to have been strangers, if what *Herodotus* says of them be true, that the sons were not bound to maintain their parents, unless they were willing; but that the daughters were obliged to it, whether willing or not (76). It likewise excelled that of the *Persians, Greeks, Romans*, and other polite people, in that it included both parents; whereas these only, or, at most, principally, the father. This appears by the *Persian law* mentioned by *Aristotle*, by the *Roman digests*, and institutions mentioned by *Epicetetus, Simplicius, Philo de legatione*, and others (77). We shall observe farther, that the words of the promise annexed to this command run thus in the original: *That they may prolong thy days*, and so on. From which the generality of *Jewish* interpreters conclude the word *they* to relate to the father and mother so honoured; namely, that they might prolong, by their prayers and blef-

(73) *Vid. de his Mishn. tract. sanbedr. c. 5. Maim. M. Kotz, & al. sup. citat. Vid. & præc. affirm. sup. citat.*
 (74) *Prov. iii. 9.*
 (75) *Rab. Simeon. Vid. præc. affirm. 112, & 113.*
 (76) *Herodot. l. ii. c. 25. Vid. Carlet, harm. of N. and P. laws, c. 6.*
 (77) *Idem ibid.*

command with a promiseⁿ; and the punishment of disobedient and wicked children was no less severe. It was death for any to curse or strike their parents^o, or even to continue in a stubborn disobedience to their commands. In this last case, they had power to inflict any punishment but death upon them; and, if that proved ineffectual, they might then bring and accuse them before the judges, who, upon full proof, were obliged to condemn them to death^p, without mercy or delay. And, now we are upon the subject of punishments, it will not be improper to conclude this article with an account of those which were either appointed by the *Mosaic* law, or made use of at the prince's will, against obnoxious persons, before the captivity.

Punishments.

OF the first kind were the smaller sort of punishments; which were either, 1. Fines by way of compensation for wrongs, theft, and the like. 2. Selling for slaves those who were not able to pay their debts, or make satisfaction for a wrong. 3. The *talion* law, *eye for eye, tooth for tooth, stripe for stripe, &c.* Lastly, whipping; and this last was not to exceed forty lashes^q. The capital punishments were of four kinds; namely, stoning, burning, beheading, and strangling^r. 1. Stoning was the most usual; and when the law condemned a person to death, without naming the kind, this was always understood to be meant by it* (W). The crimes, which deserved this

ⁿ Eph. vi. 2. ^o Exod. xxi. 15. 17. Levit. xx. 9. ^p Deut. xxi. 18, & seq. ^q Ibid. xxv. 3. ^r Ex. Levit. xxiv. 14. & Num. xv. 35. 1 Kings xxi. 13. * Vid. Deut. xvii. 7.

fings, the life of their dutiful children. The words are, indeed, capable of either sense; but, if the *Jews* had taken them in this last in our Saviour's time, they would not have met with so severe a reproof from him for eluding that precept.

(W) Some modern *Jews* rather think, that it was strangling, because it was an easier death; and that, in cases where the particular kind is not expressed, the most favourable is

to be chosen (78). But it is more probable, from the case of adultery, that stoning was the punishment understood: for it is said, in *Ezekiel* (79), *I will judge thee with the judgment of wedlock-breakers, &c.* And two verses after, *They shall stone thee with stones* — And it is plain, that the *Jews* understood it in that sense in our Saviour's time, by what they said to him when they brought the adulterers before him (80).

(78) *Vid. R. Salom. in Exod. xxi. 16.* (79) *Cb. xxvi. 38. 40.* (80) *John viii. 5.*

death,

death, were all kind of incest, sodomy, bestiality, ravishing a betrothed virgin, or her consenting to be defiled by another man; blaspheming, sabbath-breaking, witchcraft, idolatry, enticing others to idolatry, rebellious children, offering one's seed to *Moloch*, and some others of the like nature. For some of these last, the criminal was likewise to be hanged, after he had been stoned to death, as we have seen in a former note; where we have also hinted something concerning the manner of this execution, and to which we have nothing to add, but that it was always done out of the city, as it was out of the camp during their abode in the wilderness: here, after he had confessed his fault, the witnesses came and laid their hands upon his head, and said aloud, *Thy blood be upon thee*, and threw the first stone; and the rest of the spectators helped to dispatch him * (W). This, however, must be understood of regular cases; for there were others of an irregular nature, wherein it was allowed to stone the criminal, such as a blasphemer, idolater, adulterer, upon the spot, without further trial. But these ought rather to be looked upon as zealous mobbings, though encouraged under the specious title of *judgment of zeal*, founded upon the action of *Phineas* †, of which we shall speak in the sequel of this history.

2. BURNING. This punishment was used before *Moses*, as appears by *Judah's* condemning his daughter-in-law to the flames^w. Some interpreters, indeed, think, that he meant no more than to have her burnt in the forehead, or stigmatized her for her incontinency, but without any proof, as will be seen in the sequel. The *Mosaic* law condemned the daughters of priests to be burnt for incontinency^x; and *Achan* was condemned to be stoned and burnt for sacrilege^y. These are the only two places where that punishment is mentioned. The *Jews* tell us, also, of some

* Deut. xvii. 7. † Num. xxv. 6, & seq. w Gen. xxxviii. 24. x Levit. xxi. 9. y Josh. vii. 28.

(W) The *Talmudists* mention another kind of stoning, by precipitating a man from some considerable eminence, at least of the height of two men. One of the witnesses tied his hands behind him, and the other threw him down; and, if he did not die by the fall, they threw stones upon him till he was dead. The *Mosaic* law doth not, indeed, mention this kind of punishment; but we find it practised in our Saviour's time (81).

(81) *Luke* iv. 29.

other crimes which were punished with it, particularly some kinds of incest². They add, that it was twofold; namely, burning with fire, and with melted lead poured down the criminal's throat.

3. BEHEADING. This, the *Jewish* doctors say, was a punishment appointed only for murderers, and for towns that were fallen into idolatry: but we find nothing like it to have been practised before the captivity, in a judicial way (X).

BUT

² Vid. Mos. KOTZ, in tract. sanhedr. c. 1. GOODWIN's Mos. and Aar. l. v. c. 7. sect. 13.

(X) It is true, indeed, that *Abimelech*, one of *Gideon's* sons, caused seventy of his brothers to be beheaded upon one stone at *Ophra* (82); that the men of *Samaria* sent the heads of the same number of *Abab's* sons to the new king of *Israel* (83); and that forty-two of *Abaziab's* brethren were put to death, probably, in the same way, by the same *Jebu's* orders (84): but it is plain, that none of these were done in a judicial way. We find, likewise, instances of persons being put to death by the sword: thus *Samuel* killed the king of *Amalek* (85); in the same manner *David* ordered the messenger of *Saul's* death to be slain (86); and *Adonijah*, *Joab*, and *Shimei*, were killed by *Solomon's* order, one of them at the very foot of the altar (87).

4. Strangling. The text makes no explicit mention of this kind of death; but the *Talmudists* reckon six sorts of criminals that were condemned to it; namely, 1. Those that

struck their parents. 2. Men-stealers. 3. The priests that refused to conform to the determination of the court. 4. False prophets, or those who prophesied in the name of false gods. 5. He that defiled another man's bed; and, 6. He that had criminal conversation with a priest's daughter. These were executed as follows: they were immersed in dung up to the knees; two executioners tied a napkin about their neck, and twisted it till they were quite suffocated. All kinds of criminals were buried apart by themselves, and on the same day, together with the instruments of their death, whatever they were, to blot out, as much as possible, the remembrance of it (88).

To these we may add some foreign punishments, which were afterwards adopted by their kings: such were those which *David* caused to be inflicted on the *Ammonites* (89), and that which *Manasseh* put the prophet *Isaiab* to, whom he

(82) *Judg.* ix. 5. (83) *2 Kings* x. 7. (84) *Ibid.* ver. 13, & seq.
 (85) *1 Sam.* xv. 33. (86) *2 Sam.* i. 15. (87) *1 Kings* ii. 25, 30, &
 40. (88) *Tract. sanhedr. ubi sup.* (89) *2 Sam.* xii. ult.

BUT the most dreadful of all their punishments, though *Excommu-* not a capital one, was excommunication, especially that *nication,* which they called *shematta* (Y), answering to the *Syrian* *maran-*

is supposed, by several antient fathers (90), to have caused to be sawn in two from the head downward, with a wooden saw, from the words of the apostle (91), *Some were sawn asunder.* The difficulty here is about the wooden saw, how it could be fit for such a purpose: but, allowing the thing to be really fact, and a tradition of it to have been preserved, we need but suppose the expression to be an *Hebraism*, that is, a wooden saw, for a saw with which wood used to be sawn, which is a common idiom in that tongue. This expression of cutting in two, and cutting asunder, is, indeed, frequent in the Old Testament, and in the apocryphal book of *Susanna*. We omit some other punishments of the like nature, which would only fill our readers with horror: as for that of crucifixion, such as *Christ* suffered, though some have fancied it to be implied in the words of *Deuteronomy* (92), *If a man be hanged on a tree, his body shall not remain all night on it, &c.* yet it is generally allowed to have been, not a *Jewish*, but a *Roman* punishment, and so foreign to our purpose.

(Y) The *Jews* reckon three kinds, or, rather, degrees of excommunication. The first they call נידוי, *niddui*, from נדו,

nadab, to separate, or put from one: so that this word was indifferently used to express those that were separated for any uncleanness, or for any crime that came within this degree of excommunication (93). The time of its lasting was limited to 30 days; and yet the delinquent could either shorten it, by doing penance; or lengthen it, by stubbornness, even to the end of his life, if he persisted in it. In this last case, they refused to circumcise his children; and, if he died impenitent, the judge ordered a stone to be thrown into his coffin, or bier, to shew that he deserved to have been stoned.

The second degree they called כרעם, *cherem*, *anathema*; and this, they pretend, was more severe than the *niddui*, because it excluded the person from the synagogue, and from all civil commerce, which the other did not. But we shall shew, in the sequel, that this word signified quite another thing, and was applicable to men and things vowed to death or destruction (94). And our learned *Selden* has proved, that there were really but two kinds of excommunication, the lesser and the greater; and that the terms, *niddui*, *cherem*, and *shematta*, were used indifferently (95).

The last, however, according

(90) *Justin. Mart. dialog. cont. Tryph. Orig. ex lib. apocr. Hieron. in Isa. & al.* (91) *Heb. xi. 37.* (92) *Deut. xxi. 22.* (93) *Vid. int. al. Ezek. xviii. 6.* (94) *Vid. Levit. xxvii. 29. Jesu. vii. 11, & seq.* (95) *De synedr. vet. Heb. l. i. c. 7, & 8.*

maran-atta used by St. Paul^h, which signifies, in both tongues, *the Lord comes, or is at hand*. Enoch, the seventh from Adam, is supposed the author of it, because St. *Jude* quotes that saying of his, *Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousand of his saints to execute judgment*; and so onⁱ which must have been, at least, owing to some tradition among the Jews (Z).

^h 1 Cor. xvi. 22.

ⁱ Ver. 14.

to them, was this, שמתו, *she-matta*, which, they pretend, was proclaimed by the sound of 400 trumpets, as, they say, it was done at the cursing of Meroz by Deborah. A person, so excommunicated, was never to be received again into the congregation; and some pretend, that it was even lawful to put him to death. For this reason, they derive the word from שם, *sham, there*; and מתו, *mattab, death*: to which the expression of St. *John* is supposed to allude, *There is a sin unto death*; that is, according to them, a sin that deserves to be devoted to death (96). But all this is forced; and that which derives it from שם, *the name*, and נתן, *comes, or is at hand*; seems to us the most rational, and answers to the *Syriac maran-atta*, which bears the same sense. As for the crimes to which these excommunications were annexed, and the manner of pronouncing them, or of absolving these that had incurred them, the reader may consult *Selden* and *Buxtorf* in the places above-quoted, or the learned *J. Jam. Hottinger* (97), and others.

(Z) However, these fetch the original of it both from those frequent expressions in the *Mosaic* writings, *That thou shalt be cut off from Israel; and thou shalt put away evil from the midst of thee*: and, more particularly, from the words in *Deborah's* song, *Curse ye Meroz, said the angel of the Lord; curse ye, bitterly the inhabitants of it* (98). But, without inquiring into the validity of these subtil etymologies, we find a more express form of it in *Exra* and *Nehemiah* (99), who excommunicated all those that refused to repudiate their strange wives; and exacted an oath from the people, to avoid all affinity and commerce with them. The same account of it we find in *Josephus*, who adds, that the goods of the excommunicated person were to be confiscated to the holy treasury (100). It is true, this was done after the captivity; but we need not doubt but they had precedents and laws for it before that time: for it is said, that it was performed in a legal way, and pursuant to the laws of God.

(96) 1 *John* v. 16. Vid. *Bertram, de polit. Jud. c. 2.*
theol. de pœnitent. p. 49, & seq. (98) *Judg. v. 23.*
x. 7, & seq. Nehem. xiii. 25. (100) *Ant. l. xi. c. 5.*

(97) *Diff. bibl.*
 (99) *Exra*

Laws against murder.

MOSE S tells us, that, from the time of the flood, *Murder.* murder could not be expiated but by the death of the murderer P, whatever might be the punishment of it before that time. Under the law, GOD seems to express a much greater abhorrence against it: he not only forbid it in the decalogue Q, but appointed avengers to punish the guilty person where-ever they found him R, and permitted him to be torn from the most venerable sanctuaries to condign punishment S, as was lately hinted; and expressly forbid both the avenger and judges to make any composition, or to accept of any other recompence for the crime T; and these laws extended equally to *Israelites*, and to the strangers that dwelt amongst them U (A). We may also add another institution, extremely proper to inspire the people with an uncommon horror against wilful murder; namely, that for the expiation of an uncertain murder. It was as follows: As soon as the judges, who lived near the place where a man was found murdered, were informed of it, they were to examine what town was nearest to it, and to summon the elders of that city, who were thereupon obliged to bring an heifer that had never been yoked, and to drive her into a rough uncultivated valley, and there strike her head off: these, and the priests, were then to wash their hands over her, and to profess, that their hands had not shed this blood, neither their eyes seen it done;

P Gen. ix. 6. See vol. i. p. 259. Q Exod. xx. 13, xxi. 12. Deut. v. 17. Levit. xxiv. 17, & alib. R Num. xxxv. 19. S Exod. xxi. 14. T Num. xxxv. 31, 32. U Levit. xxiv. 22.

(A) The only cases, therefore, in which one man might lawfully kill another, were, 1. When the avenger of blood found a manslayer out of his place of refuge. 2. In a man's own defence. 3. In defence of a brother *Israelite*; and, lastly, an infant might likewise be destroyed to preserve the life of the mother, but not *vice versa*. To these the *Jews* add that which they call the *right of*

zeal, hinted under the last head, by which it was lawful for any number of men to fall upon a person who was caught in any abominable fact; such as blaspheming, offering his seed to *Moloch*, and the like, and to kill him upon the spot. Thus the *Levites* went out, and killed three thousand of the worshippers of the golden calf; and *Phineas* punished an abominable whoredom with death.

after which, they were to pray to GOD not to lay it to their charge ^w (B).

Laws against adultery, and all other unlawful commerce of sexes. The trial of adultery, or waters of jealousy; concerning marriage and levirate.

Against adultery.

IT will scarcely be thought needful to inquire how far the words, *Thou shalt not commit adultery* ^x, excluded all other carnal gratifications which were not confined within the bounds of lawful wedlock (C). It is sufficient to say, that incest, rape, sodomy, and bestiality, are forbid by other express laws, under pain of death, as well as

^w Deut. xxi. 1, & seq.

^x Exod. xx. 14. Deut. v. 18.

(B) One may see, by all this solemn ceremony, and by all the above-mentioned laws, what care was taken to deter them from the guilt of shedding innocent blood. It was for this very reason, also, that God gave them several laws, whose only tendency was, to divert them from cruelty: such were those that forbid them to seeth a lamb or kid in its mother's milk; to kill the dam and her young, both in one day; to catch the old birds and their brood together; to muzzle the ox that treadeth the corn; to refuse to assist a neighbour's, or even an enemy's beast, that sunk under its burden; and many more of the like nature, all highly proper to inspire them with sentiments of humanity and good-nature, which the slaughter they were going to make of so many nations, justly doomed to it for their wickedness, might otherwise have been apt to extinguish in them.

(C) This is, indeed, the received opinion of many *Jews* and *Christians*, who, by the word נָפֶשׁ, *naph*, understand all kind of illicit coition, and unnatural lusts (1). Yet we beg leave to take notice, that some of the ancients, on both sides, understood it of the breach of conjugal faith. Accordingly, we find, by *Philo* and *Tertullian*, that some of the *Greek* copies placed this law against adultery before that against murder in the decalogue; and these two great orators have taken the pains to prove the former to be the more grievous crime of the two, and to describe the great hurt it doth to human society; the latter concluding it to be the greater crime, because forbidden before murder (2). However, it is certain, that *Moses* has no-where given such a weighty reason against that, as he doth against this, when he says, *For in the image of God created he man* (3).

(1) *Vid. Abenezr. in Exod. xx. & comment. fer. om. in loc. de pudicit. Vid. Carlton. concord. c. 7.*

(3) *Gen. ix. 6.*

(2) *Tertul-
adultery.*

adultery ^v. As for fornication, though it was not made capital in some cases, yet was it forbid by several laws ^z: the difference was, that any woman who ventured to marry under the notion of being a virgin, and was proved to be otherwise, was to be stoned ^a; whereas, if a man deflowered a virgin, he was to pay her father fifty shekels of silver, and to marry her, without having it in his power to put her away, during her life ^b. Adultery was punishable with death in both parties, whether they were both married, or only the woman; but we cannot affirm the punishment of a married man to have been the same, who committed adultery with an unmarried woman: for, besides that the crime was not alike, with respect to society, it is plain, that *Moses* was forced to indulge them, in some other particulars, as unjustifiable as this; such as polygamy, divorce, and the like; which are justly condemned in the gospel.

HOWEVER, with respect to the wives, as there was a necessity, that they should be kept under stricter ties, to prevent strange mixtures in families; so, in order to deter them from all unlawful liberties of that kind, as well as, perhaps, to prevent those that were innocent from being unjustly suspected and ill-treated by their jealous husbands, *Moses* was commanded to appoint the waters of jealousy, with the promise of a constant miracle, by which the guilty should be punished in a very dreadful manner, and the innocent cleared with applause. The ceremony was to be performed in the following manner ^c:

2. WHENEVER a man had conceived a mistrust of his wife's incontinency, he was to bring an offering for her, *Waters of jealousy*, peculiar to this case; namely, a cake made of barley-meal, without oil or incense, and to put it into the hands of the priest: at the same time he brought his wife also, and declared what grounds he had for suspecting her: the priest then took the accused woman before the LORD, either to the tabernacle, or temple, uncovered her head (D), and put

^v Vid. Levit. xviii. pass. Ibid. xx. 10, & seq. Deut. xxii. 22, & seq. ^z Ibid. xxiii. 17, 18. Levit. xxi. 7. ^a Deut. xxii. 20, 21. ^b Ibid. ver. 28, 29. ^c Num. v. 24, & seq.

(D) The *Jews* understand by it, shaving her hair, or, at least, cutting the curls off. They add, that they tore her cloaths down to her breast, and tied them with a packthread: others say, that her cloaths were exchanged for a black suit, in token of mourning; and, in this manner, she was exposed to public view.

put the offering into her hand, whilst himself took some holy water, impregnated with wormwood, or some such bitter herbs, into which he put some of the dust of the floor, or pavement, together with the words of the curse written at full length, to this effect: That, if she had been guilty of defiling her marriage-bed, those waters should swell and burst her belly, and rot her thigh; but, if she was innocent, they should have no power to hurt her. These words he first read to her aloud, and, if she persisted to go on with the trial, she answered, *Amen*. He was then to blot out the words of the curse in the bitter water, they being, according to the *Jews*, written with an ink made without vitriol, which would be easily washed away; after which, he gave her the water to drink, whilst he took the offering, or cake of jealousy, off her hand, and waved it to the LORD, and burnt part of it upon the altar: the consequence was, that, if she was guilty, the water did burst her belly, and rot her thigh, and she died, soon after her drinking it; but, if she was innocent, she not only came off unhurt, but, as a token and reward of her continence, she became more healthy and fruitful; and the husband was to take her home, and cherish her the more, for having given him such an eminent proof of her chastity (E).
For

view. These circumstances, they tell us, had something so dreadful to the *Jewish* women, especially the chaste ones, that they studied nothing more, than to keep themselves free from any suspicion, which might expose them to that, which they esteemed worse than death. For this reason, they did not suffer a woman to be brought to this trial upon every slight suspicion: the husband was to bring some proofs, that he had forewarned her, more than once or twice, against being seen in such a man's company as he was jealous of; notwithstanding which, they had been found together in private, or in some remote place, at least, as long a

time as a man might boil an egg, and eat it (4).

(E) This is all that we find in the *Mosaic* law. The *Talmudists* have added several other circumstances relating to this ceremony, which we should be loth to warrant, both because, by their own confession, it had been disused several centuries, before their time, since which adultery became more frequent; and because neither the canonical, nor apocryphal books, or, indeed, any of their writings that we know of, afford us one single instance of its ever having been used before that time, whereby one might guess where they had them.

Thus they affirm, that, if

(4) *Vid. Munst. in Num. v.*

For aught appears, therefore, this ceremony might be instituted only *in terrorem*, and yet prove very effectual, both to keep the wives within the bounds of conjugal fidelity, and the husbands from too lightly suspecting them of a breach of it; especially, if another circumstance, which the *Jews* tell us, be true, or was believed to be so; that these waters could have no effect upon the wife, how guilty soever, if the husband had likewise been guilty of transgressing the laws of wedlock^d. Whether the *Israelites* had seen any the like custom in *Egypt*, or in any other nation, which made it expedient to have something among them in imitation of it, we will not affirm; but it is plain, that almost every country, since, had a kind of trial, or ordeal, not only for cases of incontinency, but almost for every crime.

3. MARRIAGE. We find but few laws concerning *Marriage*. this institution, besides those which we have mentioned under the last article against adultery (F). *Moses* contented

^d SELD. de fynedr. & uxor. Heb. BUXTORF. MUNST. in Num. v. BASNAG. rep. Heb. l. i. c. 12. CALM. sub voc. Adult. & al. mult. post. rabbin.

she was guilty, she had no sooner drank the water, than she began to look pale and ghastly, her eyes swelled out of her head, and she lost the use of them: her belly likewise swelled so visibly, that they made all the haste imaginable to convey her away, lest she should defile the place by her death. They add, what is still more remarkable, that the man, who had had criminal commerce with her, died at that very instant, and much in the same manner, how distant soever from her, and ignorant of what was done. Authors disagree about the time when this miraculous ceremony was set aside; some affirming, that it was disused after the captivity; and others, that it continued till about

an hundred years before the destruction of the second temple. All own, however, that the reason of its being set aside was, that adulteries became not only more frequent, which, consequently, would have kept the priests and judges continually employed; but were, likewise, more public; so that the trial of clandestine or doubtful ones became useless, when men committed them so publicly, that all the world was apprised of them (5).

(F) Though the *Mosaic* law doth no where oblige men to marry, yet the *Jews* have always looked upon it as an indispensable duty, implied in the words, *Increase and multiply* (6). So that a man, who did not

(5) Vid. Seld. Buxt. Munst. Lamy, Cun. Basnag. & al. sup. citat. (6) Gen. i. 28. ix. 1.

marry

tented himself with restraining the *Israelites* from marrying within certain degrees of consanguinity, which had, till then, been permitted, to prevent their taking wives from among the idolatrous nations, with whom they lived. This was the reason which *Abraham* gave for chusing a wife for *Isaac* from his own kindred ^e, and his descendents, for following his example ^f; but which was now intirely ceased, by their being so exceedingly multiplied. These are therefore the degrees which that lawgiver forbad, as incestuous, under pain of death: 1. To marry one's own father or mother. 2. Father or mother-in-law. 3. The brother or sister of one's father or mother. 4. A grandson or granddaughter. 5. An uncle or aunt. 6. A son or daughter-in-law. 7. Two brothers or sisters, by which the *Jews* understood those only by the mother's side; because they looked upon this consanguinity to be greater than the paternal ones, perhaps from a belief, that the mother contributed most to the generation of the child [†]. 8. A brother or sister-in-law. 9. The husband or wife of an uncle or aunt. 10. The father and son, or mother and daughter, either together, or one after the death of the other [§]. As for the other laws relating to matrimony, they seem rather to be taken from the practice of the patriarchs (F).

THE

^e Gen. xxiv. 3, & seq.

& alib.

[†] Vid. PHIL. de spec. leg. CLEM. ALEX. Strom. ii.

[§] Levit. xviii. 6, & seq.

^f Ibid. xxvi. 34, 35. xxviii. 1,

marry before he was twenty years of age, was counted accessory to any irregularity which the young women might be tempted to, for want of being timely married. They had a proverb in the *Talmud*, *Who is he that prostitutes his daughter, but he who keeps her too long unmarried, or gives her to an old man?* For this reason, they used to marry them as soon as they came of age, which, with them, was at twelve; but, if their fathers married them before, they might, when they came to it, be parted from their

husbands, if they did not like them.

(F) Thus he forbids the first-born to be disinherited out of favour or affection to another wife: as when a man has two wives, and loves one more than the other; in such a case, it was not lawful for him to transfer the inheritance to the children of the favourite wife, if that of the other was the first-born (7). This is in imitation of *Abraham*, who gave portions to all his other children, and the inheritance to *Isaac* (8). The only difference here is, that *Moses*

(7) Deut. xxi. 15, & seq.

(8) Gen. xxv. 5, 6.

orders

THE same thing may be said of that law which is called the *levirate*, which obliged a man, whose brother died without issue, to marry his widow, and to raise up seed to his brotherⁿ; for this is no more than what we find had been the practice in *Judah's* time^o. However, *Moses* doth here leave it, in some measure, to a man's choice, whether he will comply with the law, or not; and, in case of a refusal, the widow could only summon him before the judges of the place, where, if he persisted, she untied his shoe, and spit in his face, and said, *Thus shall it be done unto the man that refuses to build up his brother's house, or family*; after which he was branded with the appellative of the man whose shoe was unloosed (G). In this number we may also

ⁿ Deut. xxv. 5, & seq.^o Vid. Gen. xxxviii. 6, & seq.

orders but a double portion to the eldest (9). Herein is also a second law, tacitly implied, at least, for a man to have two wives: to which he adds a third; namely, that, upon the marriage of a second wife, a man shall still be bound to continue to the former her food, raiment, and the duty of marriage (10). This last is also conformable to what *Laban* exacted of *Jacob*, when he married the second sister after the first (11).

The *Jews* did not content themselves with this small allowance of two wives, as we may infer from the examples of *David* and *Solomon*, and many others: but it must be observed, that they made a distinction between the wives of the first rank, and those of the second. The first they called נשׂים, *nashim*, and the others פילגשׂים, *philgashim*; which last, though most versions ren-

der by the word *concubines*, *barlots*, and *prostitutes*, yet, in none of those places of Scripture where that word occurs, which are about 36, is any such sinister sense implied. However, there is a twofold difference between these and wives of the first rank (12): first, with respect to the manner of taking them; namely, the latter with the usual ceremonies, and the former without; and, secondly, with respect to their authority, and the honour paid to them and their children. One thing *Maimon* (13) tells us, from the *Talmud*, that a man might have as many wives as he could maintain, even to an hundred; and that it was not in their power to hinder him, provided he had riches and strength sufficient for them all.

(G) From the words here used by *Moses*, *If brethren dwell together* (14), one would be apt to conclude, that this law was only intended for such as dwelt

(9) Deut. xxi. 17.

(10) Exod. xxi. 10.

(11) Gen. xxxi. 50.

(12) Conf. 1 Kings xi. 3. & 2 Chron. xi. 21.

(13) *Hulak isbatb*, c. 14.

(14) Deut. xxv. 5.

also add another law, which obliged the husband to pay down a competent dowry for the wife, or, as the Jews termed it in their contracts, to pay the price or equivalent of her virginity P (G).

FROM these, and such-like instances, we may likewise conclude, what was their way of courtship, or, rather, of contracting and celebrating their marriages. The former was transacted by the parents or relations, on both sides; and, when the matter was agreed, the bridegroom was introduced to his bride; presents were exchanged on all sides, the contract signed before witnesses, and, after consummation, the bride tarried still some time with her relations,

P Vid. MAIM. in ishoth, c. 3. sect. 1.

still in their father's house; which seems to have been the case of *Judab's* three sons, mentioned above. Accordingly, the rabbies have understood this law in a very restrained sense, both in this and some other particulars: such as that the eldest only, of the survivors, was obliged to marry the widow, and not even he, if he was already married: in which case, they pretend that it was left to his option. But if we look into the antient practices, in the times of the judges, we shall find, that *Boaz*, who was neither brother, nor nearest of kin to the deceased, did yet think himself obliged to marry *Ruth*, upon the nearest kinsman's refusing to do it (15): from which one would be apt to conclude, that the law rather extended farther; and that, where no brothers were left to marry the widow, that duty became incumbent on the nearest relation in course. However, it is plain, from the case which the *Sad-*

duces put to our Saviour, about the seven brethren that had had the same woman successively (16), that this law was not understood in that limited sense which the *Talmudists* have since understood it in.

(G) Thus *Abraham* sent his steward with a considerable quantity of riches to present his future daughter-in-law and her relations (17): *Jacob* purchased his two wives at the price of fourteen years servitude (18); and when *Hamor* came to ask his daughter for his son *Shechem*, he bid him raise the price of her dowry as high as he pleased (19). *David* likewise modestly confessing his inability to pay a dowry answerable to *Saul's* daughter, the king acquitted him for an hundred prepuces of the *Philistines*; and the prophet *Hosea* bought a wife for fifteen pieces of silver, and a small quantity of barley (20): so that a man might be truly said to have purchased, as well as to marry a wife.

(15) *Ruth* iv. *pass.*
xxiv. *pass.*
& *seq.*

(16) *Mat.* xxii. 24, & *seq.*

(17) *Gen.*

(18) *Ibid.* xxix. 18, & *seq.*

(19) *Ibid.* xxxiv. 12,

& *seq.* (20) *1 Sam.* xviii. 22, & *seq.* *Hof.* iii. 2,

how

how long, or how short, we cannot exactly say †; after which, she was sent away to her husband's habitation, with singing and dances, at the sound of several instruments. This last was generally performed in the night, and the parable of the ten virgins plainly alludes to it †. It was likewise customary with them to contract these marriages, whilst their children were very young, and this was called espousing; after which, both parties continued with their parents till they were of age to consummate. As for the daughters, whether they were espoused, or not, they were kept very strict, and out of sight, by the *Israelites*; though this custom seems rather to have been taken up after the misfortune of *Jacob's* daughter, than borrowed from their neighbours, who made no scruple to send theirs to feed and water their flocks, as we find was done by *Laban's* sister and daughters, as well as by those of *Jethro* among the *Midianites* ^u. From this privacy with which the unmarried damsels were kept, they came to be called *Almahs*, which signifies *hidden*, or *concealed* (H). There was likewise

† See Gen. xxiv. 55, & seq. ONKELOS, R. SOLOM. & MUNSTER, in loc. † Mat. xxv. 1, & seq. † Vid. Gen. xxiv. 13, & seq. xxix. 9. Exod. ii. 16.

(H) From the word *אלמ*, *alam*, or, rather, *ghalam*, to *hide*. To this seems to allude that saying of *Agur* (21), if rightly translated — *The way of the man*, *בעלמה*, *bealmah*: that is (not *with*, as our version hath it, but), *in the maid*, or *virgin*. And here we beg leave to observe, that an anonymous *English* author took upon him, under the name of the late *Monf. Le Clerc*, to quarrel with this text, as trifling and obscene (22); whereas, our version being the only one we know of that renders it *with a maid*, the objection could flow but from an *English* pen: and we may venture to add, one that had but a superficial knowlege of the ori-

ginal, which is not only capable of, but doth manifestly carry a much sublimer sense. We hope, therefore, the reader will not think amiss, if we take this opportunity of doing justice to the text, and its divine author, by setting it in its full light.

Whoever examines the preface, in the four or five first verses of this chapter, will easily own, that such lofty expressions could only be designed to usher in some sublime mystery: but who can find any such in these words, whether we read them *in* or *with the maid*? that is, whether we understand them of *coition*, or *generation*? Besides, where is there either the analogy or climax implied in the

(21) *Prov. xxxi. 19.*

(22) *Letters concerning inspiration.*
beginning

wife another law which forbade heiresses to marry out of their own tribe ^w, from which the rest were exempted; but a man was left to his liberty to marry, not only in any of the twelve tribes, but even out of them, provided it was with nations that used circumcision ^x; such as the *Midianites*, *Ishmaelites*, *Edomites*, *Moabites*, and *Egyptians* (I).

THESE

^w Num. xxxvi. pass.
7, 8.

* Compare Deut. vii. 3. & xxiii.
7, 8.

beginning of the verse? *There are three things too hard for me, yea, four, or, rather, a fourth, which I cannot comprehend.* What analogy doth the way of a man, whether in or with a maid, bear to that of an eagle in the air, or a ship in the midst of the sea, &c.? or wherein is the former harder to be understood than the latter? But if we understand it of the conception of a man in a virgin, as the words seem plainly to imply, then both the analogy and climax will be very natural; and the conception of the man, or, as the word גִּבּוֹר, *gebber*, imports, the *mighty man in a virgin*, continuing still such, will appear most fitly compared to the flight of an eagle in the air, &c. which leave no trace behind; and, at the same time, be most justly esteemed the hardest, of all the rest, to be accounted for. This text may therefore justly be looked upon as parallel to that of *Jeremiah* xxxi. 22.—*The Lord has, or will, create a new thing, a woman shall compass gebber, a man, or the mighty man.*

(I) Accordingly we find, that

Moses married a *Midianite*; *Boaz* a *Moabite* (23); *Maachab*, *Abshalom's* mother, was the daughter of *Talmai*, king of *Geshur* (24); *Amasa* was the son of *Jether*, an *Ishmaelite*, by *Abigail*, *David's* sister (25); and *Solomon*, in the beginning of his reign, married *Pharaoh's* daughter (26). Whenever, therefore, we find him and other kings blam'd for marrying strange women, we must understand it of those nations that were idolatrous and uncircumcised.

This law seems also founded upon what the subtil sons of *Jacob* said to the *Shechemites*; *It is not lawful for us to contract affinity with one that is uncircumcised* (27). However, this must be understood of such only as were admitted into the *Jewish* religion: as for those that were not so, they were not so much as permitted to have any carnal commerce with them; except in the case of an *Hebrew* soldier's having taken a *gentile* captive, to whom *Moses* indulg'd the liberty of enjoying her once, before the marriage was confirmed: this, at least, seems to be the sense of the

(23) *Ruth* iv. (24) 2 *Sam.* iii. 3. 1 *Chron.* iii. 2. (25) 1 *Chron.* i. 17, & seq. (26) 1 *Kings* iii. 1. (27) *Gen.* xxxiv. 14.

words;

THESE are the main laws relating to marriage. As for the manner of its celebration, *Moses* has left no direction about it. Some few ceremonials may be gathered from Scripture, and the rest from the rabbies. We do not find, that it was accompanied with any religious ceremony; such as going to the tabernacle or temple, offering of sacrifices, or even that it was performed by or before a priest: only from the examples of *Isaac* with *Rebecca*, of *Boaz* with *Ruth*, and of *Tobias* with *Sarah*, we may conclude, that the parents, and the rest of the company, did pray for the prosperity of the new-married couple. These nuptials were accompanied with feasting and mirth, which lasted a whole week. Thus *Samson's* wedding is said to have lasted seven days ^c; and *Tobias* was desired, by his father-in-law, that his might last twice that space ^d; probably, because they were not likely to see one another after that time (K).

THEIR

^c Judg. xiv. 17. ^d Tobit viii. 19, 20.

words (28); because, if he did not like her, he might put her away; only he was to give her liberty, as a recompence for her virginity. A maid-servant, tho' converted to *Judaism*, was not capable of matrimonial right, whilst her servitude continued; but, if her redemption was paid, or she was manumitted, she might become a wife (29). If a woman was not wholly free, her marriage seems to have been neither in force, nor absolutely void; because, in cases of unchastity, she was not to be put to death, as the free women were, but only whipt (30).

(K) What splendor did usually accompany these feasts, where their circumstances would admit of it, we may conclude, from that beautiful comparison of the psalmist, of the glory of

a rising-sun to a bridegroom coming out of his nuptial chamber (31). He likewise describes, in another psalm, the richness of the bride's attire, the pomp of her attendance, and the grandeur of the solemnity, in most elegant terms (32). The paranymp, or friend of the bridegroom, and the bride-maids, are likewise mentioned here, and in the *Canticles*. Besides these, the bridegroom and bride had a number of companions, that assisted during the whole feast. *Samson* is said to have had thirty at his wedding (33). However, we must not suppose both sexes to have assisted promiscuously; the custom of eastern countries did not allow of it: and it is much more likely, that they had separate tables, apartments, and diversions: these last were sing-

(28) Deut. xxi. 10, & seq. (29) Seld. jus nat. & gent. l. v. c. 17. Vid. Jof. ant. l. iv. c. 8. Carlton's concord. part i. c. 7. (30) Levit. xx. (31) Psal. xix. 5. (32) Psal. xlv. pass. Vid. & Isa. lxi. 10. (33) Judg. xiv. 11.

THEIR plurality of wives was far from being either a charge, or incumbrance, on them, considering their simple way of living: the domestic affairs were their province, whilst that of the husband was the business of the fields and vineyards. Dressing of victuals, the care of children, spinning, carding, weaving, and the like, are often mentioned in the sacred books as the occupation of women^m; whilst their husbands chose the more laborious works. However, at the worst, *Moses* had indulged them with a remedy, namely, that of,

Divorce. 4. DIVORCE, which was permitted to the *Jews* for the hardness of their hearts, as our Saviour observesⁿ; neither do we find, that it had ever been practised by any of the patriarchs (T), whatever it might have been by other nations.

^m Vid. int. al. 1 Sam. ii. 19. 2 Sam. viii. 13. Prov. xxxi. 13, & seq. & alib. pass. ⁿ Mat. xix. 8.

ing, dancing, playing upon musical instruments among the women, and some kind of manly exercises among the men. To these we may add the custom of propounding riddles, and assigning some sort of reward to those that expounded them, as we find it was done at *Samson's* nuptials (34), and which, the *Talmudists* tell us, was usually practised upon such and the like festivals (35). They add, that both the bride and bridegroom used to wear a crown during the whole solemnity, until the destruction of the last temple; but that, thenceforth, such an ornament was set aside, in memory of that catastrophe (36). We read, indeed, of a nuptial crown made for *Solomon*, and presented to him by his mother (37); but nothing of the like ornament for the bride. As for the other particular cere-

monies relating to marriages, as we have no other authority for them but that of the *Talmudists*, we shall not trouble our readers with them.

(T) The *Jews* pretend, that *Abraham* divorced *Hagar*; and *Moses*, either *Ziphorah*, or *Tarbis*, the princess of *Ethiopia*: and that this was the reason of the quarrel which he had with *Aaron* and *Miriam* (38); and from thence conclude, that divorce was not only of earlier date, but that it was lawful upon many other accounts, besides that of adultery. But, as to *Hagar*, whom they pretend to have been divorced for her insolence, it is plain, first, that she was no wife, but a bond-woman, substitute to *Sarah*; and, secondly, that her expulsion was not properly a divorce, because she was received again after the first fault; and that, at the second,

(34) *Judg.* xiv. 12. (35) *Pirke aboth.* (36) *Ibid.* Vide *Seld.* ux. *Heb.* l. ii. c. 15. *Buxtorf.* *synag.* & al. (37) *Cant.* iii. *ver.* ult. (38) *Targ.* *Onkel.* & *Hierof.* & *rabbin.* mult. in *Num.* xii. 1, & seq.

tions. The words of the law, or, rather, permission, run thus °: “ When a man hath taken a wife, and married her, and it come to pass that she finds no favour in his eyes, because he has found in her some uncleanness (U); then let him write her a bill of divorcement, and give it into her hand, and send her out of his house. And when she is departed ——— she may go and be another man’s wife; and if her second husband hate her, and write her a bill of divorce ——— or if he chance to die ——— her former husband shall not take her again to be his wife, after she is defiled; for that is an abomination to the LORD. ———” The question is here, What is meant by the words, *if he find any uncleanness, turpitude, or nakedness, in her?* We have seen in the last note, how the *Jews* are divided in their opinion about it: the *Christians* are no less so; some confining it to adultery, and others to all enormous crimes, such as idolatry, apostasy, and the like; which the Scriptures often call fornication, and is the word made use of by our Saviour for

° Deut. xxiv. 1, & seq.

it was her son’s behaviour, and not her own, that sent her away (18): and as to the case of *Ziphorah* and *Tarbis*, they are mere fictions, as we may have occasion to shew in the sequel. So that we do not find one precedent of divorce before the law of *Moses*; but afterwards they became so frequent, that the prophets often upbraided the *Jews* with it (19); and *Solomon* doth as much condemn the divorce of a virtuous woman, as he doth the keeping of an adulterous one (20).

(U) As plain as the import of the text is, yet the famous *Hillel* has found out a way to evade it, in order to make divorce lawful, even upon the slightest fault; such as spoiling his meat in cooking; or, ac-

ording to *Akkiba*, another of the same loose principles, if he finds another that pleases him better, or is more handsome in his eyes. To make this out, they divide the text thus: 1. If she do not find favour in his sight; and, 2. If he find in her any uncleanness. But the more virtuous school of his co-rival *Shammai* justly condemns such a perverse reading, though he confines this case of turpitude; which *Moses* assigns as the ground of the husband’s dislike; to the case of unchastity; whereas that of *Hillel* extends it to all that he may dislike in her (21). This last has been most followed by the *Jews*, and sufficiently condemned by *Christ* (22).

(18) *Conf. Gen. xvi. 1, & seq. & xxi. 9, & seq.*

Malach. ii. 14, & seq.

l. iii. c. 18, & 20.

(22) *Mat. v. 32, & alib.*

(19) *Mic. ii. 9.*

(20) *Vide Mishn. c. 9. §. 10. Seld. ux. Heb.*

(21) *Vide gloss. Barteno, ההלכה בית הלל.*

adultery. For our part, we cannot believe any of these cases to be meant by the words of *Moses*; because, as these were all capital crimes, it would have been ridiculous to have ordained a divorce against those that were to be put to death. We rather think, therefore, that it meant some involuntary uncleanness, whether natural, or contracted, which rendered her loathsome in his eyes, or unfit for the nuptial intercourse; which *Christ* therefore discommends in the gospel, not only because it was become too frequent, and permitted upon every trivial occasion P; but, also, to assure the people, that the marriage-knot was not to be dissolved upon any pretence, except that of infidelity (W).

Laws

P Vide JOSEPH. ant. l. iv. c. 8, & lib. de vit. sua ad fin. & PHIL. de special. legib. præc. 6, & 7.

(W) We may add, that the words (being ערוה דבר, *harvath-dabar*, and not דבר ערוה, *debar-harvath*; which last only doth signify the case of turpitude) may be more properly rendered, for any turpitude or immodesty of words, discourse, or even behaviour. So that this indulgence might have been designed to deter the wanton sort of wives from such immodest speeches or behaviour as might be apt to disgust a sober husband; and to inspire them with such chaste deportment, as could alone preserve a true conjugal affection. According to this sense, also, our SAVIOUR'S reflection will be very just; that it was their indocible temper that extorted such an indulgence from *Moses*, which was manifestly contrary to the original design and institution of marriage.

One thing which shews that the nuptial breach was not

thought the ground of a divorce in *David's* time, is, that that monarch did not repudiate those concubines, or wives of the second rank, whom his son *Abjalom* had publicly debauched; but contented himself with shutting them up for life (23); and that the *Levite* did not divorce his concubine-wife, as the text calls her, after she had played the harlot, and forsaken him; but went to seek and bring her home again (24). The same may be said of *Samson*, who went and demanded his wife, after she had been given to another man (25). To this we may add, that we do not find any instances, through the whole Old Testament, of men divorcing their wives, either upon this, or any other account, except those who put away the strange women they had brought with them from the captivity (26). However that be, it is plain, the *Jews* have

(23) 2 Sam. xx. 3. (24) Judg. xix. 1, & seq. 2 Sam. iii. 13, & seq.
(25) Judg. xv. 1, & seq. (26) Ezra x. pass. Nehem. xiii. 23, & seq.

Laws against theft.

UNDER this head we shall include not only those *Theft.* which are against taking away another man's property, whether privately, or by open force; but, also, against every act of fraud and injustice, which is contrary to the right and common faith of mankind. I. As to theft, it must be observed, that the *Jews* understood the words in the decalogue, *Thou shalt not steal*^w, of men-stealing; and thought that the other sort of theft was implied in the last precept, *Thou shalt not covet*: but we shall include them under the same head.

^w Exod. xx. 15.

understood it in another, and more lax sense. The form of the bill of divorce was to this effect: *Such a day, month, and year, I, such an one, of such a place, upon or near such a river, do, of my own free consent and choice, repudiate thee, such an one, my late wife, banish thee from me, and restore thee to thy own liberty; and thou mayest, henceforth, go whither, and marry whom thou wilt: and this is thy bill of divorcement, and writing of expulsion, according to the law of Moses and Israel. Signed by two witnesses; and delivered in the presence of as many, at least (27). From this time the wife was as much at her liberty, as if she had been a widow; only, in both cases, she was obliged to stay, at least, 90 days, before she was married to another, lest she should prove pregnant by the last.*

Touching the controversy, Whether women might likewise divorce their husbands, up-

on the same grounds that they might be divorced by them, we can only say, that we do not find any such indulgence granted to them by *Moses*, unless in the case of a virgin betrothed by her parents before she was twelve years of age, who might then refuse to ratify the contract which her parents had made, without giving any other reason than that she did not like the person designed for her. But this cannot be called a divorcement, because there is no marriage in the case. *Josephus* therefore thinks, that a divorce was so far from being permitted to women, that, if the husband forsook his wife, it was not lawful for her to marry another, till she had first obtained a divorce from him. He adds, that *Salome*, sister to *Herod the Great*, was the first who took upon her to repudiate her husband, whose example was soon followed by others, mentioned by the same author (28).

(27) *Vid. Mos. Kotz, fol. 133. & Mos. Ægypt. part. ii. fol. 59. Seld. Buxt. & Goodw. ubi sup. & in vit. sua.*

(28) *Ant. l. xv. c. II. xviii. 7. xx. 15.*

THE stealing of a man was the only capital theft under the law of *Moses* (Y); and whether the stolen person had been sold, or were still in the possession of the thief he was to be put to death *. All other theft was punished by restitution, and the addition of a fine, according to the nature of the theft; only the man, that broke into a house in the night to rob, might be with impunity killed, though not in the day-time †. He that stole an ox, was to restore five oxen; if a sheep, or a goat, four sheep, or four goats ‡; but if he had neither killed nor sold them, but they were found alive with him, he was only to pay two for one §. In case the thief had not wherewith to make satisfaction according to the law, it was lawful for the prosecutor, if he was an *Israelite*, to sell him, but not if he was a profelyte of any kind; neither could the former sell him to any but to an *Israelite*. If he had a wife and children, they might likewise be sold with him, till satisfaction was made to the offended; at least it seems to have been so understood, and practised, by the *Jews*, in cases of debt, though *Moses* mentions none here but the thief (Z).

WHEN

* *Exod.* xxi. 16. † *Ibid.* xxii. 2. ‡ *Ibid.* ver. 1.
§ *Ibid.* ver. 4.

(Y) The *Jews*, however, confine it to the stealing of an *Israelite*, and not without some ground; because *Moses*, in another place (29), expresses it, *If a man be found stealing any of his brethren, of the children of Israel*; which exception the *Targum of Onkelos* (30), and the *Septuagint*, have added, also, to the text in *Exodus*. *Abenezra* doth even understand it of children that cannot speak. As for the stealing of strangers, the offender was not to be put to death, according to them, but only to make restitution.

(Z) This may be gathered from the words of the prophet *Elisba* (31) to the widow; and

from the parable in the gospel, where the creditor commands the wife and children, as well as the insolvent debtor, to be sold, and payment to be made (32). As soon as a sufficient equivalent had been made by servitude, they were to be restored to their freedom again, tho' by another law (33): but if the thief was unmarried, and his master gave him a wife during the time of his servitude, the children that he had by her were his master's property. On this law they engrafted another, agreeing to shorten a married man's servitude, on condition he begat a certain number of slaves, for the benefit of his

(29) *Deut.* xxiv. 7. (30) *In Exod.* xxi. 16. (31) *2 Kings* iv. 1
(32) *Mat.* xviii. 25. (33) *Exod.* xxi. 3.

C. VII. *to the Babylonish Captivity.*

WHEN a man was suspected of theft, and the prosecutor had not sufficient proof against him, he might bring him before the judges, and have both him, and those whom he thought his accomplices, examined upon oath. If they could be afterwards proved forsworn, they were put to death, not for the theft, but for the perjury. The same law reached, also, to the receiver or concealer of stolen goods, knowing them to be such ^h; for so they understood the words, *He shall bear his iniquity* (A). All kind of usury,

^h Levit. v. 1.

creditor, upon some woman whom his master gave him; with this pretended proviso, however, that he should not deprive his own wife of the nuptial due. In cases of petty larcenies the laws seem still more indulgent, and the crime was not looked upon as infamous, according to that of Solomon, *A thief is not despised that stealeth to satisfy his hunger; but if he be found, he shall restore sevenfold, he shall give all the substance of his house* (34): where the word *sevenfold* means only more or less, according to the theft, as far as his whole substance would reach. It is plain, however, that the law of Moses was far enough from countenancing such kind of theft, since it allowed a man, in cases of extreme want, to sell himself to some master for any term of years, even to that of the jubilee (35). He was even permitted to sell an unmarried daughter, upon condition, either that the buyer should marry her, or, if he did not, that she should be redeemed by the

highest bidder that would (36).

(A) All these kind of matters were to be tried before the judges of the place where the fact was done; and it was left to them, in many cases, to appoint the fines and punishments of the offender, according to the nature and circumstances of the fact: only the Jews add, that if the thief came and accused himself, and restored the stolen goods, he was not to have any further punishment; because, say they, he was condemned not by the judges, but by himself (37). Moses gave them, also, many other wholesome laws relating to things committed to another's care, or pledged for a time; such as cattle, household-goods, garments, and the like; in case they came to be lost, or damaged (38); which we shall not dwell upon. Only thus much we may add, that, in all cases where any satisfaction was made, the person wronged, or his next heir, was the only person intitled to it: but if he died without heirs, then the priest might claim it as his due.

(34) Prov. vi. 30, 31. xxi. 7, & seq.

(35) Levit. xxv. 39, 40.

(36) Exod.

(37) Vide Maim, tract. genubab, l. i. ex. Exod. xxii. 9.

(38) Exod. xxii. 7, & seq.

Usury.

usury, whether of money, grain, apparel, &c. was likewise forbid by the law of *Moses*, in more places than one, from one *Israelite* to another; in which cases, the usurer might be compelled, by the judges, to refund the ill-gotten wealth. They were commanded, on the contrary, whenever a brother was waxed poor, to support and assist him with such things as he needed, without proposing to themselves any other advantage, by so doing, than the blessing of God attending itⁿ: but of strangers, that is, of the *gentiles*, they were permitted to take some usury^o; yet so as not to oppress them by too great extortion, or, indeed, in any other way: for, in such cases, the stranger is put upon the same foot with the fatherless and the widow, whose protector God every-where declares himself, with very severe threatenings, against those who were wanting in kindness and hospitality towards them^p (B).

All kind of
oppression.

Laws

ⁿ Exod. xxii. 25, & seq. Levit. xxv. 36, & seq. Deut. xxiii. 19. ^o Ibid. ver. 20. ^p Exod. xxii. 21. xxiii. 9. Levit. xix. 33, & seq. & alib.

He likewise forbid not only the use of false weights and measures (39), but, also, all kind of frauds, circumvention in contracts, whether written or verbal, both in merchandising, and all other dealings between man and man (40). Even in bargains the rule was, that, if the price was above one sixth part more or less than the true value of the thing sold, the party wrong'd might make the other refund the overplus.

(B) Oppressing of servants and hirelings; defrauding, or even detaining their wages, though but one night (41); denying them necessary food and respite (42); private mischiefs, such as misleading the blind, or even another's cattle

(43); removing of land-marks (44); digging of pits and leaving them uncovered (45); and many more of the like nature; were likewise reckoned enormous crimes: which, if found out, were cognisable by the judges, who were impowered to cause suitable satisfaction to be made; if not, there were terrible curses denounced against the transgressors by GOD, from whose all-seeing eye they could not be concealed, and from whose justice they could not escape unpunished. Taking things in pledge from the indigent, of which they stood in constant need; such as their garments, bed-cloaths, the nether or upper mill-stone, and the like; was no less forbidden.

(39) Deut. xxv. 13, & seq.

(41) Ibid. xix. 13. Deut. xxiv. 14, 15.

(43) Levit. xix. 14.

(40) Levit. xix. 11. xxv. 14, & alib.

(42) Ibid. v. 14. xxv. 4.

(44) Deut. xix. 14.

(45) Exod. xxi. 33.

Laws against false witness.

THE foundation of them is in that of the decalogue, *False witness. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour*^y.

Wherein we shall only observe, that the word which our versions render *Speak*, signifies, according to the original, to answer to an interrogation, such as the judges exacted from persons summoned to give evidence in any cases that came before them, either by oath, or bare examination. The judges were bound to abide by the testimony of two or three witnesses, especially in capital cases, a single one not being sufficient to condemn any man^z (C).

Laws against coveting another's property.

THE tenth precept of the decalogue, *Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, wife, &c*^z, is justly esteemed, by the *Jewish* doctors, the prop and foundation of all the other laws of the second table; and he that observes this, is in no danger of breaking the rest. Whether

^y Exod. xx. 16. xxiii. 2. Deut. v. 20. ^z Deut. xvii. 6.
^a Exod. xx. 17. Deut. v. 21.

The person so oppressed might appeal to the judge, and he cause them to be restored: but we do not find, that any other punishment was ordain'd against the delinquent (46). We omit several other laws of the same nature, which the reader may see among their negative precepts (47).

(C) To deter men, therefore, as much as possible, from giving false evidence, the law condemned a false witness to the same punishment which he would have inflicted on the innocent (48); and if examined upon oath, and proved forsworn, he was to be put to

death, as was hinted before, let the case in question be what it would. It required, besides, of the judges, that they should be very strict in examining the witnesses (49), their character, and the nature of the evidence; in order to prevent, as far as possible, the guilty being acquitted, or the innocent condemned.

The *Talmudists* have collected several laws relating to the duty of judges, which lie dispersed in the writings of *Moses*, and added several very judicious expositions, for which we shall refer the reader to the authors themselves (50).

(46) Deut. xxiv. 10. 17, & seq. alib. pass.

(48) Deut. xix. 15, 16, & seq.

(47) Vid. præc. 150, ad 196, &

(49) Ibid. ver. 18.

(50) Tract. sanbeatr. Maim. in eund. præc. neg. 194, ad 218.

the antient *Jews* understood it in that strict and refined sense which the gospel doth, or only of such overt acts as tended to the procuring of any thing by unlawful means, is not easy to determine. The *Talmudists*, however, condemn by it the very desire formed and indulged in the heart, though it doth not proceed to action^e.

An abridgment of some other mixed laws relating to food, raiment, planting, sowing, decency, and cleanness; and of such diseases as excluded men from common society.

Against
eating of
blood.

I. **O**F all the food prohibited by the *Mosaic* law, blood may be reckoned in the first place, that prohibition being as old as the deluge^f: for *GOD*, having, immediately after it, given *Noah* the liberty of eating the flesh of animals, as is most generally supposed^g, forbid, at the same time, under very severe threatenings, the eating not only the blood itself, but the flesh, also, mixed with it; that is, of any animal, either strangled, or killed by any other way than by drawing the blood thoroughly from it (D). Accordingly, we find it no less expressly forbidden by *Moses*, in several places, not only to the *Israelites*, but to the strangers that lived among them^h, even under pain of death.

^e Vid. præc. neg. 158. ^f Gen. ix. 4, & seq. ^g Vid. sup. vol. i. p. 259. ^h Levit. xvii. 10, & seq. Deut. xii. 23, & seq.

(D) The reason given in the text is, that blood is the life of the animal; by which is meant, that no animal can live without it. But it is not improbable, that the end and design of this prohibition was, that it might be a kind of acknowledgement that our privilege for killing, and eating the flesh of those living creatures, is not derived to us from the law of nature, which seems rather to be against it, but from an express permission from the author of nature. And this seems to be the reason why it was not only enforced by the *Mosaic* law, but, also, retained by the gospel, and enjoined to its profelytes from *Gentilism* (51). This law, we are told, by a modern traveller (52), is still strictly observed by some eastern churches, not, as our author says, by virtue of the law of *Moses*, but of the apostolic canon, which has been kept, ever since, by the eastern, and, for several ages, by the western church; and confirmed, by several councils, from time to time.

(51) Vide *Acts* xv. 28. (52) *Ludolph. hist. Æthiop.* l. iii. c. 1. num. 51.

GOD seems even to put it on the level with sacrificing one's seed to *Moloch*, when he threatens to *set his face against him that transgresses* in either case; which expression is not used in any other prohibition: only, under this typical dispensation, GOD is pleased to give a new reason for this interdiction; namely, that it is the blood (which is also the life) of the victim, that makes atonement for sin^h; pursuant to which, the tabernacle, with all its utensils, was at first purified with it; the covenant between GOD and the people was ratified with it, and without blood there could be no remission for sinⁱ; all which the apostle fitly applies to that of CHRIST under the gospel^k.

NEXT to the blood, was forbidden likewise the flesh of *Unclean meats*, a considerable number of beasts, fowls, fishes, and reptiles, which were therefore to be deemed unclean. This distinction, however, of clean and unclean, can hardly be supposed to have its origin from the *Mosaic* law, and to have been used proleptically, when the divine historian mentions it even before the flood^l: but we shall not repeat what has been said on that subject in another place^{*}; neither shall we enter into a nice scrutiny about those animals thus forbidden, but refer the curious to the learned *Bochart's* elaborate treatise on that subject^m, and mention only the general rule which *Moses* has given to distinguish the clean from the uncleanⁿ, which the reader may see in the following note (D).

RAIMENT.

^h Levit. xvii. 11.ⁱ Heb. ix. 22, & alib. pass.^k Ibid. ver. 13, & seqq.^l Gen. vii. 2. ^{*} Sup. vol. i. p. 239.^m Hierozoic. pass.ⁿ Levit. xi. 1, & seqq.

(D) Of beasts, whatever did both chew the cud, and divide the hoof, was to be reckoned clean; and whatever did not both these, as the swine, which divideth the hoof, but doth not chew the cud, or the camel, hare, rabbit, which chew the cud, and do not part the hoof, was forbidden, as unclean. Of fowl, all carnivorous birds, such as the eagle, vultur, and the like; all that had four feet,

and yet flew, as the bat. Of fishes, all that had fins and scales were lawful, and all that wanted either were forbidden. Of insects, all that had wings to raise itself from the earth might be eaten; but whatever did only crawl on the earth, was unclean. Lastly, the fat of the clean beasts was forbidden, not because it was unclean, much less because it is hard of digestion; which is the reason some authors give for this, and

Raiment.

RAIMENT. *Moses* has left no positive laws relating to dress, except that which belonged to the priests, of which we have spoken elsewhere, and where he orders the people to wear blue fringes to the borders of their garments, for a remembrance, that they were now no longer to live after their own will, but after the commands of GOD^r. As to those of the negative kind, the two most considerable are, those which forbid the promiscuous habit of both sexes^s, and the weaving of two different stuffs, such as linen and woollen, in the same garment^t; the first is supposed to have been designed to prevent the shameful abuses which might attend such unnatural disguises, and the second to prevent unnatural and dangerous intermixtures, confusion, &c. (E).

BUT

^r Numb. xv. 38, 39. Deut. xxii. 12.
^t Ibid. ver. 11.

^s Ibid. ver. 5.

and blood, and swines, and other flesh, being also forbid. seeing their laborious life and healthy constitution made them more capable to digest them, than many among ours, and other nations, who lead an indolent life, and yet can eat of them all, without any inconvenience. But the reason is given in the text, namely, because in all sacrifices, the fat was to be burnt upon the altar, as appertaining unto GOD (1). The flesh of beasts torn in pieces, or that died of themselves, was likewise forbidden (2). All that needs to be further added, with respect to unclean animals is, that though the touch of them, while alive, was not defiling, yet that of their carcases was; insomuch that even the vessels and liquors, into which it fell, were made unclean by it; the liquors were to be thrown away; the vessels, whatever they were,

must be purified, and the person who touched them was to wash himself, and be unclean until evening. A well, however, a fountain, or any large receptacle of water, were not defiled by it, but only the person who took the unclean creature out of them (3).

(E) To the same purpose are those which relate to sowing divers seeds, or planting divers kind of trees in the same field; or forbid to plow with a mixture of cattle, such as an ox and an ass (4). Cleanliness and decency, though so necessary in hot climes, that there needs hardly any law to enforce them, are yet enjoined by *Moses* under severe penalties, as well as the neglect of those proper ceremonies, which he had enjoined to those who had laboured under any defilement, in order to their purification. We have already spoken of this

(1) *Vide* Levit. iii. 14, & seqq.

(2) *Exod.* xxii. 31. *Levit.* xvii. 15.

(3) *Ibid.* xi. 32, & seqq.

(4) *Deut.* xxii. 9, & seqq.

latter

BUT, of all the diseases mentioned in the last note, the leprosy was reckoned the most defiling (F); for which *Leprosy.*
reason

latter under another head, and shall only mention the chief of the former: they were such as forbid all matrimonial commerce for one certain time after child-birth; during the monthly periods, or after any accidental weakness of that kind; in men, nocturnal pollutions, running sores, ulcers, gonorrhœas, and such-like; whatever was touched by any person so defiled, whether chair, bed, table, or any other utensil, was also to be deemed unclean, and to defile those that touched them; and all were to be purified according to the law. In both sexes likewise, the touching of a dead body, carcase, or any unclean thing, had the same effect.

(F) *Moses* distinguishes three sorts of leprosy, namely, that of the body, garments, and of houses. The first of these is a cuticular disease, not unlike an inveterate itch or scurvy, which occasions a violent itching pain; and whether caused by some prolific animalcula communicated by the touch, or by corrosive vitrioline salts (though the former seems the most probable), will in time corrode the flesh, even to the bone. We shall not disgust our readers with repeating the marks which he gives of that distemper (42); nor with what some physicians have wrote concerning it; but only observe, that it is of a much

more corrosive and dangerous nature in hot climates than in cold ones. They observe three kinds, or rather degrees of it. The first of these, namely, whilst it is, as it were, in its infancy, may be easily cured: the second, when it has communicated itself to the blood, cannot be mastered without great difficulty, and a long regimen of diet and physic: the last, which is when it is grown inveterate, and has fixed itself, and corroded the solid parts, is reckoned incurable. However, *Monfieur Tournefort*, who had seen it in the *Levant*, thinks it rather a kind of venereal disease; and that, if taken in time, it might be cured by the same method. But be that as it will, it is certain, that this leprosy must have been sufficiently known by the *Israelites* in *Egypt*, since *Moses* speaks both of the disease and its marks, as of things which were plain and obvious.

The leprosy of the garments is supposed to have been owing to some defect in the management of the wool, skins, and stuffs, of which they were made; those manufactures being then very imperfect. The heat of the climate, and perhaps many other things, might contribute still more towards it. *Moses* has likewise described the marks of this kind of leprosy: they were spots, either of a reddish or greenish hue,

(42) *Vide Levit. xiii. per tot.*

which

reason those, who were infected with it, were forced to live separate from the rest, till they were cured; monarchs themselves were not exempted from this law, as appears from the instance of king *Azariah*, or *Uzziah*, as he is called in the *Chronicles*, who, having too far intruded into the priestly office^w, was smitten with an incurable leprosy, deprived of his government, and forced to live apart to the day of his death. And, indeed, one kind of it was of so infectious a nature, that too much caution could not be used to prevent its spreading; infomuch that even those that died of it were buried separately from the rest^x; as for the other, namely, the dry one, it was rather an eye-sore, than an infectious disease (G).

AND

^w Comp. 2 Kings xv. 5. & 2 Chron. xxvi. 16, & seqq. ^x Ib. ver. ult.

which appeared upon the garments, whether of linen, woolen, or of skins. In these cases they were to be brought to the priests, and according as they appeared to them, they were either to be burnt, or to be washed and cleaned, or the spots to be cut out, and the rest declared clean and wholesome. This garment-leprosy is likewise supposed to be a kind of worm, which breeds in those stuffs, occasioned by the oils, grease, and other ingredients used in the dressing of them.

The same may be said of the leprosy of houses; in the mortar and stones of which, another sort of vermin was bred, which had four jaws continually working, and eating holes in them. This was one of the tokens of its being infected; there were some others besides, which were a kind of rust or scurf, that spread itself

along the walls. In all these cases, the priests were directed to shut the house up for a week; and it is probable, they made some kind of fumigation, during that time, though no mention is made of it; else we cannot see how the bare shutting it up could contribute to the cure. If, upon the opening it again, they found the marks gone, they pronounced it clean; if not, they caused them to be scraped off everywhere, and the house to be shut up another seven days; and if that did not work the cure, they ordered it to be demolished, and such materials of it only to be preserved, as were free from the infection, in order to build it up in some other place (43).

(G) The priests were the proper judges both of the disease and of the cure; concerning which *Moses* gave them several plain directions, though

(43) *Lewit. xiii. 47, & seqq. & xiv. per tot. Vide journal des Sçavants, ann. 1668. Calmet, dissert. prefix. at the head of his comment. on Lewit.*

AND here we shall beg leave to mention a story which *Manetho*, and several other heathen writers after him^d, have advanced, with great appearance of seriousness, against the *Jews*; and which, though every one of them tells in his own way, doth, in the main, amount to this: that the land of *Egypt* being grievously infected with the leprosy, king *Bochorus* was advised by the oracle to send all the lepers into a desert place, where they might perish with want. This was accordingly done; and the lepers being come to the desolate place, *Moses* observed, by tracing the footsteps of a wild ass, a spot, where they might dig for water to refresh their thirst; which they being revived with, chose him for their guide, and were by him

^d MANETH. ap. Joseph. cont. Apion. TACIT. JUST. ex Trog. PLUTARCH. & al.

we find not that he prescribed any remedy against it, because, as the *Jews* think, it was an immediate judgment from GOD (43). The same they affirm also of the leprosy of houses and garments; which they pretend was peculiar to the *Israelites*, and to the land of *Judea* (44); because GOD had promised to them, that whilst they continued obedient to his laws, their bodies, houses, and garments, should be preserved from that disease; but, when they proved stubborn and rebellious, he would send it as a punishment upon them (45).

When the priest had pronounced a man infected with leprosy, he was not only secluded from the society of clean persons, but obliged to go bareheaded, with his cloaths rent, and his upper lip covered with a kind of muffler, to prevent, in all likelihood, his infecting others by his breath.

But one may reasonably suppose, that they had places in which they lived together, and made a kind of community among themselves. Accordingly, we read of four of them that went together out of some quarter of *Samaria* into the *Assyrian* camp, when the famine raged in the city (46); and of ten in the gospel, who applied themselves in a body to CHRIST to be healed by him (47). Persons, garments, and houses, being cured of this distemper, were to be further purified by the priest. We have already spoken of the sacrifices which were to be offered upon this occasion, in its proper place. As for the other ceremonies, which were enjoined by *Moses*, we shall refer our reader to the two afore-quoted chapters of *Leviticus*, where he may see a full account of them.

(43) *It. rabbim. fir. omn. & Theodor. quæst. 18. in Levit. Gerund. Racana: l. br. Sepharad. & al. (44) Mos. rete i. (45) Vide Munst. in Lev. t. xiii. (46) 2 Kings vii. 3, 8. (47) Luke xvii. 12.*

conducted,

conducted, and settled in *Canaan*, in the space of seven days; in memory of which, he ordered the seventh day to be a day of rest, and forbid the eating of swines flesh, because that creature is very subject to the leprosy. They add, that in memory of their kind benefactor, the ass that saved their lives, he commanded an ass's head to be set up, and worshiped in their temple. This story, which is false and ridiculous in every particular, is sufficiently confuted by *Josephus*; and the care which *Moses* took, with respect to this distemper, sufficiently shews, that, at least, the far greater part of the *Israelites* were free from it at their coming out of *Egypt*; else it would have been impossible to have segregated them from the rest, and to have forced these laws upon them, which excluded them from the commerce of those who were free from it (H).

II. *Of the customs, learning, arts, and trade of the Jews.*

Ceremonies at circumcision.

THEIR customs, both religious and civil, being chiefly founded upon their laws, and the greatest part of them having been already mentioned under that article, we shall have the less to say here, especially considering the barrenness of the subject, for want of books and authors, of a date old enough to be depended upon. We have already mentioned all that could be gathered, concerning their customs at weddings and festivals: we shall now say something of those that were used at births, and feasts; to which we shall add a short account of some of their abominable practices at their high-places, groves, and other places of idolatrous worship; of their various kinds of divinations, games, and ceremonies used at burials. It may be remembered, that circumcision was not enjoined by the *Mosaic* law, but by virtue of the express

(H) This body of laws, out of which we have omitted a considerable number of less moment, besides several others, which we have avoided repeating here, because they will be occasionally mentioned in other places, is not only secured by a clause, which expressly forbids the adding or diminishing any thing from it (48); but their obedience to them is likewise enforced by the most cogent promises and threatenings, interspersed through the whole, besides a strict charge, injoining the *Levites* to instruct the people, and parents their children in it; though all too little to keep them to their duty.

(48) *Dout.* iv. 2. xii. 32.

command

command given to *Abraham*. But neither hath ordained any thing, either with respect to the person by whom, nor with what instrument, nor in what manner the ceremony was to be performed; but only, that the foreskin should be cut off on the eighth day. So that it was left to the option of the parent, either to perform it himself, or to have some other person, whether a priest, surgeon, or any expert friend to do it for him. And, in this last case, it was always looked upon as a high compliment to be chosen to that office. The instrument was generally a knife, or razor, made of some kind of stone, as being less dangerous than those of steel; the use of which they might have learned from the *Egyptians*, who opened the bodies with them, which were to be embalmed^f. They were not obliged to carry the child to the synagogue, much less to the temple, but had him circumcised at home. Here the father, or some friend deputed by him, held the child in his arms, whilst the operator took the prepuce, either with one hand, or with pincers made for that purpose, and with the other cut off the foreskin, whilst another held a porringer filled with sand, for him to fling it in, and to receive the blood. He then applied his mouth to the place, and, having sucked the blood, which generally flowed plentifully, twice or thrice, and spit it out into a tumbler of wine, he threw some styptic powder upon the wound, and dressed it till it was well. As for the form of words that were used upon such occasions, as far as probable conjectures will go, we shall have occasion to mention it under another article; to which they added, no doubt, some prayers and blessings. At present, the operator, having dressed the wound, puts the cup of wine and blood to the infant's lips, pronouncing these words of the prophet, *Live in thy blood*^g, repeats the cxxviiiith psalm, and wishes his parents joy, and that they may thus assist at his wedding^h. But how old these customs are, we cannot warrant: all that can be added is, that this ceremony was usually accompanied with great rejoicing and feasting; and it was at that time that the child used to be named by the parents, in the presence of the com-

^f HERODOT. lib. ii. c. 86. ^g Ezek. xvi. 6. ^h De his vide FAG. in Deut. x. Mos. KOTZ, in tract. de circumcis. fol. 115. MAIM. tract. circumcis. c. 1, & 2. BUXTORF. syn. Jud. c. 4, & alib. QUANDT. de cultris circumcis. Hebr.

panyⁱ (A). These names, how harsh soever they may be found in our ears, were generally significant of something relating to the parents, or the child, or to some other circumstances of time (B).

THEIR

ⁱ Luke i. 59.

(A) The Jews did afterwards add several other superstitious customs, such as placing three stools, one for the circumciser, the second for the person that held the child, and the third for *Elijah*, who, they say, assisted invisibly at the ceremony (49); writing the words *Adam* and *Eve*, *Lillith*, *be gone hence*, upon pieces of parchment, and sticking them to the four walls of the room, as also the names of three friendly angels, to preserve the child from the power of *Lillith*, who, according to them, was *Adam's* first wife; and, being parted from him, used to vent her spleen against women in child-birth, and new-born children, especially males (50). They had likewise taken it into their heads to circumcise children after their death, if they had not been so before, in order to avoid the curse pronounced against those that neglected it, and which had like to have fallen upon *Moses* at the inn (51); but they content themselves now with cutting off the prepuce, and flinging it into the coffin or grave, with the body. But these the wiser sort among them have long since disused, as ridiculous and fu-

perstitious. The custom of godfathers, or, as they call them, *בעל ברית*, *bahal-berith*, master of the convent, has been of antient use (52); his office was to hold the child, during the operation. They think, that *Uriah* the high-priest, and *Zechariah*, the son of *Jeberchiah*, stood godfathers to *Isaiab's* son *Maher-shallal-habsbath* (53). As for the operation, *Maimon* (54) tells us, that all had a right to it, even an uncircumcised servant, or a woman, &c. in the absence of a man, unless she be a gentile; though, even if such an one should perform the operation, it needs not to be repeated.

(B) The devouter part used to join the names of GOD, *Jah* and *El*, to that of the child; thus, *Abijah* signifies GOD my father, and *Zechariah*, the memorial of the LORD: *Uzziel* and *Daniel*, the strength or judgment of GOD. Some had a quite different meaning, as *Ishbosheth*, the man of shame; *Mephibosheth*, shame of the mouth. Others were taken from living creatures: *Tzipor*, a bird; *Rachel*, a sheep; *Chamor*, an ass; *Nachash*, a serpent; *Tamar*, a palm-tree; and the like: and *Eli's* daugh-

(49) Vide *Christ. Cast.* in *Malach.* iv. (50) Vide *Leo. de Mod. pt.* iv. c. 8.
 (51) *Exod.* iv. 24. (52) Vide *Elia. Tbisbit.* in סנרן. (53) Vide
Jun. & Tremel. in *Isai.* viii. (54) *Tract.* מילה, p. 114.

THEIR feasting (if we except those that were commanded or permitted by the law, or used at births, marriages, and such-like occasions) were neither many nor sumptuous, because these came so often about, and lasted so long, that they could hardly have time for more. As for the customs and ceremonies used at them, we shall only pick out such as bear an analogy with any passages in the gospel (C).

THESE first ceremonies being over, the master of the house began to crave a blessing, if there was no stranger, *Blessing.* nor any person of a superior rank; for, in this case, he complimented him with that office (D). He then took a cup full of wine, and, having blessed the creator of the vine,

¶ Vide 1 Sam. ix. 13.

ter-in-law called her son *Iscariot*, where is the glory? when she heard, that the ark was taken by the *Philistines* (55).

As for daughters, as they were not circumcised, so there was no other ceremony used, that we can find, than giving them a name, unless it were, that when the mother was purified, the priests did bestow a blessing upon the child, as well as upon the parents, as it is used to this day (†).

(C) These were the saluting of the guests, washing their feet, anointing with oil, the grace or blessing of the cup, and breaking of the bread, giving of thanks, and dismissing the company. The first salutation was performed to superiors, by bowing down to the ground, as *Abraham* and *Lot* did to their heavenly guests (56), or by a kiss or embrace to a familiar. In the two former instances, we have like-

wife a form of invitation, and the ceremony of washing the feet, which *Joseph* ordered also to be performed to his brethren, when they came to dine with him in *Egypt* (57); and thus *Abigail*, in her great modesty, answered *David's* servants, who came to propose marriage from him, "Let the handmaid of my lord the king be a servant to wash the feet of the king's servants (58);" and to this custom, no doubt, the psalmist alludes, when he calls *Moab* his wash-pot (59). As for the ceremony of anointing the head, though it was common in all the east, yet we find no instance of it before in the gospel (60), except in that allusion of the psalmist (61), *Thou hast prepared a table for me — thou hast anointed my head with oil.*

(D) This was not to be refused upon any pretence; for they believed, that he, who

(55) 1 Sam. iv. 21. (†) *Leo de Modet. cærem. Jud. pt. iv. c. 8. Goodwin's Mos. & Aar. lib. vi. c. 1.* (56) *Gen. xviii. 2. xix. 1.* (57) *Gen. xliii. 24.* (58) 1 Sam. xxv. 41. (59) *Pf. cviii. 9.* (60) *Matt. xxvi. 7. Luke vii. 46.* (61) *Pf. xxiii. 5.*

vine, he sipped a little of it, and gave it to the next person, till it had gone round. This was called the ברכת היין, *birkath hajajin*, the blessing of the wine. Our Saviour is observed by St. *Luke* to have begun with it, and distributed it among the twelve, at his last supper^r. From thence he passed to the blessing and breaking of the bread, and distributing it to the guests. This is what CHRIST likewise did to the apostles, and it was called the blessing of the bread^s. As soon as they had done eating, the same person, who had craved the blessing, was obliged to give thanks, in which all the rest joined with him. It was concluded with another cup full of wine, and this was called the blessing of plenty. Our Saviour is supposed to have instituted the sacrament in this last cup^t (E). However, it is likely, that some of these last ceremonies were only used at some of their grand festivals, especially that or the passover; though the first was seldom, if ever, omitted. Whether their custom was to sit at meat, or lie down, is a controversy of more nicety than moment. However, to us, the former seems most probable, at least, before the captivity. We read, that *Joseph* made his

^r Luke xxii. 17. ^s Vide DRUS. in Nov. Test. pt. ult. & GOODW. ubi sup. lib. iii. c. 2. §. 15. ^t Vide FAG. in præc. Hebr.

refused to crave a blessing, shortened his own days. But the master of the house was allowed, by way of civility, to set even an inferior to perform that office (62).

(E) In this cup of thanksgiving they blessed GOD, 1. For their present refreshment. 2. For their deliverance out of *Egypt*. 3. For the covenant of circumcision. And, 4. For the law given by *Moses*. After this they prayed, that GOD would be merciful, 1. To his people *Israel*. 2. To his *Jerusalem*. 3. To his *Sion*, the residence of his majesty. 4. To the kingdom of *David*. 5.

That he would send the prophet *Elijah*. And, 6. That he would make them worthy of the kingdom of the *Messiah*. The ceremony ended with a psalm proper to the occasion. They have added, since, several other niceties, not worth mentioning (63). It is plain, however, that some of these ceremonies were added since the captivity, and we dare not take upon us to say, how many of the others were in use before that time; but we hope the affinity they bear to some of the gospel institutions, will be apology sufficient for our taking notice of them here.

(62) *Jos. Karo. Schulchan baruk. n. 201. Matt. xxvi.*

(63) *Vide Seb. Munst. in*

brethren

brethren sit down to eat with him ^u; and *David* said to *Sitting Jonathan*, *To-morrow* — *I should sit*, or, as the original has it, *sitting*, *I should sit down at meat with the king* ^x; though we own, that, in our Saviour's time, the custom was altered into that of lying down (F).

THEIR high-places were of two sorts, either those *High-places* where they only worshiped the true GOD, by burning incense, and offering sacrifices to him; or such in which they served strange gods, and committed the most horrid wickedness in their worship. Both these became so common and universal, that we read but of few kings who had the courage to pull them down; whilst many others, though otherwise commended for their piety and zeal, are yet recorded for having left this evil unreformed (G).

BESIDES

^u Gen. xliii. 33.

^x 1 Sam. xx. 5.

(F) The verb is *ישב*, *jasbab*, which is always used for sitting, whether at meat, on a throne, or the like; and is, as we think, incapable of the other meaning, which is always expressed by that of *שכב*, *shacab*. As to their tables, they seem to have been of a round, or oval figure, because it is often joined to the verb *סבב*, *savaf*, to surround, to sit, or stand round. Thus it is said by *Samuel* (64) *לֹא נִסְבְּבָה*, *we will not sit down*, or rather, *round*, *till he come*: and the psalmist says, *thy children shall be like olive-branches round about thy table* (65). We do not pretend, indeed, that this argument is altogether conclusive, seeing the word *סבב*, *savaf*, *round about*, is made use of by *Moses*, where he speaks of a square table; as when he commands the priests to sprinkle the blood of the victim round about the altar, though it was of a square form (66).

The command of pulling off their shoes or sandals seems implied in that of eating the passover with them on. We shall only add, that, upon these and all such occasions, hospitality and liberality had been so strongly recommended to them by their lawgiver, and enforced by the examples of *Abraham*, *Lot*, and other patriarchs, and the many blessings attending it, that they became very conspicuous for it, seldom or never failing, at such times especially, to make the *Levites*, the fatherless, widows, and strangers, partakers of their joy, by inviting them to the feast, or sending them some portions of their good cheer.

(G) The first of these, tho' less criminal, and seemingly countenanced by the examples of *Samuel*, *David*, *Elisha*, and other inspired persons, were nevertheless expressly forbidden by God, unless it were

(64) 1 Sam. xvi. 11.
6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

(65) Ps. cxxviii. 3.

(66) Conf. Levit. i.

Divinations.

BESIDES these abominable idolatries, or rather, in consequence of them, they gave themselves up to all kinds of divinations and witcheries practised among the heathen, though as expressly and distinctly forbid by the law of *Moses*, as the former. These were of various kinds. *Moses* expresses them in the terms following ^b, *There shall not be found among you any one that maketh his son or his daughter pass through the fire, or that useth divinations, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a witch, or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer* (H).

GAMES

^b Deut. xviii. 10, 11.

done by his own command: but as to the last, it is certain, nothing could be more expressly forbid, or more severely threatened, we may say, punished; notwithstanding which, *Josua* had been scarcely dead above twenty years, ere they began to relapse into it (67). This defection began about the times of *Othniel* and *Ehud*, and increased so fast, and spread so wide, that it would be endless to enumerate their false deities, and the places dedicated to their worship, as well as the abominable ceremonies which were practised in them. But our design is not to dwell upon this subject, having already spoken of it in the histories of those nations, from whom they adopted them. It will be sufficient to observe upon the whole, that they adopted the false gods of all those nations, in the midst of whom they lived, and set up altars and idols to them upon every hill and *high-places* from which they came to be called by that name;

that the sun, moon, and stars were of the number of their gods, and that, as the rites of those false deities became more and more shameful, and unfit for common view, they betook themselves to set up tents and booths, and to plant groves, to conceal the abominable things that were done in them; the very women, who were become useless in that hellish commerce, finding out a way of prostituting themselves, as it were, at second hand, by furnishing the infamous votaries with all kind of conveniences (68). *Solomon* is justly branded in Scripture for having brought this evil to its greatest height, by the multitude of his strange women, and which was never thoroughly rooted out till *Josiah's* reign, that is, about 369 years after (69).

(H) We need not doubt but there might be many more of the like nature. But the most inhuman of all, was that of passing their children through the fire. This rite seems to

(67) *Vide Judges* iii. 5, & seqq. (68) *Ezek.* xiii. 17, & seqq. & alib.
(69) *1 Kings* iii. 2, & seqq. xi. 1, & seqq. xiv. 22, 24, & alib. pass.

have

GAMES may, for aught appears, be said to have been the only custom, in which they did not imitate their neighbours; at least, which they did not introduce

have been peculiar to *Moloch*, who is therefore also called ענמלק, *anamalech*, from ענה, *anah*, to answer, because he gave answers to all those who consulted him by this rite, either by his priests, or by dreams (70). We shall not attempt to describe those various kinds of divination, either from the text, or from commentators, but only observe in general, that the chief of them were performed first, by consulting the stars, clouds, signs, tokens, and the like. This seems the meaning of the word מנחש, *menachesh* here, which is nevertheless sometimes used in a good sense. Thus *Laban* says to *Jacob*, נחשתי, *nachash-ti*, I have observed or experienced, that God has blessed me for thy sake (71). *Joseph* makes use of the same verb, speaking of his divining-cup (72); but we much doubt, whether this is capable of so favourable a sense. However, as the word נחש signifies properly a serpent, *Bochart* has also given us an account of several divinations that were performed by means of those creatures (73). 2. Another way was by familiar spirits, which the *Hebrew* calls אובות, *oboth*, such as the witch of *Endor* is said to have had. 3. דורש, *Interrogating the dead*, which the *Septuagint*

render ἐπερωτῶν τὰς νεκρούς. This is what the same witch did for *Saul*, from which one would be apt to conclude these two to be much the same. 4. The מכשפּ mekashpeh may be properly enough rendered, by *legerdemain*, one who deceives the sight, and imposes upon the beholders; such are reasonably supposed, those whom *Pharaoh* set against *Moses* (74), who are there called מכשפּים makshaphim, and are said to have imitated some of his wonders בלהטיהם *Belabatehem*, which word seems derived from להט, which signifies a flame, or the glittering of a spear or lance, because it dazzles the sight. The *Septuagint*, however, have translated it φαρμακός, *apothecaries*, and the *Latins*, *venefica*, *poisoner*. 5. The חובר, *chaver*, may also be properly rendered a *mutterer*, from חבר, *chavar*, to gather, couple, or associate, because he speaks with his lips joined (75), and is therefore rendered רשין by *Onkelos*. To these the prophets have added some few others, such as consulting by *teraphims*, and by the flight of arrows, by the liver of beasts (76), by stocks and staves (77), and such-like; several of which were even forbid under pain of death. But such was their invincible itch

(70) *Vide Maim. § Abarban. in leg. 170.* (71) *Gen. xxx. 27.*
 (72) *Ibid. xlv. 5, 15.* (73) *Hierozoic. lib. i. c. 3. pt. 1.* (74) *Exod.*
 vii. 11, & alib. pass. (75) *Beker. monde enchanté.* (76) *Ezek. xxi. 21.*
 (77) *Hof. iv. 12.*

duce into their commonwealth. They had not so much as a name for them, but what doth properly signify, to laugh^e, play^f, toy^g, and such-like innocent amusements. Even *Solomon* himself, who had imitated, or rather outdone the grandeur of other kingdoms, and had indulged himself in all other vanities, or what he calls the delights of the sons of men^h, some of which were near of kin to these, as his singers and musicians of both sexes; doth yet make no mention of any kind of games, either of hazard, or of the theatre; neither do the Scriptures any-where speak of them (I).

^e Vide Gen. xviii. 12, & alib. pass. ^f Exod. xxxii. 6.
Judg. xvi. 25, & alib. ^g Gen. xxvi. 8. ^h Ecclesiast. ii. 8.

of prying into futurity, that they left none of them untried: at least the prophets do generally upbraid them with resorting to those who practised them.

(I) If we may believe the *Talmudists*, and other *Jewish* commentators, all kinds of games, spectacles, &c. were not only forbid, but abhorred by all good *Israelites*, by reason of the mischiefs which had befallen those who had ventured to be present at those of their neighbouring nations. The *Talmud* utterly condemns being present at any theatrical representations (71): they give several reasons, which we shall omit, because they are not over-modest; and *R. Simeon Ben-paki* is there affirmed to have rendered the first words of the first psalm, *Blessed is the man who hath not set his foot in a theatre, &c.* It seems rather, that their solemn festivals served them instead of all such kind of spectacles and di-

versions; and indeed, if we consider the frequency and magnificence of them, especially, after the building of the temple, we shall not wonder at their preferring them to any others. Add to this, that all we meet with in the writings of the antient fathers, such as *Tertullian* (72) and *St. Cyprian*, both in his second epistle to *Donatus*, and in his book *de spectaculis*, if that piece be really his, which is somewhat doubtful, by reason of the difference of stile; all agree in this, that the *Israelites* never admitted any such games among them. It even appears from *Mr. Selden*, that games of hazard, such as dice, tables, and the like, were looked upon as a kind of theft, no gain being thought lawful, that resulted from a contract, which depended upon chance. The same they likewise affirmed of such who made a gain of exposing beasts or fowls to fight one with another (73).

(71) *Traet. עבירה זרה*, fol. 18. c. 38. (72) *Lib. de speculac. & apolog.*
(73) *Jus nat. & nat. lib.* vi. c. 11.

THEIR diversions seem to have consisted chiefly in *Diver-* eating, drinking, dancing, and music. At least they are *sions.* those which good old *Barzillai* seems to bewail his incapacity for ^l; and for the excess of which they were often blamed by the prophets ^m. The Scriptures do often express the simplicity of their happy lives, by sitting, and eating and drinking, every one under his vine, and under his fig-tree. But even these diversions could not be very frequent, unless it were upon such solemn occasions as we have mentioned before, or at their sheep-shearing, harvest, and vintage; because they would else have had but little time to have minded their country affairs. Whether they used hunting, fowling, fishing, and such-like, we will not pretend to say; but we find frequent mention made of nets, gins, traps, fowlers, hunters, &c.

THEIR diet, except on festivals, seems to have been *Diet.* very plain. *Boaz*, a mighty man, complimented *Ruth* with *drinking of the same water, eating of the same bread, and dipping her morsel in the vinegar with him* ⁿ. Even the present of victuals which were brought to *David* and his men, whilst he was in a kind of exile, were chiefly several kinds of pulse, some parched corn, bread, and flour, some dried raisins and figs, honey, butter, cheese, oil, and a few fatted beasts ^o. Their bread was made either of barley or wheat, baked into thin cakes, some in ovens, some upon the hearth, and others in a frying-pan, some with, and some without oil; they often used parched corn instead of bread. Honey was commended for its deliciousness ^p, and the fleece of the flocks, and the milk of the goats, were thought by the wise man sufficient for food and raiment, both for the master and his family ^q.

HIGH titles were unknown among them, unless those *Titles.* which implied some office, such as general, treasurer, recorder, and the like. They valued themselves more upon their genealogies, which is the reason why one man's name had five or six of his ancestors, and sometimes more, tacked to it. Some regard was likewise had to the distinction of tribes or families: as for instance; to those of the priests and *Levites*, upon a religious account; to that of *Judah*, by reason of the sceptre being promised to

^l 2 Sam. xix. 35. ^m Isai. v. 11, 12. Amos vi. 5, & seqq.

ⁿ Ruth ii. 9, 14. ^o 1 Sam. xxv. 18. 2 Sam. xvi. 1. xvii.

28, 29, & alib. ^p Vide Ps. xix. 10, & alib. pass. ^q Prov. xxvii. 26, 27.

it; and to that of *Ephraim*, out of respect to *Joseph's* memory. The same respect was likewise paid in every tribe to those who were the heads or fathers of it, and to all the elder branches in general; and next to these, old men, of what tribe or branch soever, were had in great veneration (K).

*Diseases
rare
among
them.*

THEIR laborious and frugal lives, and the healthfulness of the country, were effectual means to prevent a vast number of those diseases, which have been since ushered into the world by luxury and sloth. It is for this reason that we read of so few, if any diseases among them, much less of physicians, except such as are now known by the name of surgeons, whom the antient *Greeks*, as well as the *Hebrews*, called physicians, or healers. Thus the *Mosaic* law condemned the man who wounded another, to pay, amongst other things, the salary of the physician (L).

(K) The name of old man, or elder, as our version renders it, seems all along to imply something of dignity in the *Mosaic* writings; and their experience and gravity seem to have intitled them to be the proper persons to take cognizance, and to judge, of all important matters, in the places where they dwelt, as well as to the respect of the younger sort upon that account. But this respect did not consist in giving to them, or indeed to any man, how great soever, the king excepted, any pompous title; but in a submissive approach and behaviour, and in a respectful phrase peculiar to the *Hebrew*; in which, though the second person was always used even to a prince, yet the speaker always expressed himself in the third, with the addition of servant or handmaid: *Let thy servant speak a word*, instead of, *Let me speak* — *behold thy servant* or

handmaid, for, *here am I*. The women, whether because they were more bashful and timorous, or perhaps greater flatterers, were still more remarkable for the modest turn of their expressions, and the humbleness of their behaviour (1).

(L) Such were those whom king *Ashab* is blamed for his too great confidence in, when he laboured with a distemper in his feet, which the generality of interpreters take to have been a kind of gout; and whose skill extended no further than outward applications; for we read nothing, in the sacred books, of purges, sweats, vomits, diet-drinks, and other such evacuating medicines, tho' often of plaisters, ointments, bandages, and such-like. This seems indeed the reason of their living so long, as well as of their being so healthy and fruitful, even to the end of their lives.

(1) Vide *Ruth* ii. 13. *1 Sam.* i. 15, 16. *xxv.* 23, & seqq. & *alib.*

THEIR mourning was, for the death of their near *Mourning.* relations, or for any misfortunes, either public or private; and was expressed in both cases much after the same manner; not with such formalities as are used among us, which hardly reach beyond the outside; but by such as expressed all the tokens of inward grief, or at least would be apt to cause a real one in those, who were obliged to go through such a series of mournful ceremonies. The first fallies of it were followed by rending their cloaths, uncovering their heads, smiting their breasts, tearing their hair and beards, putting ashes and dirt upon their heads, instead of perfumes (which were quite laid aside all the time of mourning), going barefoot, putting on sackcloth next the skin, lying upon the bare ground, and the like ^r (M).

THEIR funeral ceremonies were no less mourn- *Funerals.* ful. As soon as a person was dead, all the near relations came to the house in their mourning habit, and

^r 2 Sam. i. 11, 12. xii. 16. xiii. 31, & seqq. Ezek. xxiv. 16, 17.

(M) The neighbouring nations had still more violent ways of expressing their grief, by pricking, cutting, and scarifying themselves; but these were expressly forbid by the law of *Moses* (2). As soon as these first fits of grief were ended, they changed their cloaths for others that were streighter, coarser, dirtier, and more ragged. They covered their faces with their upper garment, to hide their tears; they fasted till sunset, and then contented themselves with the plainest diet; kept a profound silence, which they never broke, but to utter some groans or complaints, or at most some doleful lamentation (3). Some did even chuse to lie in the ashes, or on a dunghil, and to avoid the sight of any light. This mourning was

longer or shorter, according to the occasion; and when it happened for the death of a considerable person, even a whole month, as was done for *Moses* and *Aaron* (4); but when it was for an ordinary person, or near relation, it lasted but about a week. In public mourning, the people were wont to get up to the top of their houses, there to give the greater vent to their grief; at least it seems probable, that there was some such custom, by what the prophet says, speaking to *Jerusalem*, *What aileth thee now, that thou art gone up wholly to the house-tops?* and so on (5): and, speaking elsewhere of the *Moabites*, he says (6), *On the tops of their houses, and in their streets, every one shall howl and weep abundantly.*

(2) *Levit.* xix. 28. *Deut.* xiv. 1. *Vide Fag. in loc.* (3) 2 *Sam.* i. 17, & seqq. (4) *Numb.* xx. ult. *Deut.* xxxiv. 8. (5) *Isai.* xxii. 1. (6) *Ibid.* xv. 3.

fat down upon the ground, with a mournful silence, whilst another part of the house echoed with the voices of mourners, and the sounds of instruments suitable to the occasion, and hired for the purpose ^b (N). These lasted till the funeral was over, when the nearest relations resumed their melancholy posture, and continued in it all the time of the mourning, eating, sitting, and lying upon the ground, and never speaking to any, unless spoken to (O).

IN the mean time, there were proper persons appointed to make ready the corpse for the burial. It was looked upon as a duty incumbent on the nearest relation present, to close the eyes of the deceased. This custom is taken from GOD's promise to *Jacob*, that his son *Joseph* should perform that office to him ^c. If the person was of a considerable rank, they

^b Jerem. ix. 17.

^c Gen. xlvi. 4.

(N) As to the musical instruments, we have no instance of their being used upon these occasions in the Old Testament; only we find it practised in our Saviour's time (7); and the *Talmudists* assure us, that it was not only an antient custom, but that it was even obligatory, and that the poorest husband could have no less than two of them for his wife (8). These instruments, according to them, were a kind of mournful flute; hence that proverb of theirs, *flutes serve either for a bride, or for the dead* (9). As for the hired singers, their office was to sing some mournful ditty, proper to fill the company with the deepest sorrow. One of them is elegantly comprised in few words by one of their rabbies, *Mourn for the mourners, and not for the dead*;

for he is at rest, and we in tears (10).

(O) Their very food was unclean, and defiled by those that eat of it (11). They neither made their beds, washed themselves, or pared their nails. In a word, they abstained from every thing that could yield them any delight. They made, indeed, a kind of banquet for the rest of the mourners, called by the prophets the *bread of men*, and *wine or cup of consolation* (12); but even then their tables were covered with wooden or common earthen platters and trenchers; and, for the same reason, they were not allowed to drink above ten glasses of wine at it; namely, three before, three at meat, and four after it, lest any should get drunk, and betray any token of mirth (13).

(7) *Matt.* ix. 23. (8) *Mishn. tr.* כְּתוּבוֹת, c. 4. *Gemar. Babyl. in eod. titul.* (9) *Traſt.* בְּבֵית מְצִיעָא, c. 6. (10) *Bar. Abbin.* up: *Hott.* in *Goodw. lib. vi. c. 5. note 12.* (11) *Vide Hof.* ix. 4. (12) *Ezek.* xxiv. 17. *Jerem.* xvi. 7. (13) *In traſt. Abel.* c. 4.

embalmed

embalmed him; if otherwise, they contented themselves with washing him (P). Sometimes they added a mixture of sweet drugs and spices; in which they either wrapped the body, or which they burnt about it. This last is what we find was done at the funeral of *Asah*, king of *Judah*, whose corpse, the text says, was laid upon a state-ly bed, which he had caused to be filled with costly perfumes made with great art, and with which they made a very great burning for him^d (Q). Neither was this ceremony peculiar to that prince; but common to the kings of *Judah*, and as such, promised by the prophet to *Zedekiah*^e, and refused unto *Jehoram*^f (R).

THEY

^d 2 Chron. xvi. ult. ^e Jerem. xxxiv. 5. ^f 2 Chron. xxi. 19.

(P) This ceremony of washing was at least practised in our Saviour's time (14); but how long before, is not easy to guess. The *Jews* indeed think it both antient and necessary; and add, that it was no sooner performed, but they immediately stopped the main emunctories of the body, that no defilement might issue forth (15). As to what is added above, about wrapping the body in spices, it is inferred from what is said of *Joseph*, that — ויחנשורו, *vajicantubu* (16), the verb חנשׁ signifying, according to the *Talmudists*, to anoint with a mixture made up of spices, and other sweet drugs. This, we find, was done to our Saviour (17); and *Maimon* mentions it as a constant practice used among the *Jews* (18).

(Q) From these places, and another still more obscure in *Amos*, some have taken up a notion, that burning of the dead

had been adopted by the *Jews* (19). But neither the texts above quoted, nor any instance we can meet with in their history, countenance such an opinion, which all the Jewish doctors disown; affirming, that nothing was burned at those funeral obsequies, but the sweet perfumes above-mentioned. We may add, that *Josiah's* burning the bones of the priests of *Baalim* upon their idolatrous altars (20) implies, at least, a kind of abhorrence against such a practice, unless when it was done by way of punishment.

(R) How they dressed the corpse, or how they conveyed it to the grave, we dare not affirm, the law having ordained nothing concerning these, or any other circumstances relating to funerals: it is probable, that custom, and the circumstances of persons, made them more or less sumptuous. The accom-

(14) *Aets* ix. 37. (15) *Maim. in tract. נביל*, c. 4. (16) *Gen.*
 l. ver. ult. (17) *John* xix. 40. (18) *Ubi sup.* (19) *Gen.* vi. 10.
 (20) 2 *Chron.* xxxiv. 5.

panying

Sepulchre.

THEY had such an extreme abhorrence against having their own, or their friends bodies exposed after death, that they denied sepulture to none but such as were guilty of self-murder, and not even to these, but till after sunset. They had burying-places for strangers, and for such as were put to death for capital crimes. The provident care of the patriarchs to make sure of a sepulchre for their posterity, and several express threatenings in the sacred writings, made them esteem it as a severe curse from GOD, to be deprived of burialⁱ, and a blessing to be interred among their ancestors. For this reason, those who had inherited a burying-place, were extremely careful of preserving it to their posterity; and those who had not,

ⁱ Vide Jerem. viii. 2. xxii. 19. Eccles. vi. 3, & alib.

panying the corpse to the burying-place was rather an office of civility, than obligation; and yet not only relations, neighbours, and acquaintance, assisted at it, but even those, who met the procession, thought it incumbent upon them to join with the company; only the priests were not to be present at it, unless it were a very near relation, as we have seen elsewhere. The funeral of *Abner*, one of *David's* generals (21), doth give us an idea of the remainder of the ceremony. The king's servants, with *Joab* at their head, were commanded to march before the corpse in deep mourning, with their cloaths rent, and girded with sackcloth, whilst himself followed the bier to *Hebron*, *Abner's* burying-place. As soon as they were come to it, the king himself made a funeral oration in his praise, which was accompanied with the mournful voices of all the company, whilst they were depositing the

body into the grave. It appears moreover, that the day could not be far spent, when they buried that great general, because, when, upon their return home, *David* was intreated by his servants to take some refreshment, he answered with an oath, that he would neither eat nor drink, till the sun was down (22). It appears from the examples of *Tobit*, and of the *Maccabees*, that they used moreover to lay some kind of victuals over the sepulchres of the dead, that the poor might receive the benefit of them, and pray for the soul of the deceased, for whom they used also to offer sacrifices, that they might be absolved from their sins, and be at peace (23). But these, especially the last, seem rather to have been works of supererogation, being no-where commanded or countenanced by any thing we meet with in the canonical books; and, in all likelihood, never practised till after the captivity.

(21) 2 Sam. iii. 32, & seqq. *Tobit*: iv. 17. & vide *Eccles.* xxx. 18.

(22) *Ibid.* ver. 35. 2 *Maccab.* xii. 42, & seqq.

(23) Vide

were

were no less solicitous to provide one for themselves and their families: and, as the law had ordained nothing concerning them, so they thought it indifferent where they had them, whether in a garden, an orchard, a field, a mountain, or in a rock, so they could but secure the possession of it (S).

THOSE

(S) We do not read, indeed, of any epitaphs, or monumental inscriptions, being used among them: yet we may reasonably suppose, that every family, at least, set some particular mark upon their burying-place; they were even under an obligation to distinguish them from other places, by some peculiar mark, that people might not be defiled by going over them. But there was something still more particular to distinguish the graves of eminent persons, as we may infer from the instance of the man of God, who had foretold the destruction of the altar of *Bethel*, and whose grave was known by some inscription, or mark, above 300 years after, when *Josiah* was fulfilling his prediction (23).

The sepulchres of the kings of *Judah* were in that part of *Jerusalem* where the temple stood (24). *Ezekiel* seems to hint, that they were cut in the rock under it, when he says, that the LORD's holy hill should be no more defiled by the carcases of their kings (25). All his descendents are said to have been buried in the same place, except *Manasseh*, who was bu-

ried in the garden of *Uzziab*, adjoining to his own house (26). Whether the sepulchre of *David* was built, or only begun by him, and finished by *Solomon*, or any of his successors, is not certain; but it is to be seen at this day, without the walls of the present *Jerusalem*, though some think it more likely, that it stood at first within the walls of the old. It is a most stately piece of work, and perhaps the only genuine monument of that antient city. We refer our reader to the description of that surprising fabric given in a former section (27).

A late modern Jewish traveller (28) has added several other particulars relating to this royal tomb, but which we dare not insert, nor give credit to. However, it was in this place that, *Josephus* tells us (29), *Solomon* laid up an immense treasure, which was not discovered, or at least broken in upon, till thirteen hundred years after; when, the city being streightly besieged by *Antiochus*, *Hyrcaan* the high-priest had recourse to the tomb, and drew three thousand talents out, and bought off his enemy

(23) *Comp.* 1 Kings xiii. 1, & seqq. & 2 Kings xxiii. 17. (24) 1 Kings ii. 10, xi. 43, & alib. pass. (25) *Cb.* xliiii. 7, 9. (26) 2 Kings xxi. 18, 26. (27) See vol. ii. p. 446. (28) *Benj. Tudel, & al.* (29) *Ant. lib.* vii. c. 12.

with

THOSE sepulchres were, in all likelihood, more or less sumptuous, according to their quality and opulence; they were, however, curious to have them, if possible, cut into the rock, which was no difficult matter in such a rocky and mountainous country. They were to be, according to the rules laid down in the *Talmud*^q (which probably took them from the form of the antient ones, that were built before the captivity), six cubits long, four in breadth, and seven in height. Round these there were likewise to be little niches or cells for the repositing of the dead bodies, to the number of eight, according to some; or thirteen, according to others. The mouth of it was covered with a large stone, which they called *gallal*, from the rolling it upon the cave. This stone, if there were no other ornaments over the grave, was to be often whited, that passengers might see it at a distance; and the same was done at least to those monuments which were erected for considerable persons. How they beautified them in our Saviour's time, his comparing the hypocritical *Pharisees* to them^r, sufficiently shews; and if those that are still extant, under the names of the tombs of *Abraham*, *Rachel*, *Abjalom*, *Elisha*, and others, mentioned in a former section^s, be really theirs, which is much to be questioned, it must have required no small pains and cost to keep them so long in repair.

Houses.

FROM these houses of the dead, we now pass to those of the living: and here we observe, in the first place, that they were plain, low, and flat, suitable to the cli-

^q Tract. bava batra, c. vi. 2. Vide gloss. BARTEN. ad tract. mohed katon, c. i. ^r Matt. xxiii. 27. ^s See vol. ii. p. 444, & seqq.

with a good part of it. He adds, that *Herod* did likewise find a way into another hidden cell, out of which he got a prodigious treasure; but that neither he, nor any one else, could ever discover the bones of *David*, his tomb being so artfully contrived, and so deep in the ground, as to elude the most curious search. Something like this, Mr. *Jay* has given us in his polyglot, out of an antient *Arabic* MS. but, whether either

of these had the account from any authentic records, or from a bare tradition, they do not tell us. The burying-places of the kings of *Israel*, after *Jeroboam's* revolt, were in *Samarita*; but we cannot suppose them to have equalled those of *Judah*, both because they were inferior to them in riches, and because the crown never staid in one family above three or four generations.

mate,

mate, with rails round the tops, to keep people from falling. Their furniture was much after the same stile: chimneys, fashies, and casements, were needless, where they were forced to study coolness and freshness; for the same reason tapestry was of no use but upon the floor, to sit, eat, or sleep upon; and if they used any bed-curtains, they were made of some fine gauze, to keep off gnats and other insects, whence comes the name of canopy. Their beds seem to have been at some considerable height from the ground, from their common phrase of climbing up to them * (T).

As to the largeness of their houses, and number of *Apart-* their apartments, we may suppose them to have been answer- *ment for* able to the richness and numerousness of the family. The *women-* women had their separate apartments, both for privacy, in which they were like other eastern nations, and for le-

* Ps. cxxxii. 3. 2 Kings i. 16.

(T) The prophet *Amos*, c. vi. 4. upbraids the effeminate with lying upon beds of *ivory*, and upon their soft couches; and the harlot in the *Proverbs*, vii. 16. speaks of the fine furniture and perfumes with which she has decked her own: and, no doubt, a great deal of luxury had been introduced by *Solomon's* wives, and was imitated by the softer; but it is plain, that lying hard must have been more suitable to the heat of the country, as well as the simplicity of their forefathers, and, upon both accounts, preferred by the wiser sort. If we might guess at the rest of their furniture, by that which the *Shunammite* put into the prophet's chamber, we must suppose, that they did not value themselves upon the richness or superfluity of it. And we may here observe in general, that there is more frequent mention made, in the sacred books, of vessels of wood and earth, than of

those of more costly materials.

From the prophet's chamber and furniture above-mentioned, we beg leave to make two remarks: the first is, that bedchambers were raised at some distance from the ground, because they are called by a name that implies an *ascent*, and might be as properly rendered *an upper room*. Perhaps the reason of their being thus raised was, to avoid the dampness of the earth. The other is, that though they did not turn so much of the night into day, as we do, yet they made use of artificial light, which was that of an oil-lamp; and this had more or fewer branches, according to the work that was done by it. Thus *Solomon's* housewife is represented, in the *Proverbs*, rising whilst it is yet dark, and distributing her work among her servants; where there is also a beautiful description of a well-regulated family.

gal infirmities, which secluded them from the rest of the family for a time; during which, none must make use of their beds, chairs, tables, or any other part of their furniture or utensils. All the females of an house were obliged to be exceedingly careful in this particular, from which the poorest sort were not exempted, though it could not fail of putting such to great inconvenience. Upon this account, as well as some others, they were likewise forced to have places for bathing in every house. Their laborious life, the heat and driness of the country, made washing likewise necessary: and, as it is apt to dry the skin too much, they used to anoint themselves, either with oil, or with some other ointments more or less costly, according to their circumstances, but generally perfumed.

Baths.

*Their arts
and
trades.*

THE arts, in which the *Israelites* did chiefly distinguish themselves, were those of war, husbandry, poetry, and music. The first of these was, in a manner, natural to them. We shall not venture to say how much they, especially *Moses* their leader, had learned of it in *Egypt*; but whoever observes the regular order of their encampments, intrenching, fighting, retiring, and such-like, of which we shall take occasion to speak in another place, must allow him to have been as experienced a general as any of his time; and his people as well trained up in the military art, as any of their neighbours (V).

As

(V) We need not remind our reader here, in how short a time, not above six years, they conquered the greatest part of *Canaan*, in spite of all the natural and artificial strength of that country, and the united opposition of its warlike inhabitants. Neither was it possible for them to forget it at any time afterwards, because they were continually engaged in some war or other with their neighbours, from the days of *Joshua* to the reign of *Solomon*; insomuch that it is recorded in one place, as a kind of wonder, that the land had rest

forty years (1). A late author (2) has moreover been at the pains to prove the antient *Jews* to have been a warlike nation, not only from the many instances of their prowess, mentioned in holy writ, but likewise from the great number of warlike terms which he has collected out of those books, which manifestly shew them to have been very well versed in the military art. We shall refer our readers to the author himself for those curious remarks, and only observe here, that the writers, from whom he took them, were neither given to

(1) *Judg. v. ult.* (2) *Felard, dissert. sur la tactique des Hebreux.*

flattery,

As to their generals, whether judges, princes, or the officers, who acted under them, their warlike deeds will be mentioned in their proper place, in the sequel of this history; and, as to the people, tho' their courage wanted often to be supported by art, yet we may say, that their men were all trained up to war, at least till *David's* reign, for we do not read of any regular troops before that time. Till then, as soon as their rulers had resolved upon a war, whether offensive or defensive, the summons were sent to every tribe; upon which, all fit to bear arms were obliged to repair to the place of rendezvous, with their arms, and with provision for a month: here a certain number was drawn out according to the present exigence, and the rest sent back; and as soon as they had atchieved what they went upon, they returned every one to his own home^u (W).

THEIR arms were, like those of other antient nations, *Arms.* either offensive or defensive; the former were swords, spears, javelins, bows and arrows, and slings. Their swords were short, crooked, broad, and sharp, which they girded upon their thigh^z; we read also of two-edged swords^a; as for their javelins, they seem rather to have been a

^u 1 Sam. xi. pass. xiii. 2, & alib. ^z Vide Exod. xxxii. 27. Pf. xlv. 3. Jud. iii. 16. ^a Pf. cxlix. 6.

flattery, nor partial fondness for their own nation, but related these facts with the candour and simplicity which became inspired penmen.

(W) This happened very often on the same day on which they set out; the country being small, and their enemies at their elbow, it was a common thing for them to fall out, engage the enemy, beat or be beaten, and be at home on the same, or at most on the next night. It was easy for their army to be subsisted, when their greatest marches did not exceed two or three days journey. The whole people of *Israel* may therefore be looked

upon as a body of militia trained up in war, and in time of peace inured to a laborious life, that of agriculture. Their generals, from *Joshua* to *Saul*, were either appointed over them by GOD, as *Othniel*, *Gideon*, *Samson* (3), and others, or chosen by the people, as *Jephtha* (4), or by treachery and cruelty, as *Abimelech* (5). These, however, especially the two last, were obeyed by those only who had chosen them; which occasioned such commotions, that they found themselves under a necessity of having a king, to prevent all further disputes, and to be ready upon all occasions against their enemies.

(3) *Judg.* iii. vi. & xv. pass. ix. pass.

(4) *Ibid.* xi. 6, & seqq. (5) *Ibid.*

kind of short pikes, such as that which *Saul* threw at *David* ^b. They were likewise very expert at the sling, as appears from *David's* killing of *Goliath*; and from what is recorded of the inhabitants of *Gibeah*, viz. that they hit within an hair's breadth ^c (X).

THEIR defensive arms were, the helmet, shield, breast-plate, coat of mail, and target: some wore even greaves upon their legs. We find a description of a complete armour in that of *Goliath* ^f; but it is probable, that all these were more common among their neighbours, than among the *Israelites*, at least before *David's* reign; for we find, that, in *Deborah's* time, there were found neither shield nor spear among the forty thousand that fought against *Sisera* ^g (Y).

^b 1 Sam. xviii. 11. ^c Judg. xx. 16. ^f 1 Sam. xvii. 5,
& seqq. ^g Judg. v. 8.

(X) The expression often used, *gird every man his sword*, and even by *David* in his fugitive state (6), when he was exposed to continual dangers, shews the custom of wearing of swords at any time, but that of action, not to have been known, even to the *Jewish* warriors. *Saul* is the only person who is observed to have had his javelin or spear always about him (7); and this, perhaps, not till his suspicion and rage against *David* made him think himself unsafe without it.

(Y) This might probably be owing to the policy of their neighbours, by whom they were often conquered, and not only stripped of all their old weapons, but hindered from making new ones; inasmuch that the text tells us, that, on the day of battle, there were neither sword nor spear found among

Saul's army, except those which himself and his son *Jonathan* had (8). This, indeed, is very surprising, considering that the preceding chapter mentions one single victory, which that new monarch had obtained over the *Ammonites*, in which they might have furnished themselves with the arms of the slain, and of those who fled; to say nothing of the impossibility of their cutting that army in pieces from morning till noon, unless they had had a considerable quantity of their own. So that, unless we suppose that there is an accidental transposition of the chapters and facts, or that the expression there used imports no more, than that there was not the quantity of them which the army required, we shall be at a loss to guess how the *Philistines* could, in so short a time, strip them of all their arms.

(6) 1 Sam. xxv. 13.
ibid. xiii. 19, & seqq.

(7) *Ibid.* xviii. 10. xxvi. 7.

(8) *Vide*

C. VII. *to the Babylonish Captivity.*

HOWEVER, it is certain, that they became more common, after they had recovered their liberty under *David* and *Solomon*; and, in process of time, *Uzziah* is said to have provided a sufficient quantity of all these kinds, to furnish his army with, tho' it consisted of upwards of three hundred thousand men^k. These arms were commonly made of brass, sometimes also of iron, steel, and other materials^l (Z).

^k 2 Chron. xxvi. 13, 14.
milic. des Hebr.

^l Vide CALM. dissert. sur la

(Z) Some interpreters, both *Jewish* and *Christian*, think, that the coat of mail, which *Saul* died in, was made of some kind of linen, so woven as to be impenetrable (9). They render the words, which the young *Amalekite* makes *Saul* to say, *I am intangled in this coat of linen* (10), instead of *anguish and terror is come upon me*, as ours and other versions have it. The truth is, the word שֶׁבֶט *shebetz*, here in question, doth properly signify a sling, or a kind of net-work, such as the curtains of the court of the tabernacle were made of; and the same word is used by the psalmist, when he speaks of the queen's vesture (11).

We may observe here also, that the original has no less than four different names for what ours and other versions render a *shield*, namely מָגֵן, *magen*, צִנְהָ, *zinnah*, סוּחָרָה, *sucherah*, and כִּדּוֹן, *kiddon*; but whether they all signified the same kind of defensive weapon, and only distinguished their various shapes, and the materials they were made of, or otherwise, we dare not say.

(9) *Rabb. Levi, Munst. & al. in 2 Sam. i. 9. Calm. sub. voc. Armes. Buxtorf. sub voc. שֶׁבֶט.* (10) 2 *Sam. ibid.* (11) *Pf. xlv. 13.* (12) *Job xx. 24.* (13) *Pf. xviii. 34.* (14) *Isai. xxi. 5.* (15) *Calm.*
& *Felard. ubi sup.*

Job speaks of weapons of iron, and bows of brass (12); and this last is mentioned by the psalmist (13); tho' our version translates it bows of steel in both places, the original being capable of both meanings. We read likewise of shields of gold, and of brass; but these can only be supposed to have been plated over with it, and that they were underneath of some light sort of wood; else they must have been rather a burden than an help to those that wore them. From the prophet's expression of anointing the shield (14), some authors have thought, that they had got the art of covering them with leather, or raw hides (15); but those that were covered with brass might want oiling, as much to keep them bright, as those of leather, if any such there were, to preserve them from cracking. Upon the whole, their fighting being rather a kind of skirmishing, than close and regular engagements, we find that they chiefly aimed at excelling in the use of those weapons, which hurt at a distance, such as were the bow, the sling, and the javelin.

Chariots.

IN so mountainous a country, cavalry could be of no great service; and therefore in the more early times they did not incumber themselves with any. *Absalom* was the first we read of, that made use of them in his revolt against *David* ^q; but his ill success and loss of the battle shews, that they were of no other service to him, than to facilitate his flight ^r. *Solomon* did, indeed, send for a considerable number of horses from *Egypt*, with a proportionable number of chariots ^s; but some think, that he did it rather for grandeur than use; and indeed the expence did so far outweigh their service, that his successors contented themselves with hiring them of the *Egyptians*, upon any exigence; insomuch that *Rabshakeb* made their want of them a pretence for taunting king *Hezekiah*, that, if he should lend him two thousand horses, none of his subjects were capable of riding them ^t. From all which it appears, that the *Israelites* did not much regard either chariots or horses (A).

THE text calls them chariots of iron; because their poles, wheels, and axles, &c. were armed with sharp sithes. We are told, that they hindered, at first, the tribe of *Judah* from conquering those cities that were in the plains ^u, because they do most execution there. Besides the terror they were apt to strike into the enemy, by being placed along the front of the line of battle, they never failed of breaking the ranks, and sometimes of

^q 2 Sam. xv. 1. ^r Ibid. xviii. 9, & seqq. ^s 1 Kings x. 26, & seqq. 2 Chron. i. 14. ^t 2 Kings xviii. 23.
^u Judges i. 19.

(A) And yet, as to the former, it is certain, they had not only seen them in *Egypt*, where they were in great plenty; but that the *Canaanites*, against whom they were at continual wars, brought an almost incredible number of them into the field. *Sisera*, we read, had nine hundred of them in his army (16); but what is still more surprising is, that those which the *Philistines* made use of against *Saul* are said to have

amounted to about thirty thousand (17); a prodigious number indeed, if there is not crept some error into the text; and such as one would scarce think their scanty country would have been large enough to turn them in. They were indeed small, being just fit to contain one or two men at most; some of them had four, and others but two wheels, and they were generally drawn by two horses (18).

(16) *Judges* iv. 3, 13.
Steuob. in Veget. de re militar.

(17) 1 Sam. xiii. 5.

(18) *Vide*
putting

Putting the adversary to a total rout; so that there was no way of preventing it, but by either stopping their career, by killing the horses before their too near approach, or, if that failed, by opening a passage to them. It is likely the *Israelites* became very well skilled in both, seeing they so often engaged them, and still came off with victory, without opposing the same kind of destructive engines.

WE hinted before, that they kept no regular forces before *Saul's* time; and he is mentioned to have had but few standing troops, scarce an handful, in comparison to that prodigious number which *David* raised them up to, namely, to above two hundred and eighty thousand (B), besides the *Cherethites* and *Pelethites*, of whom we shall speak in the sequel, who were strangers kept in that monarch's pay².

*Standing
army.*

² 1 Chron. xviii. ver. ult. xxvii. pass.¹

(B) The book of the *Chronicles* tells us, that he had 24000, which came regularly upon duty every month throughout the year, under their respective officers (19); which, being therefore multiplied by 12, amounts to 288,000.

All these were not only continued on foot by his son *Solomon*, but an addition was made to those forces, of a prodigious number of horses and chariots; insomuch that he is recorded to have had forty thousand stalls for his chariot-horses, besides twelve thousand horses for his cavalry, or lifeguard (20); and fourteen hundred chariots of war. It is certain also, that the history of his successors doth frequently mention such numerous armies, as would scarce be credited in a profane author. Such were those of *Abijah* king of *Judab*, and of *Jeroboam* the new king of *Israel*; the former of which consisted of four hun-

dered thousand men, and the latter of double that number (21), and of which five hundred thousand were killed on the spot, by the army of *Judab* (22). Such was also that of his son *Asa*, which consisted of almost six hundred thousand, with which he discomfited that of *Zerab* king of *Ethiopia*, which consisted of a million of men (23). But the greatest standing army we read of, of any of the *Jewish* kings, was that of *Jehoshaphat*, which is said to have amounted to eleven hundred and sixty thousand, all men of valour, and prepared for the war, besides those which he kept in his garisons throughout the kingdom (24). To these we may add, that *Uzziah* introduced in *Jerusalem* a new invention of engines, which, being set up upon the walls and towers, cast arrows, other offensive weapons, and great stones, to a considerable distance (25).

(19) 1 Chron. xxvii. pass.

(20) 1 Kings iv. 26. Ibid. x. 26.

(21) 2 Chron. xiii. 3.

(22) Ibid. ver. 17.

(23) Ibid. xiv. 8, &

seqq.

(24) Ibid. xvii. 14, & seqq.

(25) Ibid. xxvi. 15.

WE find nothing in the sacred books that can give us an idea of their forming such numerous bodies into order of battle; yet if we may make a judgment from some scripture-phrases, such as *joining in battle*, *setting the battle in array*, *engaging army against army*, and the like; or from their exact and regular division, 1. Into twelve main bodies, according to their tribes; 2. Each of these into thousands or regiments; 3. Into hundreds or companies; 4. Into tens, and even into threes; every one having a proper officer set over them; but, above all, from their admirable method of marching and encamping, of which we shall speak in another place; we may venture to affirm, that they observed no less regularity in their order of battle, in their onsets, fighting, evolutions, retiring, and other military motions (C).

WE read that *David* entertained a considerable number of those troops, who are said to have been ambidexter, exceeding fierce of aspect, and swift of foot^h. The *Jews* add, that they placed behind the ranks some of the stoutest subalterns, armed with sithes and axes, to cut in pieces those that offered to give ground; but we are still to seek how they disposed of their cavalry, after it became in use among them (D).

THEIR

^h 1 Chron. xii. 2, & seqq.

(C) If we may believe the *Jewish* authors, they ranged their army into one single line of a considerable depth, sometimes between twenty or thirty deep. On the front of these they placed their light-armed men, that is, their most expert archers, spearmen, and slingers, who began the onset with a warlike shout, and with sending thick showers of arrows and stones upon their enemy's front, in order to cause terror and confusion, and stop the rushing in of their chariots, by wounding both the horse and the driver. This is indeed probable enough,

seeing that method was common to all the *Asiatic* nations.

(D) Probably after the manner of the *Egyptians*, from whom they had it; that is, in large squadrons of six or eight hundred horse, placed on the two wings (26). One thing is certain, that whether they had any of their own or not, they never dreaded it in an enemy, but endeavoured at once to open themselves a quick passage thro' it, as the surest way to gain the victory: and this is the reason why we find them so seldom discomfited, and so often victorious over their enemies, tho'

(26) *Vide Folard, ubi sup.*

THEIR wars were of two kinds, either such as *God Wars*, had obliged them to, as those against the *Amalekites*, and the seven nations of *Canaan*, or such as they undertook by their chiefs and princes, upon any other occasion, whether offensive or defensive. The *Mosaic* law had left these to their discretion; so that they were at liberty to engage in them upon any just grounds. We have already taken notice of their manner of entering upon an offensive war, by offering certain articles of peace, the refusal of which was interpreted as a declaration of warⁿ: when it was resolved upon for the recovery of any lost territories, they generally made a demand of them; and, when they were attacked by enemies, they likewise sent to expostulate with them^o (E).

ⁿ Deut. xx. 10, & seqq.

^o Judges xi. 12, & seqq.

superior to them in this and many other respects.

The method of attacking the enemy in separate bodies was as antient, we find, as *Abraham*, who divided his little army of 318 domestics, and discomfited that of the four confederate kings (27). It was afterwards followed by *Abimelech* against the *Shechemites* (28), and by *Saul* against the *Ammonites* at *Jabesh-Gilead* (29), with good success. We shall pass by some other warlike customs which they had in common with other nations, such as the use of the trumpets in their marches and engagements, their usual harangues before they entered into action, and some others which we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel.

(E) However, this was not always the case, and a war was sometimes resolved upon, without any visible ground; and the charrel sent in these few words, *Let us look one another in the face*; and returned in terms

equivalent (30). The challenge of the king of *Affyria* to that of *Judah* was still more haughty; *Thy silver and thy gold, thy wives and children, and all thou hast, are mine* (31): the text observes in both cases, that these proud messages proved fatal to those who sent them. It was the constant custom of the *Hebrew* kings to command their armies in person, if they were able; and the people were so used to it, that, when *Abab* was mortally wounded by the *Syrians*, some of his servants were forced to support him in his chariot, to prevent his army being routed by the news of his death; and, as soon as it was discovered by the bloodiness of his chariot, there went immediately a proclamation through his host, to dismiss every man to his city or country; though *Jehoshaphat* king of *Judah*, his confederate in that war, did likewise command there in person (32).

(27) *Gen.* xiv. 13, & seqq. (28) *Judg.* ix. 34. (29) *1 Sam.* xi. 11.
 (30) *2 Kings* xiv. 8. (31) *1 Kings* xx. 2, & seqq. (32) *1 Kings* xxii.
 34, & seqq.

IN the beginning of the *Jewish* monarchy, their kings used to fight on foot, as the judges had done before them; at least, we do not read of any horses or chariots used by them till a long time after; and it is very probable, that they took their rise from those alliances which the kings both of *Israel* and *Judah* were often forced to make with the *Egyptians*, *Syrians*, and other nations, and which put them under a necessity of appearing at the head of their army, with a grandeur answerable to that of their allies. The officers of war under them were,

Alliances. 1. The head or general of the army (A). 2. The princes, or generals of each tribe. 3. The commanders of thousands. 4. Of hundreds. 5. Of fifties. 6. Of tens. 7. Of threes. 8. Their scribes or muster-masters, who kept exact rolls of all that bore arms under their districts. 9. lastly, Their *soterim*, or inspectors, or, as others think, a kind of provosts or ministers to inflict punishments on all delinquents.

Officers.

THE *Mosaic* law was certainly the best calculated to make a people happy, by obliging every man to live by his labour, without luxury or ambition, and free from the danger of being totally ruined, from the temptation of becoming excessively rich, or from too great desire after change and novelty (B).

EVERY

(A) This officer was called שר צבא, *sar tzaba*, or prince of the host, such as *Abner* was, under *Saul* (30), *Joab* under *David* (31), and *Benaiah* under *Solomon* (32).

(B) Every man cultivated his own vine, field, orchard; and could indifferently handle the plough and flail, or the sword and bow, as occasion required; but preferred still a quiet life under his vine and fig-tree. This is what their lawgiver enforced, not only by the example of the old patriarchs, but much more by the blessings which were promised to their obedience; these were to be neither gold, silver, nor

precious stones, stately houses, or sumptuous furniture, but the former and latter rain, regular seasons, plenty of corn, wine, and oil, increase of cattle, multitude of children, with a quiet peaceful enjoyment of them, and victory over their enemies; all which, joined to the natural fertility of their soil, proved such powerful encouragements to agriculture, that there is scarce any known people that gave themselves more intirely and universally to it, than the *Jews*. Accordingly, from the most opulent families of the tribe of *Judah*, to the most indigent of that of *Benjamin*, from the oldest to the youngest,

(30) 2 *Sam.* ii. 8. (31) *Ibid.* xxiv. 2. (32) 1 *Kings* ii. 35.

EVERY one was bound to cultivate that portion of land which the lot had assigned to his ancestors at its first distribution, and to maintain himself and family out of the product of it. It was his patrimony, which he could not change or alienate, without injury to his children, and disgrace to himself. The judges and kings themselves conformed to the same custom, and encourag'd it in others: the only difference between them and private men was, that they had more lands and more numerous herds (B).

WHOEVER considers the small extent of *Canaan*, and the multitude of its inhabitants, will be rather apt to wonder how it could be able to maintain such incredible numbers, though cultivated with all the care and industry they were capable of, especially considering that it was to rest every seventh year; and yet it is plain, that it more than sufficed them, seeing they exported great quantities of corn, oil, honey, and other provisions, to the city of *Tyre*, and other countries, of all which we have already spoken at the entrance of this chapter^t. To all these we may add the multitude of cattle, which

^t See vol. ii. p. 380, & seqq.

we find them either plowing or sowing, or reaping, at the threshing-floor, or feeding their numerous herds; at least till *Solomon* introduced commerce and luxury, and, with it, a multitude of manufactures and trades from other nations.

(B) Thus *David*, though he heaped up immense quantities of gold and silver, yet, in the list of his riches, mention is made of his arable and pasture-grounds, of his storehouses for corn, wine, and oil, of his plantations of fig, olive, and other fruit-trees, of his numerous herds of oxen, camels, sheep, and asses (33). His son *Solomon* not only multiplied them, in proportion to the great consumption which the vast num-

ber of his wives, concubines, and servants, required; but tells us likewise what pains he took to outdo all that had gone before him, in the number and elegance of them (34); where it is to be observed, that his fine gardens and orchards were chiefly stored with such fruit-trees, plants, and herbs, as were more for use than shew. How he commends the diligence of the husbandman, and exposes the stupidity of the slothful, every chapter almost of his proverbs is a witness (35); however he came afterwards to depart from his own maxims, which were built upon the most solid reason, and truest policy.

(33) 1 *Chron.* xxvii. 25, & seqq. *int. al. c. vi. 6, & seqq.*

(34) *Eccles.* ii. 5, & seqq. (35) *Vide*

they

they bred themselves, and had from other neighbouring countries. For we have seen before, that *Mesha*, king of *Moab*, paid a yearly tribute to *Ahab* king of *Israel*, of an hundred thousand lambs, and as many rams, with their wool*. *Jehoshaphat* drew likewise a constant supply of small cattle from the *Arabians*†; from which we may conclude, that all those nations, that were tributary to the *Jews*, paid their tribute in such commodities as their country abounded most with, whether for food or raiment.

Trades and manufactures.

AFTER what has been observed here, of their agriculture, we must not expect to find any trades or manufactures among them before *David* or *Solomon's* time, except such as were absolutely necessary; and even these were carried on in a different way from other great nations. They built their own houses; their wives and servants spun, wove, and made their cloaths, baked their bread, dressed their meat, and, in a word, supplied the business of clothworkers, taylor, shoemakers, cooks, bakers, confectioners, and many more. The plainness of their food, their cloathing and household-furniture, some few utensils excepted, rendered those trades unnecessary, till a more luxurious way of living got footing among them. We have already spoken of all the other particulars, except their cloathing; and this was plain and artless enough, both in its materials and make, to be done within doors. It must not, however, be expected here, that we should give an exact description of their dress, because we have no paintings or statues of them, as we have of the *Greeks* and *Romans*; but, from what we find in the sacred books, it appears, that they had a long loose tunic and drawers, made of linen, next to their body, and a loose garment somewhat like a cloak, of light woolen cloth, which they threw over their bodies when they went abroad (C). The beauty of them consisted

* 2 Kings iii. 4. Vide vol. ii. p. 135. † 2 Chron. xvii. 11.

(C) The Scripture, at least, mentions only these two, the one under the name of כְּתוֹנֶת *ketoneth*, or coat, and the other under that of מֵבֵיל, *mehil*, or upper garment. The former, being next to the skin, is reasonably supposed to have been made of linen, as the properest wear for hot countries, and for a people inured to labour. It was long and loose; but, when they went about any business, they tied it about; whence that expression of girding one's self is synonymous to getting one's self

consisted either in the fineness of the cloth, or the richness of the dye, such as purple, scarlet, blue, and yellow; but the plainest and the most commonly worn, was the white, because it was the natural colour of the linen and wool, and could be more easily washed; upon which account it is much recommended by *Salomon*²; it being highly necessary in hot countries to shift frequently (D).

SOME

² Ecclef. ix. 8.

self in readiness. The latter was only a large piece of cloth cut off the whole piece, without shaping or seam: as for the breeches, they were indeed ordered to be worn by the priests, but are probably enough supposed to have been worn by the rest for decency-sake; though, if we were allowed to guess at the reason of their wearing of fringes at the bottom of their garments, abstracted from that given in the text, we should be apt to think, that they were designed to keep the garment close to the legs by their weight, to prevent the wind, or any violent motion, throwing them up.

What we have advanced, of the *Israelites* being able to supply their own wants without the help of artificers, during so many centuries, will not appear a matter of wonder to those, who are acquainted with *Homer's* writings, and remember that he tells us *Eumeus* made his own shoes, and built himself stately cots for his numerous herds (36), and *Ulysses* built his own fine house and ship, whilst his wife's loom supplied the house with hangings and carpets, and the family

with cloaths (37). So that the *Hebrews* were not the only people who affected this simple way of living, and thought it an instance of great wisdom to be able to supply their own wants, without the help of otherhands. Neither need we go to *Plato's* commonwealth for parallels of this patriarchal life, since there is scarce a polite nation in antiquity, which did not live up to it as much as the *Jews*; witness the *Egyptians, Chaldeans, Phœnicians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Carthaginians, Sicilians, &c.* witness also *Homer, Mago, Cato, Virgil, Cicero,* and other authors, who have either written upon, or in commendation of it.

(D) Accordingly we find it was usual among them to make presents of changes of raiment (38); though probably some of them might be richer than others, both as to the stuff, the dye, and other ornaments; and these might be reserved to be worn on their solemn festivals, and other public occasions. As to the youth of both sexes, it is probable they wore their stuffs striped, or flowered with various colours; for such were those of *Joseph* (39), *Tamar*, and

(36) *Odyss.* xiv. & xxiii.
2 *Kings* v. 5. 23.

(37) *Odyss.* v.
(39) *Gen.* xxxvii. 3.

(38) *Gen.* xlv. 22.

SOME covering they wore upon their head, but the fashion is not to be guessed at: they wore likewise shoes abroad, and perhaps a kind of stockings; but how, and what they were made of, we are equally to seek; only their shoes, or rather sandals, seem to have been a sole, whether of wood, skin, or some other material, tied to the top of the foot, without any other covering; which made the washing of the feet so frequent among them. All these might be easily made without artificers.

Of the
women.

THE dress of the women, especially of the rich ones, was indeed more curious, because they bestowed more ornament upon it, chiefly of needle-work, which was still within their own province. They wore jewels of gold and silver; but a great deal of that finery was brought at first from *Egypt*, and more might be easily added to it, as they enlarged their conquest, without entertaining any artists; because their fashions did not alter as ours do. However, it is not improbable, that they had some of these, as well as several other rich stuffs and linen, from *Tyre*, in exchange for their corn, balm, and other commodities; especially after *Solomon's* time, when pride and luxury grew to such a height, that *Isaiab* spent almost a whole chapter in enumerating the costly ornaments with which that sex used to deck themselves in his time^d; but concerning which it were impossible to frame any tolerable idea, the terms there used being unknown to us (E).

IT

^d Ch. iii. 16, & seqq.

of all *David's* other unmarried daughters (39). We do not read of any other ornaments to the mens dress, except that of the fringes, which were fastened to a blue ribband, and sewed round the border of their garments; and even these, if we except the conjectures offered in the last note, were ordained only as a memorandum, that their happiness depended upon their obedience (40).

(E) One thing may be observed from it, that they were

very curious in adorning their heads, arms, and feet; and that they wore some kind of tinkling ornament about their legs, which gave a musical cadence to their steps. *Judith's* sandals are particularly taken notice of to have ravished *Holofernes* (41): and the richness and elegance of her other ornaments might give us a clear notion of a complete *Jewess's* dress, were we sure, that they had not by that time mixed some of the *Babylonish* fashion

(39) 2 *Sam.* xiii. 18. (40) *Num.* xv. 38. (41) *Judith* xvi. 9.

with

IT doth not appear, however, that they fell into this *Handi-* excess of finery, before the latter end of *David's* life; *crafts in-* till then a wonderful œconomy seems to have reigned in *roduced.* every family under the wives at home, and the husbands abroad. The laborious life of the men doth account for that valour, strength, swiftness, and surprising exploits, for which the Scripture doth so highly extol them, especially *David's* worthies g, and excellent troops h. But the immense treasures which that monarch had heaped up, having inspired him with a desire of consecrating some part of it to GOD, by building a sumptuous temple, a number of artificers was thereby soon introduced (F), such as carvers, masons, carpenters, joiners, gold and silver-smiths, founders, and all manner of workmen in metals, wood, and stone; and these brought in a

g 2 Sam. xxiii. 8, ad fin.
& alib. pass.

h Ibid. xvii. 8, & seqq.

with it. However, we have a more authentic description of the female garb in the prophet *Ezekiel* (42); where the *Jewish* nation is compared to a poor, naked, and helpless woman, whom GOD, out of pity, and husbandlike kindness, clothed, and girded with silk and fine linen, attired her head with a crown, or rather mitre, such as that of *Judith*, and put a jewel upon her forehead, a costly chain about her neck, bracelets upon her wrists, earrings in her ears, and sandals upon her feet. To all these we may add the veil, which is often mentioned in Scripture, and was very necessary in those countries, both to preserve the complexion and the character of women, it being esteemed highly immodest for them to appear without it; but, whether they were made of some such transparent stuffs

as our gauzes, so that they might see their way through them, and at the same time give some glimpse both of their beauty and rich ornaments, or otherwise, we cannot determine.

(F) It is said in two places, that *Solomon* sent to king *Hiram* for some of his best artists in metals, stone, and wood, because he had none so skilful among his own subjects (43); and, presently after, that he raised a levy of thirty thousand men out of all *Israel*, to carry on the work (44); from which we may reasonably conclude, that the former were only designed by that politic prince to instruct the latter in that great variety of arts, which were necessary to execute his noble designs, as the most curious part was actually done upon the plain of *Jordan* (45).

(42) *Cb.* xvi. 10, & seqq.
(44) 1 *Kings* v. 13, & seqq.

(43) 2 *Chron.* ii. 3, & seqq. 1 *Kings* v. 6.
(45) 2 *Chron.* iv. 17.

number of others, without which they could not subsist. His son *Solomon* built himself some stately palaces, as well as the temple; and this probably gave his subjects such a relish of his more elegant way of building, that the number of workmen multiplied still more (G).

BUT as most of those arts, trades, and manufactures, did in some measure rise and set with him, we shall suspend all further account of him, till we come to speak of his reign; the peacefulness of which may also, in all probability, be the reason, why we read of so few *Jewish* worthies and brave generals in his days, in comparison of those many and justly famed ones, which his warlike father had had during his whole life (H).

POETRY

(G) The division of the two kingdoms increased the mischief. *Jerusalem*, and many other places, must be fortified; chariots and engines of war, and a much greater quantity of arms of all sorts, became necessary, which required a suitable number of artificers; insomuch that we read, in the *Chronicles*, of a valley belonging to the tribe of *Judah*, called by the name of the valley of *Charashim*, or artificers, because it was inhabited only by such (1). In a word, one may guess at the increase of them by the number which *Nebuchadnezzar* carried away captive out of the bare city of *Jerusalem* (2); though it is plain at the same time, that the *Jews* did never neglect the cultivation of their lands for the sake of these professions. On the contrary, it is only the product of their land that is said to have been exported (3), whereas that of their other manufactures seems to have been all consumed within themselves. *Solomon* himself,

who opened so wide a door to commerce and luxury, was so far from thinking agriculture beneath his care, that he not only improved it himself, but also earnestly recommended it to his people, as the best means of growing rich, preserving health, prolonging their days, and leading a quiet and happy life; insomuch that there is scarce a chapter in his proverbs, wherein he doth not enforce it from one or other of these advantages. We may even affirm, that he made trade and navigation, though in all appearance his most favourite projects, subservient to the promotion of agriculture.

(H) The valiant men of *Judah* are most beautifully described in psalm lxxxvii, under the figure of *Sion*, which is commonly used to signify that tribe (4); but it has happened in this, as in many other psalms and poetical pieces of the sacred books, that not only the beauties and energy, but even the sense, has been intirely lost, and

(1) 1 Chron. iv. 34. (2) 2 Kings xxiv. 16. (3) Ezek. xxvii. 17.
 (4) Vide int. al. Pj. lxxxviii. 68.

another

POETRY is, perhaps, the only art in which the *He-Poetry* brews, at least since *Moses's* time, have excelled all other nations, we had almost said, that have been ever since. It has, indeed, this great advantage, above all others, that the authors of it, being divinely inspired, seem to have consecrated it wholly to the honour of God, and adapted it to the service of the temple. No wonder then, if not only their great lawgiver, but their monarchs, judges, priests, and prophets, men and women, have endeavoured to eternize their memories by some excellent performance in this kind: witness the two inimitable songs of *Moses*, those of *Deborah* and *Hannah*, the whole book of *Psalms*, the *Canticles*, the thanksgiving of *Hezekiah*, the book of *Job*, a great part of the prophet *Isaiab*, and the *Lamentations*; not to mention some other prophets, who are likewise supposed, by the

another substituted, which scarce will bear that name. We shall therefore beg leave to subjoin a new, and even more literal, or at least idiomatical, version of this psalm, that our readers may see a specimen both of the beauty and elegance of it, and how far it has been wronged by all the versions we have hitherto met with. The elegance, which they have overlooked here, is in the opposition between the pronoun זֶה, *zeh*, which is commonly used to express an inconsiderable person; and the word יֵשׁוּעַ, *ish*, which signifies a considerable one, in opposition to אִישׁ, which is used to express those of common rank; according to which the sense will run thus;

She [*Zion*, or the tribe of *Judab*] is founded upon the holy mountains.

The Lord has more love for her gates (4) (or places of resort), than for all the dwellings of *Jacob*.

Glorious things shall be spoken of thee, O city of God.

In mentioning, among those of my acquaintance, either *Rahab* (*Egypt*) or *Babylon*, or here *Philistia*, *Tyre*, and *Ethiopia* (the phrase is), *zeh*, this inconsiderable person, was born there, or it has given birth to such an one.

But of *Sion* it is, or shall be said, *ish ve ish*, this or that great person owes his birth to it; seeing He, who is the Most High, is to establish her; and so on.

We shall not go about to justify this new version: those, who are masters of the *Hebrew*, will easily see, that it is not only more natural, and agreeable to the original, but also freer from these expletives which are forced in, to make it speak sense; and criticisms of this nature would be needless to those who are unacquainted with it. This psalm we take to be parallel with the forty-eighth, which abounds with sublime expressions in praise of *Zion*, but such as can hardly be reached by any translation.

(4) See before, p. 126.

loftiness of their stile, to have writ, at least, part of their prophecies in verse; concerning which it is universally agreed, that nothing can be conceived more majestic, or more surprisngly sublime; whether we consider the variety of action, the greatness of the sentiments, the richness of the figures and imagery, or the strength and beauty of the expressions (I).

AND

(I) To all these we may add, that a strain of the most seraphic piety, and of the most excellent morality, runs through the whole; which conveys to the reader's mind the most important truths, the noblest precepts and instructions, that can possibly frame it for all stages and conditions of life; whilst the expressions and figures, however strong and lofty, are adapted to the reach and understanding of the young and illiterate, and at the same time raise the deepest attention and admiration in the ablest masters.

Such are these expressions of *Moses*: The heavens, and the heaven of heavens, are the LORD's thy GOD (5). I will make your heaven as iron, and your earth as brass. Ye shall be terrified at the sound of a shaken leaf. You shall flee, when none pursueth (6). One shall chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight, &c. Such are likewise these of *Isaiab*: To whom will ye liken the LORD, who measures the waters in the hollow of his hand, and the heavens with a span; who weighs the mountains in the balance? All the nations of the earth are as a drop of wa-

ter that sticks to the bucket, and as the small dust that remains in the scales (7). Or those of the psalmist: The earth trembled, and the heavens dropped, at the presence of GOD; the mountains skipped like rams, and the valleys like young sheep (8). Who stretcheth out the heavens like a curtain, telleth the number of the stars, and calls them by their names (9). He bowed the heavens, and came down; darkness was under his feet. He rode upon the wings of cherubim (10). He maketh the clouds his chariot, and walketh upon the wings of the wind (11). We shall go no further with instances, which are innumerable; but observe here, that some of them have such a complicated beauty, that the best part of it may be easily lost to any but an attentive reader, who is likewise a good judge of poetry. Of this kind is the last expression we instanced, of walking upon the wings of the wind; where we beg leave to observe, that the wind being generally used to express the velocity of any thing; and here the wings of the wind to carry with them an idea of the utmost

(5) *Deut.* x. 14. (6) *Levit.* xxvi. *pass.* *Deut.* xxxii. 30. (7) *Isa.* xl. 12, & *seqq.* (8) *Psal.* lxxviii. 8. cxiv. 4. (9) *Psal.* xviii. 7, & *seqq.* (10) *civ.* 2. cxlvii. 4. (11) *civ.* 3.

fierceness

AND yet it is certain, that the poetical pieces of Scripture, like all antient works of that kind, frequently allude to things, customs, and sayings, to which we are utter strangers at this distance of time, tho' they were then perfectly known; and abound with words and idioms, whose true meaning we are left to guess at, for want of such parallels as might determine it. From these, and the imperfection of modern tongues, one may easily guess, how short all translations must come of the beauty and energy of the original; so that we may be really said only to guess at it, from the amazing lustre it is still able to cast, in spite of the thick medium through which we behold it. This is evident, from the character which Mr. *Gildon*, after many others, has given of it:

fierceness of that velocity; it is impossible to imagine the serene and deliberate walking of the Deity upon a creature of the most inconceivable swiftness, without being filled with the deepest wonder and abasement. And yet this inimitable beauty has passed unobserved by many, otherwise learned, translators and commentators, who have chosen to render it, *who rideth upon the wings of the wind*; as if riding upon the wind, which is common to feathers, straw, dust, &c. conveyed a more natural or sublime idea of the Godhead, than the literal one of walking upon it.

This is one of the reasons why the psalms, the book of *Job*, and some other poetic pieces of holy writ, lose so much of their beauty and energy in all versions (12). However, there is this difference between these two books, that the latter cannot bear a literal translation; whereas those of the former, which have followed the original closest, have

succeeded best; such are, in particular, the *Latin* ones of *Castalio*, *Buchanan*, and *Jonston*. This last is, indeed, the most literal, and wonderfully displays the elegance of the *Hebrew*. It has but one fault, namely, its running all along in hexameters and pentameters, which takes off a great deal of its majesty; whereas, had it been all in hexameters, or rather in various metres, according to the nature of the psalm, there would not have been a better, as there is not indeed a more exact one, in all other respects, extant, that we know of; and it is with pleasure that we have seen, that this hint, which we ventured to give in the first edition of this work, hath proved a means of procuring to the world several noble and accurate editions of that excellent version, as well as of reviving the memory of that divine poet, which had lain above a century in a kind of utter oblivion.

(12) *Vide Pined. Dieg. de Stunic. & al. in Job. Bugenbag. Bucr. Buchanan. & al. in Psal.*

That *there is nothing so sweet, so tender and pathetic ; and at the same time nothing so grand, so majestic, so terrible, and so harmonious, as the poetic part of the Bible, to which all the heathen verse is lame and flat.* We may add, that nothing can be juster than this character, tho' both he, and the far greatest part of those who have so highly extolled it, have rather judged of it from the versions they read, than from any great acquaintance they had with the original.

BUT tho' there be nothing more universally agreed on, than the excellency of this antient *Hebrew* poetry above all others, in the above-mentioned respects, yet there is scarce a point more debated, or less possible to be determined, than the nature, metre, cadence, and rules of it. Several modern authors have pretended indeed to very signal discoveries in this intricate province ; but they have either had the modesty to conceal them from the world ^m, or those who have ventured to publish them, have only provoked some learned antagonists to expose their weakness and vanity ⁿ. The truth is, that those who have made any attempts in this way, have been forced to shift, alter, and overturn the order, the words, and punctuation, and sometimes the very sense, in order to bring the text to their rules. This is what a learned modern has done almost in every verse, in a dissertation writ on purpose to prove, that *Hebrew* poetry was writ in rhyme, like that of the *French*, and other modern nations ^o. In order to this, he takes the liberty to lengthen or shorten the verses and syllables, as he thinks fit, without observing any other rule or proportion in them, than the jingle of the last words ; insomuch that there is not, we will not say with *Calmet* ^p, any of *Tully's* orations, but we may venture to affirm, any chapter in the Old Testament, which may not, by the same method, be reduced into rhyming verse. He ought rather to have said, that the rhyme, in those poetical works, was not only altogether accidental, but almost unavoidable, unless the authors had made a resolution against it, and taken more than ordinary pains to alter their words, and cramp their diction, in order to shun it. Those that are ever so

^m F. VATABL. ap. MERCER. in Job. iii. MEIBOM. Vid. journal des scavans, 1699. & al. ⁿ FR. GOMAN *Lyra David*. TH. HERBERT. Vid. CAPEL cont. Goman. BEDFORD cont. Le Clerc. ^o Bibliot. univers. May, 1688. ^p Comment. in Exod. xv. & alib.

little acquainted with the *Hebrew* grammar know, that the terminations of verbs, and even of nouns in the plural, and the junction of the possessive pronouns to both of them, are so alike and uniform, that it would be vastly more difficult to write a poem in blank verse in that tongue, than in rhyme. And yet it must be owned, that he has displayed a great deal of learning in it, and that several eminent men have embraced his opinion, tho' there is one objection against it, which seems almost insurmountable; which is, that there is no rhyme but what is plainly accidental in all the acrostic or alphabetic pieces we have left, such as several *Psalms* ^r, the *Lamentations*, and some few others, where the length of the verse is determined by the first letter of it, and where consequently the liberty of transposing and altering the measure is quite taken off. Our author indeed tells us, that these were not designed for rhyme, but blank verse; but this is said gratis: and what is more, some of them have a greater number of hemistichs rhyming to one another, than those which are pretended to be written designedly so; as the reader may see by the specimen in the margin (K).

THE

^q BERN. LAMI, CAROFALO, & al. ^r Pf. xxv. xxxiv. xxxvii. cxi. cxii. cxiii. cxix. and cxlv.

(K) We shall instance only in psalm xxxiv. and omit the blank verses in it; and here the reader will see, by the interlineal version of them, how accidental, and as it were inevitable, the rhyme is in those that chance to have it.

Ver. 4. I fought the LORD, and he heard me:
Darashti eth Adonai vebanani:
 And from all my troubles he delivered me.
Umicol megurothai itzillani.

5. They looked unto him, and were enlightened:
Hibittu elaw venabaru:
 And their faces were not confounded.
Uphnehem al jechpharu.

9. Fear ye the LORD, ye faints of his:
Iereu eth Adonai kedoshaw:
 For on lack [is] to them that fear him.
Ki aen machsor lireaw.

THE truth is, our ignorance of the true pronunciation of that antient tongue, which, for aught appears, has been lost ever since the captivity, makes it morally impossible to determine any thing about it, with any tolerable probability; because, without it, we never can be sensible of the length or shortness of the syllables, or of the harmony of words and verses, in which a great part of the poetic beauty consists. Had we indeed the same helps in this, as we have in the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues, we might, perhaps, have attained an equal knowledge of its quantity and metre, and of the construction and cadence of its verse; and tho' it is probable, we might not

10. Little lions lack and hunger:

Kephirim rasbù verabevù:

They that seek the LORD shall not lack

Vedoresbe Adonai lo jachserù

any good,

col tof.

12. What man desireth life?

Mi haish hachaphetz chajim?

Loveth days

Ohef yamim

to see good?

lireoth tof?

13. Keep thy tongue from evil:

Netzor lesboneka merah:

And thy lips from speaking guile.

Uspbateka midabber mirmah.

These are in the very order we find them in all *Hebrew* psalters, without any transposition or change; but, did the alphabetical order permit it, it is plain, that one might reduce every acrostic psalm and poem into rhyme by Mr. *Le Clerc's* method.

We hope there is no necessity to acquaint our readers, that an alphabetic psalm begins with each of the letters of the alphabet successively, either in every verse, as in the xxvth, xxxivth, and cxlvth; or every other

verse, as in the xxxviith; or in every hemistich, or half-verse, as in the cxith, cxiith, and cxiiiith. The cxixth doth still differ from all these, because every verse of a stanza begins with the same letter of the alphabet; so that it has 22 stanzas, answering to the 22 letters of it. Those, who desire to see a more succinct confutation of *Le Clerc's* notion, may read our learned Mr. *Bedford's* treatise concerning the temple-music, where he will find a short, but full confutation of that writer.

have

have found it so elaborate and regular as that of the other two, yet we should not have fallen into that strange notion of so many learned moderns, that it was written without measure, form, or regularity (L).

ON the other hand, to hear some antient authors, both *Jews* and *Christians*, such as *Josephus* and *Philo*, *Origen*, *Eusebius*, and *St. Jerom*, expatiate on this subject, one would be apt to think, that both the genuine pronunciation of the *Hebrew*, and all the rules of that poetry, had been preserved to their time, they give us so succinct an account of every poetical piece of the Old Testament. Thus, according to them, the two songs of *Moses* were written in heroic verse: the psalms were of a mixed sort, trimeters, pentameters, and others hexameters ^u (M). But we rather think, with the generality of moderns, that the greatest

^u JOSEPH. ant. l. ii. c. ult. l. iv. c. ult. l. vii. c. 10. PHIL. in vit. Mos. & lib. de vit. contemplat. ad fin. ORIG. ap. Euseb. præpar. l. xi. c. 2.

(L) One would think, indeed, that *Scaliger* had never heard of any modern *Hebrew* poetry, how common soever it is, when he adds, that neither that tongue, nor the *Syriac*, nor the *Arabic*, were capable of such a constraint (1); for it is plain, even from those specimens which *Buxtorf* has given us (2) out of some of the poetical rabbies, that it is as regular as any we have, either in *Greek* or *Latin*; and consequently, that the *Hebrew* is as capable of the strictest poetic rules as they, if we be once agreed in fixing the quantity of the syllables. We may add, that they have been so far from thinking metre and quantity too great a clog, that they have joined that of rhyme to it; which, whether it be an orna-

ment or not, is nevertheless a confinement, though not so great in the *Hebrew* as it is in other tongues, for the reasons above alleged. Besides, it appears further, that the antient *Hebrew* poetry was confined to some certain rules and restraints, though unknown to us, because, in many of those works, we find some letters retrenched, and others superadded, in order to lengthen or shorten the verses or the syllables, or to give a sweeter cadence to them.

(M) *St. Jerom* has ventured to be still more particular (3); and to tell us, that the songs of *Moses*, the books of *Isaiab*, *Job*, and some others, were hexameters and pentameters; that the *Psalms* were sapphic, iambic, and alcaic, after the manner of *Horace* and *Pindar*;

(1) Vide *Scalig. animadv. in chron. Euseb. p. 7. Vid. et Egubin. L. Capel. Mar. Martin. Martini Vajmuth. Pfeifer. Grot. in Luc. i. 46.* (2) *Tthesaur. ling. sanc. ad fin.* (3) *Epist. ad Paulin. & præf. in chron. Euseb. Vid. & comment. Ezek. c. xxx.*

greatest part of them, even those two solemn ones of *Moses*, were certainly of the lyric kind, composed and set to music, sung in an alternate manner, and accompanied with the sound of divers instruments, and with dances suitable to the music, as we shall shew under the next head.

IN the mean time, though we willingly excuse ourselves from entering into the merit of the cause, whether or not the *Hebrews* were the first inventors of poetry; because we cannot tell how much they may have brought of it out of *Egypt*; yet we cannot forbear taking notice of the vanity of the *Greeks*, who attribute the lyric kind to *Orpheus*; whereas it is plain, that it was in its perfection among the *Jews* at the time of the *exod*, from that excellent piece which *Moses* composed immediately after their passage through the *Red Sea*, which was upwards of 200 years before *Orpheus*, since he is said to have gone a stripping to the *Argonautic* war; that is, at soonest, about *Gideon's* time^v. We shall willingly allow them the invention of dramatic poetry; which consisting only in imitation, and being calculated to make instruction go down, for the sake of the diversion attending it, suited their rough and unpolished genius, such as it was at that time, much better than that of the *Hebrews*, who, for

^v See *USHER's* annals, SIX IS. *NEWT. BEDFORD's* chronol. & al.

that the *Lamentations* were of the sapphic kind; and, in his preface to the book of *Job*, he says, that, from the third verse of the third chapter, the verse is mostly hexameter and pentameter, consisting of dactyls and spondees; though he adds, that it is here-and-there intermixed with some other foot or feet; and that some verses, though still more irregular, do yet preserve such a cadence and harmony, as never fail of pleasing those who are judges of the rules of poetry. However, with respect to *Moses's* song in *Deuteronomy*, he seems either to

have forgot, or to correct himself in another place (4); and says, that it was written in iambic verse of four feet. The same he says also of the cxixth, and some other psalms; concerning which we own ourselves wholly in the dark. All therefore that we can say of him, and of these learned antients, is, that they give us their bare word for what they say; for none of them has ventured so far as to give us any proof or example of it; so that the reader is at liberty to take it, or not.

(4) *Vide epist. 135. ad Paul. Urbic.*

ought appears, never admitted it among them. For though the author of *Job*, and *Solomon* in his *Canticles*, introduce divers speakers, yet it is plain, their design is rather to express their sentiments in a more lively and pathetic manner, than to represent any action, such as commonly comes into a dramatic piece. Whereas the lyric, which consists of musical hymns and odes, and is adapted to promote the glory and worship of GOD, being the most proper to inspire that people with a more than ordinary delight in it, was chiefly calculated for that end by its first *Hebrew* authors, and has continued in the greatest vogue and admiration amongst them ever since; insomuch that it seems to have been, in some manner, peculiar to them. Again, if *Homer* and *Virgil* are so justly admired for their judicious choice of such words and phrases, as carry a strong idea of the action in their very sound, those who have but the least knowledge of the *Hebrew*, and will but give some attention to this particular beauty, will easily feel it in almost every line (N). We may here add, that if the most beautiful figures, and the strongest metaphors and allegories, be a sign of a poetic tongue,

the

(N) We should be glad to give such of our readers, as are unacquainted with the *Hebrew*, some faint idea of this; but, unless they can forget for a moment their less masculine pronunciation, it is to be feared

our labour will be lost. However, in hopes that it may excite a curiosity, in those that do, to examine it more nearly in this view, we shall venture to subjoin the few instances following out of the psalms:

Let the sea roar, and the fulness of it.

Jirbam haiom umelo-o. Pf. xcvi. 7.

Let the floods clap their hands.

Nebaroth jimkbaù capb. ib. ver. 8.

The LORD also thundered from heaven, and the Most High gave his voice.

Vejarghem bashamajim Elohim, vebelion yiten colo. xviii. 13.

The waters saw thee, O GOD, the waters saw thee; they trembled, and the depths quaked.

Raùka mayim, Elohim, raùka mayim; yakbilu, apb yirgbezu tebomoth. lxxvii. 16.

Mountains skipped like rams, valleys like young sheep.

Hebarim rakkedeu ke-elim, gebagboth kibne zon. cxiv. 4.

For GOD is high, and looks on the humble, the proud afar off he beholdeth.

Ki rom Elohim, shaphal yre, geboagh mimerkhak yiedagh. cxxxviii. 6.

All

the *Hebrew* exceeds both the *Greek*, and all others that we know of, in this particular also.

Musc.

OF their music, with which they used to accompany and enliven their poetic performances, we know little, but from conjecture. We have indeed nothing left of it that can assure us, that it was equal to their poetry; and yet if we judge of the excellency of the one, from that of the other, and if the most elegant and harmonious words and phrases, composed upon the sublimest subjects, could inspire a musical person with a suitable melody, it will be absurd to suppose their music to have been otherwise than sweet, elegant, and beautifully varied, though attended with a noble gravity answerable to the grandeur of the subject and occasion. Music and poetry are justly observed to be twin-sisters, and to spring from the same faculty: to imagine, therefore, such an inferiority in the former, either with respect to composition, or musical instruments, as some moderns have done, were to suppose, that it requires greater talents to form a good musician, than a good poet; whereas the very contrary is so visible to every eye. It is by no means probable, that they, who so greatly excel in the one, should admit, in the other, such harsh and inharmonious instruments^a, as were

^a See LE CLERC'S *ess.* RHEINFELD, CALMET, & al.

All the horns of the wicked will I break.

Col carne reshaghim agadeagh. lxxv. ult.

And now her carvings, at once, with axes and hammers do they break.

Veghatta pettukheab jakhad bacashill vekalapboth jabalomun. lxxiv. 6.

Chariot and horse are cast into a deep sleep.

Nirdam warrekeb vassus. lxxvi. 7.

And in my GOD I will knock down an ox.

Ubelobai adelag shoor. xviii. 29.

The reader will easily judge of the rest by these few, the three last of which are well worth, at least, that so much admired one of *Virgil*, *Procumbit humi bos*; or any other of that poet, or of *Homer*.

But, not to dwell longer on this elegancy, it will suffice to say upon the whole, that whoever gives any tolerable atten-

tion to the beautiful choice of words, where-ever the subject is of the same nature with the instances given above, will find them fall with a suitable force and rapidity; and, where the subject is of a contrary one, he will discover in them the most surprising smoothness and harmony that can be imagined.

only fit to grate the ear, and to spread the harshest discord through the best compositions (N). We read of

(N) Thus *Le Clerc* has taken some pains to prove, that the צלצל *tzilzele*, which our version, after the Septuagint, renders cymbals, were only a couple of hollow demiglobes of brass, or some other tinkling metal, and about six inches in diameter, which they used to shake one against another, like a pair of castanets (1); because we find some such instruments to have been in use among the antients, and because the root *tzalzal* doth often signify to tinkle. Etymologies are at best very uncertain, and very often ridiculous. We own that such tinkling instruments were used among the antients; but the distinction which the psalmist makes of *tzilzele shamagh* and *tzilzele terughab* (2), and the other instruments which he joins with them, do at least imply something more musical, warlike, and masculine, if not more melodious, than two such demiglobes.

The same may be said of the כנור *bugab*, which we translate the organ, and which is thought by our moderns to have been no more than a row of six or eight pipes, of different lengths and notes, and which was played by passing them successively under the upper lip (3). According to this description, it must have been incapable of any re-

gular harmony; though in its etymon it signifies a lovely instrument, from כגב *bagab*, to love, or delight in, to doat upon. But, not to insist upon the name, it is plain this instrument was known before the flood (4); and it is scarcely credible it should have received so small an improvement in all that long interval, and in a nation where poetry and music had been so highly cultivated.

The כלישׁוֹן *shalishim*, one of the instruments with which the women came to meet *Saul* (5), and which the Septuagint translate *cymbala*, *St. Jerom*, *sistra*, and our version instruments of music, is supposed to have been of a triangular figure, like the Δ , through which were strung a parcel of rings, so that the instrument being struck with a stick, or shaken by the hand, made the rings strike both against it and one another, and caused a most inharmonious jarring. But if it must needs be supposed to have been triangular, because the word שׁוֹן implies the number three (though it might as reasonably be supposed to mean an instrument of three strings, and a very musical one too), we see no reason why its triangular form might not be designed to contain a set of strings one longer than another, in order to be played upon, either with

(1) See his essay on Heb. poetry in *bibliot. univers.* tom. ix. ad fin. & alib.
 (2) *Psal.* cl. 5. (3) *Ibid.* ver. 4. (4) *Gen.* iv. 21.
 (5) *1 Sam.* xviii. 6.

of eight and ten-stringed instruments in vogue among them, of the *nebel* and *kinor*, which we conjecture to be like the lute and harp; and from which the *Greeks* had their *nabla* and *cinyra*. They had likewise several kinds of wind-instruments, such as the trumpet, flute, and what several antient and modern versions call the organ, whatever resemblance it might have to ours. To these they joined the drum, and perhaps the kettle-drums (which we take to be the instrument spoken of in the last note); especially when their music was accompanied with dances, as it generally was; and these, if artfully touched, could not but give a wonderful cadence to them.

sticks, as our old dulcimers, or with the fingers, like the harp. As for the account which the *Jewish* writers give of these, and several other musical instruments mentioned in holy writ, it is still more pitiful. But this is not so much to be wondered at; their musical, as well as their poetic genius, has left them long ago; but if those, who are judges of either, can suppose such a vast disparity between them to be possible, and that the dullest and most unmusical instruments were used to enliven the harmony of the most sublime poetry, we freely own we cannot join with them; and that, though it be ever so impossible to come at any notion of the nature and symmetry of those instruments, yet we cannot forbear thinking, that they must have been vastly more suitable to it, than any of those which our most diligent searchers have yet been able to discover.

It would be lost labour to go about giving a further account of all the various kinds of musical instruments mentioned in holy writ, which the *Jewish*

rabbies reckon to the number of 34, by taking the titles of several psalms, such as *miſlan*, *ſigaion*, *ſheminitb*, &c. for particular instruments on which these psalms were to be played. But, setting even these aside, there will be still at least twenty different sorts left, which we shall, however, forbear mentioning, because we know so little of them, and have so little reason to be satisfied with the conjectures of commentators about them. All that we shall say further is, that they were of three kinds; namely, 1. wind-instruments, such as the several sorts of flutes, trumpets, and the organ; 2. stringed instruments; of this kind were the harp, lute, instruments of three, eight, or ten strings; and, 3, such as were beat either by the hand, or with a stick, as the tabor, drum, kettle-drums, and such-like. To go further upon the subject, would be venturing in the dark. The reader may, if he pleases, see a fuller account of them in *Calmet's* dissertation, quoted in p. 206.

BUT

BUT if we may judge of the excellence of the *Hebrew* music from its wonderful effects, such as we find it had upon *Saul* in his most melancholy and distracted moods^a, and in calming the souls of the prophets, and fitting them for divine inspiration^b, which is no more than the *Greeks* tell us of their own, and which can hardly be denied without giving the lye to a cloud of antient authors; we shall be forced to own, that it was vastly more moving than any thing we have now. And indeed, what wonder is it, that it should have attained to such perfection, if we consider the great distance of time between its first author *Jubal*^c, and *Moses*? and that, from the time of the latter, it was in constant use, both in their worship, in their religious and civil festivals, in their public and private rejoicings, and even in their mournings; witness that which *David* composed on the death of *Saul* and *Jonathan*^d, and the lamentations of *Jeremy* at the death of king *Josiah* (O)?

FROM

^a 1 Sam. xvi. 23. vid. & xix. 7, & seqq. ^b 2 Kings iii. 15.
^c Gen. iv. 21. ^d 2 Sam. i. 17, & seqq.

(O) What farther improvement it may have received from *David's* time, may be easily guessed, if we consider the great encouragement which that monarch gave it: he was a good musician, as well as an excellent poet; and how much a prince's inclination contributes to the advancement of any art, is obvious to every one. To what a height then may we not suppose it was improved by those 4000 *Levites*, whom he wholly devoted to that province, under the tuition of 288 excellent masters, with *Asaph*, *Heman*, and *Jeduthun*, at their head (9)? The law had already provided for their maintenance another way; so that nothing

could intercept or divert their application to so delightful an art. Besides those, who assisted constantly by turns at the altar of burnt-offering, we read likewise of women who applied themselves to music both vocal and instrumental; such were *Heman's* three daughters (10), and those which are mentioned by the psalmist (11). Their kings had also their own musicians of both sexes (12). Some of the psalms, especially the xxth, xxist, and lxxiid, are supposed to have been composed, in order to be sung on the day of their inauguration. The xlvth, and the *Canticles*, are reckoned a kind of epithalamium proper for a wedding-

(9) 1 Chron. xxiii. 5. xxv. 7, & seqq.
 (11) Psal. lxxviii. 25.
 Eccles. ii. 8.

(10) Ibid. ver. 5, 6.
 (12) 1 Chron. xxv. 2. 2 Sam. xix. 35.

day.

FROM all this, the reader may easily judge, whether it be credible, that an art of so long standing, so much admired, encouraged, so universally practised, and capable to cause such wonderful effects, could be so coarse and plain, as to consist only in the variety of voices and instruments, playing all to the same notes, without any combination of even bass and treble, much less of the other parts, which make up the soul of music^k; and that chance, at least, should not have led them to observe the harmony of some, as well as the harshness of other compound notes, so as to point out this improvement to them, in so long a time, and among such variety of voices and instruments. For our part, we think it as difficult to imagine, as it is to account for the surprising effects we read of it, from bare simple tunes, how fine and melodious soever. One thing seems more than probable, from the style of several of the psalms, and the frequent transition from the first to the third person; that it was performed alternately, one part of the chorus answering to the other, at proper stanzas and divisions, not unlike the choirs of our cathedrals^l. What other improvements they might have made to this art, which we are wholly ignorant of, is not so easy to guess at, as how and when they might be lost (P).

WHAT

* See CALMET dissert. de music. Heb. discourse on the same.

^l BEDFORD'S

day. We have seen likewise, that they had proper psalms and hymns, not only at the temple, for every great festival, and other public occasions, but also at their private feasts, such as weddings, circumcisions, and the like. In a word, no nation seems to have been fonder of music than the *Jews*; inasmuch that though the *Babylonish* captivity had made them hang their harps on the willows; yet, at their return, we find they brought back a troop of 200 musicians of both sexes (13).

objected, that the roughness of the *Hebrew*, its abounding with consonants, gutturals, and monosyllables, makes it so unfit for music, that it would be even madness to attempt it. Were this indeed really fact, it would at once explode all that we have said on the other side; but we hope we have already sufficiently shewn the contrary, in what hath been said hitherto on that head. We may even venture to affirm, that some pieces of *Hebrew*, which we have set to suitable music, would easily convince any im-

(P) It is indeed generally

(13) *Ezra* ii, 65.

partial

WHAT has been said of the *Hebrew* music may be also supposed of their dances ; namely, that those which were of a religious nature were generally more grave and solemn, than their other sorts ; but, whether confined to rules, or directed only by custom and imitation, whether circular, as is generally supposed, or of any other form, we can only guess by those of other antient nations. But, even this being all conjecture, and not worth a further inquiry, we shall pass to another subject, better known to us ; referring the reader, for a more full account of the *Hebrew* poetry, music, &c. to the authors quoted in the margin ⁿ.

Of the language, writing, and learning, of the Jews.

THEIR tongue was the *Hebrew*, such as we have it Hebrew in the writings of *Moses*, and other sacred authors. *tongue.* We shall find a more proper place to give the most probable etymon of that name ; being far from thinking, that it was called so from *Heber*, in whose family alone it had been preserved in its purity, as the parent of all the rest, as some authors have imagined ^o. What we have said formerly, both about the confusion of languages in general, and of the uncertainty of the *Hebrew* being the mother, much

ⁿ Vide MERCER, SKIKARD, MEIBON, GOMAR, LE CLERC, CALMET, & al. ^o Vide auct. sup. citat.

partial judge, that this objection is wholly imaginary, and springs partly from the want of due attention on that neglected tongue, and partly from our present unaccountable fondness for the modern *Italian* taste. It is even certain, from the excellent compositions which have been made in our own native *English*, though in most respects (gutturals excepted, which, by the way, are far from unmusical) the most like the *Hebrew* of any modern language, that the perfection of music doth not consist in that smooth sinking

softness we are now so taken with. We are well satisfied, on the contrary, that many of us, who fondly imagine, that our age hath raised music to its zenith, would be strangely surpris'd to find, by comparing our most admired performances with those of two, three, or more centuries past, that some of its noblest beauties and excellencies are quite lost ; which will not be recovered till the world has recovered its genuine taste, that is, perhaps, not till we have a new heaven and a new earth.

less the original tongue, doth sufficiently expose the fondness of such a notion. We shall not therefore repeat what has been said already P, but confine ourselves to what was there promised; namely, to give some further account of the genius, and of those particular excellencies, of the *Hebrew* tongue, for which it is so generally supposed to have been the mother of all others (Q).

BUT though we allow the preference to the *Hebrew* in this respect, yet we have already proved etymologies to be too uncertain a foundation to build upon: if therefore this last has any advantage over the rest, with respect to its being a mother rather than a daughter to any of them, it must be upon the account of its simplicity, its pureness, energy, fecundity of meanings and expressions, notwithstanding its natural barrenness of words; over and above its great affinity to all the antient tongues mentioned in the last note, and which it seems to excel in all these particulars. To this may also be added the significancy of the names both of men and brutes, the latter of which are generally allowed to express their nature and properties in this, more than in any other known tongue; not to insist

P Vide vol. i. p. 348.

(Q) Here we do willingly give up the conceit of some antient fathers (1), who, from the words of the psalmist (2), *when he (Israel) came out of Egypt, and heard a language which he knew not*, have imagined, that to the many favours which GOD shewed to that people at their deliverance out of *Egypt*, he added this one, of inspiring them with an immediate knowlege of that sacred tongue. As to what is farther urged in favour of it by some critics, that we find in it the greatest number of the aptest etymologies and roots, both of men and things, the same has been also urged in favour of the *Chaldee* and *Sy-*

riac, Arabic, Ethiopic, Armenian, and almost of every eastern tongue; and we need not wonder much at it, since it is no more than what a *Flemish* antiquary has endeavoured to do with respect to his own native one (3), from a considerable number of etymologies of primitive names, as of *Adam* from *Haas-dam*, *Eve* from *Ev-vat*, *Abel* from *Haas-belg*, *Cain* from *Quaat-ende*, and many others, which are so forced and unapposite, that one would have rather taken it as a burlesque upon etymologists, than for a serious piece, had he not been at such pains to tell his readers, that he was in very good earnest.

(1) *Origen. lib. iii. cont. Cels. Gregor. Nyssen. orat. 12. cont. Eunom. Theodoret. quæst. 61. in Gen. & al.* (2) *Psal. lxxxii. 5.* (3) *Gorop. Becan. origin. Antwerp. lib. v. pass.*

on the antiquity and venerableness of its writings above all others; all which seem to speak much more in favour of this than of any other language. From all this we may reasonably conclude, that, if we could know it, as it was in *Moses's* time, we might find still greater arguments on its side (R).

BUT, as far as we understand, and are able to judge of it at this great distance, and from those few books we have left of it, this will hardly be contested; that its genius *Idiom and* is pure, primitive, natural, and exactly conformable to the *genius*. native simplicity of the *Hebrew* patriarchs; its words are concise, yet expressive; derived from a small number of roots, yet without the studied composition of the *Greek* and *Roman*. It has the happiest and richest fecundity in its verbs of any tongue, either antient or modern; which arises from the variety and significancy of its conjugations, some of which even imply a whole phrase, and cannot be well expressed in any other without paraphrasing (S).

IT

(R) It must be owned, however, that several learned critics have observed some defects in it, as we have it now in the sacred books, which plainly shew, that if it was the original tongue, and the parent of the rest, it must have suffered many changes, such as the losing a great number of its primitive roots and idioms, and adopting those of strange nations (4). Of this number are generally allowed all roots that have above three letters, besides very many scriptural words, whose roots are intirely lost. However, this is plain from the books we have still extant, that from *Moses's* time to the *Babylonish* captivity it continued the same, without any visible improvement, or indeed without any change, either for the better or for the worse.

(S) Thus, for instance, to love, to be loved, to love vehemently, to be loved vehemently, to be made to love, or to be loved, and to love one's self, are expressed by the same verb with a small variation; in some, only of the points, and in others, of one or at most two letters. Thus, again, the change of conjugation doth make a verb express a contrary sense or action, as to bless and curse, honour and dishonour, to root in, or cause to take root, and to root out utterly. Pronouns and prepositions are only single letters, put the former at the end, and the latter at the beginning of a word. The grammar is simple, easy, and natural. There is no difference in their nouns, but what is absolutely necessary to express gender and number, and their cases are distinguished

(4) *Vide Grot. de verit. rel. Cbr. not. 16, & seqq. & comm. in Gen. ix. Hist. demonstr. evang. Genebr. Cluver. Horn. Capel. & al. mult.*

*Chara-
cter.*

It is indeed far otherwise with their way of writing, though we should allow it equally easy and natural to write from the right to the left as they did, or from the left to the right, as the *Greeks, Romans*, and moderns, do ; for whether we take it to have been the same with the present character, in which we have the sacred books, which yet is universally now allowed to have been the old *Assyrian*, but introduced only since the *Babylonish* captivity ; or whether we take it to have been the old *Samaritan*, which has been preserved only in some few medals, and in the *Samaritan* pentateuch, which is now the most received opinion ; sure it is, that the former seems rather to have been contrived for beauty than expedition, whilst the last is the farthest from either, and is perhaps the most uncouth and unnatural, the most puzzling and unsightly, that ever was invented ; infomuch that it is scarcely credible, that so judicious a person, as *Moses* was, would ever have made use of it, if he had known of any better being extant at that time. This the reader will best judge of by the alphabet following ; by which he will see sufficient reason to justify *Ezra*, and those who changed it for the more elegant and commodious *Assyrian*, if they did really so, and the *Samaritan* was indeed the old one.

The

by articles, which are only single letters at the beginning of the word. The same simplicity runs through all the moods and tenses of their verbs, and indeed throughout their syntax and concordance. Their words follow one another in an easy and natural order, without intricacy or transposition, without suspending or clogging the sense by long-winded periods, so that their style could not but be extremely free and clear, whilst it continued a living tongue ; and, if in some cases it appears otherwise to us at this great distance, it is owing either to its frequent allusions to customs and things then universally understood, and since lost, or to our being in the

dark about the true meaning of a great number of words, and proper idioms, which we are forced to seek for in the *Chaldee* and *Arabic*, tho' often without success, and seldom with any tolerable certainty of having found the right one. Some of their manners of speaking there are likewise, which seem to us flat and uncouth, which will, upon due examination, appear not only the most natural and exact, but argue, perhaps, a clearer and more solid judgment in those that used them. Of this nature is their introducing persons, in their narrations, speaking their own words, instead of affecting to repeat them in their name ; it is, for instance, the common stile of

The HEBREW ALPHABET.

Samaritan.	Chaldee.	Names.	Power.	Numbers.	Final.
א	א	1 <i>Aleph</i>	<i>Aspiration</i>	1	
ב	ב	2 <i>Beth</i>	<i>B</i>	2	
ג	ג	3 <i>Gimel</i>	<i>G</i>	3	
ד	ד	4 <i>Daletb</i>	<i>D</i>	4	
ה	ה	5 <i>He</i>	<i>H</i>	5	
ו	ו	6 <i>Vau</i>	<i>V</i>	6	
ז	ז	7 <i>Zain</i>	<i>Z</i>	7	
ח	ח	8 <i>Cheth</i>	<i>Ch</i>	8	
ט	ט	9 <i>Teth</i>	<i>T th</i>	9	
י	י	10 <i>Iod</i>	<i>I j y</i>	10	
כ	כ	11 <i>Capb</i>	<i>K</i>	20	⌈ 500
ל	ל	12 <i>Lamed</i>	<i>L</i>	30	
מ	מ	13 <i>Mem</i>	<i>M</i>	40	⌈ 600
נ	נ	14 <i>Nun</i>	<i>N</i>	50	⌈ 700
ס	ס	15 <i>Samek</i>	<i>S</i>	60	
ע	ע	16 <i>Ain</i>	<i>H gh ngb</i>	70	
פ	פ	17 <i>Peh</i>	<i>P pb</i>	80	⌈ 800
צ	צ	18 <i>Tzade</i>	<i>T tz</i>	90	⌈ 900
ק	ק	19 <i>Coph</i>	<i>K</i>	100	⌈ 1000
ר	ר	20 <i>Resb</i>	<i>R</i>	200	
ש	ש	21 <i>Shin</i>	<i>Sh f</i>	300	
ת	ת	22 <i>Tau</i>	<i>T th</i>	400	

THAT

the divine writers to express themselves thus; *And God said to Abraham, I am thy shield, and thy exceeding great reward, instead of, God told Abraham, that he was his shield. And Abraham said, O that Ishmael might live! instead of, he intreated God for Ishmael's life.* This, every one knows, is the constant language of all the writers of the Old Testament; but, whether or no it will be allowed to be the most natural and ex-

act way of writing, it cannot be denied to be a certain mark of the most antient simplicity, which we cannot say doth run with the like constancy and pureness through the *Chaldee*, much less in the *Syriac*, *Arabic*, and other antient tongues; so that upon all these accounts the *Hebrew* seems to bid fairest for being the parent of the rest. The *Chaldee* bears a great affinity to it, but seems to have been so emasculated, that we cannot but look upon

How
known.

THAT this is the exact number and order of their letters, is demonstrable from those acrostic pieces, both in the psalms and elsewhere, whose every half or whole verse, or every other verse, begins with one of these letters successively, as we mentioned it under the last article. It is likewise universally agreed, that the *Samaritan* letters are either the same, or very near so, with the old *Phœnician*. This we have hinted already^r; and it is far from improbable, that the old *Egyptian* was also very like it^s; so that *Moses, who was learned in all the wisdom of Egypt*, might write his laws in that character.

Whence.

Sir *Isaac Newton* indeed thinks, that he had it from the *Midianites*^t; and we have, in more places than one of this history, concluded it highly probable, that not only they, but all their trading neighbours, had the art of writing very early^u, though it be not possible to determine whether each nation had a peculiar one of their own, or the same in common to them all, much less to ascribe the invention of it to its true author (T).

How-

^r Vid. vol. ii. p. 33. ^s Vid. PLUTARCH. lib. de dæmon. Socrat. KIRCHER. VOSS. CAPEL. & al. mult. ^t Chronol. p. 210. ^u Vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 152. & alib.

it rather as a daughter than a mother to it. However, as nothing can be positively decided on either side, we shall only observe further, with respect to the *Hebrew*, that it is, of all others, the most concise, masculine, pathetic, and freest from lightness and bombast; upon which accounts a judicious author says of it, that it comes nearest to the language of spirits, who stand in no need of words to convey their minds to one another (27).

(T) Were the *Sabeans* to be relied upon, we should not be long to seek for the first inventor of writing and letters,

since they produce a book which they pretend to have been written by *Adam*, the character of which, tho' different from all others (28), might have given the hint to those alphabets that have since been used. But as their authority weighs but little in this point, others have attributed it to *Seth*, upon the authority of *Josephus*, who tells us, that he caused his astronomical discoveries to be engraven upon two pillars, designed to continue proof, one against the flood, and the other against the conflagration (29); others to *Enoch*, because St. *Jude* quotes a prophecy of his (30),

(27) *Fleury mœurs des Israélites*, cb. 20. See also *Bellarmino's preface to his Hebrew grammar*, &c.

(28) *Herbelot. bibliot. orient.* p. 726.

(29) *Ant. l. i. c. 3.*

(30) *Epist. Jud. ver. 14.*

which

HOWEVER, though it be now the most received opi-
 tion, that the *Samaritan* was the antient *Hebrew* charac-
 ter, yet it has been strenuously opposed by several learned
 men ^u. The *Talmudists* not only suppose the contrary all
 along, but have declared themselves for the *Chaldee* charac-
 ters even in that place, where they have been quoted for
 the opposite opinion ^w (V); and there seems to have run
 an

^u HOTTING. cont. MORIN. POSTEL. BUXTORF. jun. & al.

^w Tract. fanhedr. ap. Walt. prolegom.

which they think must have been handed down in writing, tho' much more probably by tradition; others again to *Noah*, and to *Abraham*; but the far greatest part of both *Jews* and *Christians*, antient and modern, to *Moses*, whom very many think to be the same with the *Egyptian Thought* or *Hermes*, mentioned in the history of that nation (31). Among these last, some believe that the first writing was that upon the two tables; and that, consequently, God did first shew it unto *Moses*, who taught it to *Aaron*, *Joshua*, and the 70 elders. Most of the *Jews* are of the same opinion, and some of them add, that there was an alphabet engraven also upon the tables, along the margin, in order to teach him, and his people, the way of reading the decalogue. But the reverse of all this seems implied in the account which that lawgiver has left of his receiving those tables: he says, indeed, that they were written by the finger, or, as the phrase implies, by the order

and direction of God; but he hints nothing like his being taught to read them, or his instructing others; much less that such a way of writing was taught him by God himself, and till then unknown to the world; which circumstance he can hardly be supposed to have omitted, had that been the case. The reader may see this point now more learnedly discussed in a late treatise on that subject, to which we must refer him, for fear of digressing beyond our limit (32).

(V) The miraculous power by which they affirm the middle of the \square and \square to have been supported, in the two tables which *Moses* brought from the mount, and which they pretend were engraven quite thro' the stones, doth plainly shew, that they did not mean the *Samaritan*, but *Chaldee*; because, in the former, the \square *mem* hath nothing in its figure that required such a supernatural support. As to the passage quoted out of the *Talmud* by *Walton*, and those that have followed him, in fa-

(31) Ita rabbin. fer. omn. *Artaphan. Eupolem.* Vide sup. vol. i. p. 505, & alib. pass. Vide & *Artaph.* & *Eupolem.* ap. *Euseb. præp. lib. ix. c. 17, 18.* Rabbin. fer. omn. *Lud. Vives comm. in S. August. de civit. Dei, lib. xviii. c. 29.* *Grot. not. in verit. rel. Cbr. Huet. demonstr. evang. Gale court of the gentil. p. 26.* & al. innumer. (32) See *Winder hist. of knowlege, part ii. ch. i. & seqq.*

an univerfal consent to them through all their fucceffors ever fince. Among thofe of the Chriftians, who have declared themfelves on that fide, one * has taken an unfpeakable deal of pains, to prove the *Chaldee* character to be the genuine alphabet of nature, becaufe no letter can be rightly founded, without difpofing the organs of fpeech into an uniform pofition with the figure of that letter.

THE misfortune is, that all his fine reafoning, and whatever elfe is urged by others on that fide of the queftion, is intirely overthrown by one fact, if authentic, produced for

* F. M. B. Van HELMONT alphabet. natur.

vour of the *Samaritan* againft the *Chaldee*, or, as that place calls it, the *Affyrian* letters, if thofe authors had but had the patience to have read a little further, they would have found feveral answers to it, which, tho' neither definitive nor fatisfactory, yet plainly fhew, that the compilers were of a quite different opinion, We fhall not trouble the reader with the whole paffage, but only fubjoin the moft material things they answer in favour of the *Chaldee*; the firft of which is to this purpofe, We have ftill our columns, and our vau (intimating thereby the likenefs of the ν to a column with its chapter, fuch as its name implies in the *Hebrew*;) whereas the *Samaritan* vau has nothing in its figure that bears the leaft refemblance to it. The next answer is, that it is faid in the book of *Eftber* (33), that *Mordecai* wrote unto all the

nations, according to their writing and language, and to the *Jews* alfo, according to their language and writing; which laft, it is there urged, would have been needlefs, if the prefent *Hebrew* had been the old *Affyrian* character, and the *Jews* had already adopted it, inftead of the old *Samaritan*, or any other. To this is fubjoined a further queftion, or objection, Why then are thofe characters called אַשְׁרִים *afbrim*? to which the answer given is; From the *afbrim* or *beatitudes* contained in it, meaning, in the facred books written in that character.

We beg leave to obferve here, that we are not vindicating the answers of the *Talmudifts*, which muft ftand or fall according to their worth; but only fhew how lightly they have been quoted on that fide the queftion, which they have moft plainly declared themfelves againft.

(33) *Eftber* viii. 9.

C. VII. *to the Babylonish Captivity.*

the other side; namely, that of the old *Jewish* shekel here annexed, which is inscribed on the one side, THE SHE-



KEL OF ISRAEL; and, on the reverse, JERUSALEM THE HOLY; not only in this *Samaritan* character, but, as there is some reason to suppose, in the *Jerusalaimic* dialect (X). We have referred the further particulars

(X) Some of these shekels were in the possession of *Maimonides*, and *rabbi Azarias*, among the *Jews*; and of *Morinus*, *Montanus*, *Villalpandus*, and others, among the *Christians*. The mark on the one side is supposed to have been

Aaron's miraculous rod budding forth almonds; and, on the other, the pot of manna. The letters over this last, not being plain enough, are variously conjectured to stand for the name of God, of *Israel*, *David*, *Jerusalem*, and the like; as

particulars of this coin, and its inscriptions, to the last note; and only observe here, that, by the name of *Israel* in the first, could not be meant the ten revolted tribes,

for the inscriptions round those two sides, 'bating a small variation of the character and spelling between those extant coins, they plainly answer to these in the modern *Hebrew*; on the one side שקל ישראל *shekel Israel*; and, on the reverse, ירושלים הקדושה, or *Jerusalaim hakadoshab*, Jerusalem the holy (33).

Thus then the argument in favour of the *Samaritan* characters seems to amount to a demonstration. We can see but two things that can be objected against it with any colour of reason; the first is, that, considering the notorious cheats which have been imposed upon the world, with respect to coins and medals, we should be well assured of the genuineness of these, before we venture to decide in so weighty a point. The next is, that, allowing them to be genuine, and to have been coined before the revolt of the ten tribes, which is more than probable from what we have observed above of one side's being inscribed the *shekel of Israel*, yet they may as likely have been the tribute-money which either the *Samaritans*, or some of the *Canaanitish* nations, paid either to *David*, *Solomon*, or to some of his successors. What gives this latter a greater face of probability is, the difference of character and spelling between those coins; and which cannot

be so well accounted for, if we suppose them to have belonged to a single people, especially that of *Israel*. But if the several nations of *Canaan*, for instance, were obliged to stamp these inscriptions on their tribute-money, in token of their subjection to the *Hebrews*, we shall not be to seek for the reason of this difference. Now such an exaction is so far from improbable, that we find it has been practised afterwards, by several conquerors, upon the people they subdued; and we may have occasion to shew, in the sequel of this work, that some nations have even chosen to sacrifice their lives, rather than to comply with this one single mark of subjection. We pretend not to determine on either side; but, if we may be permitted to speak our thoughts concerning the *Samaritan* and *Pœnician* characters, it is plain, that as they were never calculated for ease and expedition, such as one might reasonably expect among those trading nations, but rather to conceal learning from the vulgar, as the *Egyptians* affected to do; so, if they were really older than *Moses*, and he chose to write his laws in them, preferably to any other that might then be in use, one can scarce suppose any other reason for it, than that of preserving an awful regard to them,

(33) *Vid. int. al. Walton. supplem. in prolegom. de ponder. p. 36. & 38.*

because

because they had nothing to do with *Jerusalem the holy*, which is on the reverse. There are also some pregnant proofs, that it could not belong to the *Samaritans* after the captivity; one of which, among the rest, is, that their hatred against the *Jews* was grown to such an height by that time, that they would have suffered any thing, rather than be forced to stamp such an inscription upon their coins.

THE reader may see the whole argument at length, in the authors quoted in the margin ^y; from which the *Samaritan* character is proved to have been the antient *Hebrew*, and not that which has been, and is still, used by the *Jews* and *Christians* under that name.

THESE characters, notwithstanding their great affinity to the old *Phœnician*, if they be not indeed the same with them, and the vast progress of this latter all over the world, would have been intirely lost, had it not been preserved to us in the *Samaritan* pentateuch; by the help of which, we have been able to decypher both the inscription of these shekels, which have given so great a light to this controversy, and of some other *Phœnician* medals, of no less use in other parts of antient history. But though we have had no copies of that book till within these 200 years (Y), and consequently no knowlege of those shekels till

some

^y MORIN, SIMON, CALMET, WHISTON, & al.

(Y) Archbishop *Usher* is the person, to whom we are beholden for the first copies that ever were brought into *Europe*; the frequent mention, which he met with of it in some of the authors quoted above, would not suffer him to be at rest, as he expresses himself (34), till he had procured five or six of them from *Syria* and *Palestine*, and had carefully examined them. What his observations, and those of other learned men, are concerning that book, is foreign to our purpose; the reader may consult the authors quoted in the margin about it (35). With respect to the cha-

acter itself, we shall not pretend to decide whether the *Phœnicians* had it from the *Hebrews*, or these from them. Sure it is, indeed, that *Moses* is the oldest writer we know of (36); but whoever considers the vast interval between the creation of the world, and the time in which he wrote, the great increase of mankind, their early commerce, arts, sciences, and the like, will hardly think the knowlege of letters to be so recent as that lawgiver's writings. It will be more reasonable to divide the honour of that invention, and its gradual improvements, among more na-

(34) *Epist. ad Lud. Capel.* (35) *Morin. dissert. Hotting. cont. Morin. F. Simon. hist. oritic. u. t. Sentiments de quelque theolog. de Holland. Prideaux connect. t. ii. l. vi.* (36) *Sæ Winder's hist. of learning, vol. ii. c. 1, & seqq.*

tions,

some time after, we must not think the *Samaritan* penta-teuch had been unknown till then, or that the *Chaldee* had passed till then for the original *Hebrew* character. On the contrary, we find the former often mentioned by some of the fathers, and other antient authors ^y, the greatest part of whom (especially of the fathers) were of opinion, that the *Jews* exchanged their old *Samaritan* for that more beautiful *Chaldee*, which is now in use with them, after their return from the *Babylonish* captivity, whilst the *Samaritan* chose to preserve the antient one. This opinion was likewise embraced by many modern critics, even before these *Samaritan* copies were brought into *Europe*, though by a far greater number since these additional testimonies have been brought to light. There has been, however, a third class, who have endeavoured to reconcile the difference, by affirming that the antient *Jews* had two sorts of characters, the sacred and the vulgar; the first of which they pretend was the *Chaldee* now in use, and the latter the *Samaritan* ^z: but, as they have given no reasonable proof for such a distinction, it has been justly rejected as chimerical; and indeed, if they had really had two such sorts of characters, one would rather have supposed the *Samaritan* to have been the sacred, for the reasons mentioned in a former note.

Their
points or
vowels.

It has likewise been a famous dispute among the learned, whether the *Hebrews* used any vowel-letters, or whether the points, which are now called by that name, were substituted instead of them; and, if the latter, whether they are as old as *Moses*, or invented by *Ezra*, or by the *Masorettes*. It is not our design to enter into that spacious field of controversy, which has exercised the wits of the most learned critics of the two last centuries, and is far from being, as yet, adjusted by those of the present. It will be sufficient, we hope, to acquaint our readers with the most received opinions upon those two heads, and to refer them, for further satisfaction, to the authors who

^y Vid. ORIG. hexapl. HIERON. in Ezek. & alib. EUSER. CÆSAR. TARSENS. CYRIL. ALEX. PROCOP. SYNCCELL. & al.
^z RR. AZARIAH AB. de BARTENOR. POSTEL, BUXTORF, CONTING. SGHAMBAT, & al.

tions, and perhaps more ages, than one; for, without all peradventure, had he known it to have been the invention of one man, especially of one of the patriarchs, he would not have failed recording him, as well as the inventors of music, forging, and such-like.

have

have treated on those subjects *ex professo*. As to the first, it is now the general opinion, that the *aleph, he, vau, iod,* and *ain,* did serve instead of vowels, though they were sometimes omitted, or, as the grammarians term it, understood, in their declensions and conjugations, and often varied in their sound, and had sometimes the power of consonants, as our *j* and *v*; but, for this, we refer our readers to the grammars of that tongue. Sure it is, that the *Samaritans* never admitted of any others, though they readily read their *Hebrew* pentateuch by the help of their *Samaritan* character. The same may be said of the *Chaldee, Syriac,* and *Arabic,* which last did not begin to use points till several centuries after CHRIST: nay, the *Jews* themselves never admitted them in their synagogues, no not even to this day. So that it is plain, notwithstanding the many objections that have been raised against it, that it may be, and is, easily read without those points, which seem only invented for the greater ease of learners, and to preserve the true pronounciation of that tongue. All that needs be added, with respect to their letters, is, that in the sacred books, as we have them now, some words have one letter bigger than the rest, others less, some at the beginning, some in the middle, and some at the end of a word; some are suspended, or stand higher in the line, and others are turned upside down (Z).

Not admitted by the Samaritans.

THE

(Z) We hope it will suffice to have just hinted these *Masoretic* observations, which are not worth dwelling longer upon, unless we could be satisfied both about the antiquity and design of these variations; which, for aught we know, may be owing to chance; and, if they were done with a design, yet would puzzle an *Oedipus* to find it out. However, thus much we thought needful to say about them, because an unwary reader might else be easily led to think, that these differences happened since the invention of printing, because such mistakes are apt to happen frequently in printed books; but it is plain they have been taken notice of,

a great many centuries before that art was thought on, and have been religiously conveyed down to us in the same form, both in the written volumes, such as they have always used in their synagogues, and in their printed books since the discovery of that art, as having been designedly so written by their inspired penmen, either to convey some extraordinary mystery, or to imply some excellence or commendation, if the letter be of the larger, or, if of the smaller kind, some diminution and contempt of the thing signified by the word in which they are placed; or at least to raise either a greater degree of attention to the subject,

of

Their antiquity and authority called in question.

THE antiquity and authority of the points is the next thing in dispute: *Jews* and *Christians* have been much divided, one part attributing them to *Moses*, and making them equally authentic with the text; and the other to *Ezra*, and the men of the great synagogue; till the famous *Elias Levita* ^a, a learned *German Jew*, who flourished at *Rome* about the middle of the sixteenth century, did make it appear, that they had never been in use till after the finishing of the *Talmud*, that is, according to him, about 500 years after *CHRIST*. His book soon raised him a cloud of adversaries, both of his own nation, and of *Christians*. Among the latter were the two *Buxtorfs*, who produced some cabbalistical books of great antiquity, at least boasted as such by the *Jews*, in which there was express mention of points (A). These were answered by *Capellus*,

^a ELI. LEVIT. præfat. 3. in *Masorath Hammafor*.

of which we have had occasion to give an instance under a former note (1).

As to the numbers which we have set over-against each letter, it must be observed, that they are those which the *Jews* have made use of, time out of mind; but, as to the divine penmen, they never made any use of them for numerical letters, but always wrote the numbers in words at length; which we the more willingly take notice of, because some chronologers, in imitation of the cabbalistical *Jews*, have pretended to find out and settle dates, and rectify epochas; as the latter pretend to find out the weight and measure of things, by the help of these numerical letters; and both *Jews*, and some cabbalistical *Christians*, to find out mysteries in them. Thus it is pretended, that the letter א, which signifies either 1 or

1000, occurs six times in the first verse of *Genesis*, to denote, that the world shall last just 6000 years in the condition it is now in, after which it is to be renewed. But all this is said without the least proof, that they were used to any such purpose, either by the inspired writers, or even by the antient *Jews*.

(A) These books are, the בְּהִיר *babir*, צֹהַר *zohar*, and the כּוֹזְרִי *kozri*. The first of these is pretended to have been written a little before our Saviour's time; and the second, which quotes and refers to it, not much above a century after. As for the *kozri*, the *Jews* will have it to be about 1000 years old, and to have been an account of a conference between a learned *Jew* and the king of *Chozroes*, in which the latter was converted to judaism (2).

(1) See before, p. 10. (H).
 & seqq. R. Azaria. c. 19. Buxtorf. Capel. Morin. Basnag. & al. vid.
 & R. Nietto. Cbofri II.

(2) De bis vid. lib. Juchasin, p. 42.
 & al. vid. & R. Nietto. Cbofri II.

Capellus, and other critics, till *Morinus*, having examined all that had been urged on both sides, wrote his learned dissertation on that subject, against which there has been nothing replied of any consequence; whereas his opinion has been universally applauded and confirmed by those that have come after. So that it plainly appears, that neither *Origen*, nor *St. Jerom*, nor even the compilers of the *Talmud*, which, according to him, was not finished till the seventh century, knew any thing of them; no, nor even any of the *Jewish* rabbies, that wrote during the eighth and ninth centuries. He adds, that the first footsteps he met of them were in the writings of the rabbies *Aaron Ben-Asher*, chief of the western, and of *Moses Ben-Naphthali*, chief of the eastern school; that is, about the middle of the tenth century. So that they can hardly be supposed older than the beginning of it^b (B).

AT

^b Vid. MORIN. dissert. biblic. CAPEL. arcan. punctat. & diatrib. VALTON. prolegom. DUPIN. VOSS. WASMUTH, & al. mult.

In these three books mention is made of points once or twice, and the latter has this expression about them; that they are the same to the letters, that cloaths are to a modest woman, who dares not be seen without them. Were the boasted antiquity of these books unquestionable, there would be an end at once of the argument; but the *Jews* fidelity in such things is too well known to be relied upon. However, what shews the imposture of them is, that there are things in them which must have been written about 1000 years after their supposed

date; and that none of those books have been quoted or mentioned, during that time, by any author. Other objections, urged by the *Buxtorfs*, and others, against the recentness of the points, the reader will find fully answered by *Morinus*, and the authors quoted after him, a little higher.

(B) We shall venture, however, to subjoin a short specimen of those points, for the sake of our *English* readers. They are reckoned fourteen in number; all of them, one or two excepted, placed under the letter, as follows:

Long points.	Semibriefs.	Quite briefs.
𐤀 <i>kamets</i> a	𐤁 <i>patach</i> a	𐤂 <i>sheva</i> e
𐤃 <i>tzere</i> e	𐤄 <i>segol</i> e	𐤅 <i>chateph-pattah</i> ě ĩ
𐤆 <i>chirick</i> i <i>gadol</i>	𐤇 <i>chirick</i> } i	𐤈 <i>chateph-segol</i> e ĩ
𐤉 <i>cholem</i> o	𐤊 <i>caton</i> }	𐤋 <i>chateph-cametz</i> ö
𐤌 <i>shureek</i> u	𐤍 <i>holem</i> o	
	𐤎 <i>kibbutz</i> u	

It

Likewise
the gram-
matical
and other
points.

AT the same time, these doctors set about inventing and fixing the grammatical points, the comma and full-stop,

It would be needless to dwell longer upon these, or to mention some differences among grammarians about them; for though the *Jews*, even those who believe them to be the invention of the *Massoretes*, look upon them to be of such authority, that nothing can be altered in them; yet the generality of Christians reject such a superstitious fear, and make no difficulty of departing from them, whenever a better sense may be obtained by a change of them; because it is plain, that their reading doth not exactly agree either with the Septuagint version, nor with that of *St. Jerom*, nor with their targums, nor with the *Chaldee* paraphrase, the most antient of all, nor with the interpretation of the antient rabbies; for which reason their punctuation has been as much suspected by some, as it has been cried up by others: so that, if we could suppose the points to have been as old as those antient versions, we must likewise suppose, that their books were differently pointed from those of the *Massoretes*. All that can therefore be said for these last is, that they have succeeded better in their punctuation than Christians could have done, because they had retained the true reading, at least for the most part, by constant tradition, which we should have had to seek for, by the bare help of those antient versions and paraphrases, not

without an immense deal of trouble. It is even plain, that they could not so much as agree among themselves about every particular word, though they did in the main; hence arose that difference of lection or punctuation, known by the critics by the names of *keri* and *ketib*.

This brings to our minds a story out of the *Talmud*, which, though not of any authority, serves to shew, that their reading was not fixed at that time. There *David* is introduced reproving his general for not utterly destroying the *Amalekites*, according to the command of God. *Joab* answers, that he had punctually done it, and rooted out the זכר *zakar*, or the males, and *David* tells him, that he ought to have rooted out the זכר *zeker*, the memory of *Amalek*: to which *Joab* replies, that he had been always taught to read it *zakar*, and not *zeker*. The reader must not, however, imagine, that these differences are considerable, or that they leave the sense of the Scripture undetermined. This is indeed objected by those who contend for the authenticity of the points; but is fully answered by the authors on the opposite side. This is certain, that though the points are a vast help both to the learners of *Hebrew*, and for a more ready way of reading it, yet, when men have made any considerable progress in that tongue,

stop, to divide the periods and verses, which till that time had lain confused and undistinguished, not only in the sacred, but in all the other *Hebrew* books (C). This has been also a very useful work to the world, tho' few Christian interpreters have thought it necessary to confine themselves to their divisions. On the contrary, there is scarce a modern version that doth not very reasonably depart from them, when a clearer sense, a parallel place, or the analogy of faith, can bear them out in it. And it is to be believed, that, if a new version was now to be made of the Old Testament, it would alter the punctuation of the *Massorettes* in a much greater number of places than the former have done (D). Notwithstanding which,

tongue, they not only can read it with ease without them, but even chuse to do so (36).

(C) An eminent critic assures us (37), that he had examined above 20000 *Hebrew* manuscripts of all sorts, and that he never met with any pointed that were above 600 years old; or, at least, if the books themselves were of older date, yet the points were manifestly added to them afterwards; and this he affirms equally of the grammatical and vowel-points. And he was so sure, that he had made all the necessary inquiry after them, that he defies all the advocates for the points to produce one that could disprove his assertion; which has never been done to this day, that we know of.

(D) This is not at all to be wondered at; the *Jews* were too tenacious of their old traditions, and had too wrong a bias in every thing that related to the religion and reign of the Messiah, to have suc-

ceeded thoroughly in such an undertaking, if their intentions had been ever so upright. But it is to be questioned, whether their fear of giving the Christians any advantage, has not cramped them more than all the rest, and made them sit down satisfied with a pointing, which left the text dark and intricate, rather than to give a better, which might be afterwards used against them.

To give one instance for all: it is plain, that by making but two periods of the 2d, 3d, and 4th verses of the cxth psalm, which is confessed on all hands to be prophetic of the Messiah's reign, they have so far murdered the sense of it, that no version has been able to translate it, without some needless and unwarrantable suppletives; whereas, had they divided it into three verses, and placed the full-stops where they ought to be, the sense would have been clear, easy, and exactly agreeable to the prophecy con-

(36) *Vid. method of learning Hebrew without points.* (37) *Ij. Voss. de LXXVII. interpret. transl. c. 30.*

Massoretic observations, of what use.

which, it must be owned, that their labour, in these two respects, has proved very serviceable to the learned; and

tained in it. But perhaps this is what they carefully avoided. The reason of it will appear by what follows. And, as no version has as yet rectified it, we shall take the liberty to

subjoin the literal translation of those three verses, according to their and our punctuation, that our readers may see which ought to be preferred.

According to the Massoretic.

2 The LORD shall send the rod of thy power out of *Sion*; be thou ruler in the midst of thine enemies.

3 Thy free-will people, in the day of thy power, in the beauty of holiness; from the womb of the morning is the dew of thy birth.

According to our punctuation.

2 The LORD shall send the rod of thy power out of *Sion*.

3 Rule thou, in the midst of thine enemies, thy free-will people, in the day of thy power, in the beauty of holiness.

4 From the womb of the morning is the dew of thy birth.

In the first of these the reader will see, that the placing the full-point after enemies strikes off the next words, *thy free-will people*, from being either the accusative of the verb רָדַד *reded*, rule thou, going before, or from having any connection with what comes after. So that those words stand so ungrammatically there by themselves, that, to make sense of the verse, most versions have been forced to make it the nominative of a verb which they have substituted to it of their own. Thus one of our versions, that in our Common-prayer book, words it thus; In the day of thy power shall the people offer free-will offerings; where the words *shall offer* are added to make up the sense, and the order inverted, by placing the words, *in the day of thy power*, before them,

contrary to the *Hebrews*. That in our Bible is still wider from the original, though it substitutes less, as the reader may see by comparing it with ours here, which is exactly literal and plain. According, therefore, to this pointing, the verses in question may be fairly commented as follows:

2 The LORD shall send the rod, or sceptre, of thy power out of *Sion*, that is, out of the tribe of *Judah*. Compare *Gen.* xlix. 10, and *ps.* lxxviii. 68.

3 Rule thou over *thy free-will people* (for none but such are fit to be CHRIST's subjects; see *Matth.* xi. 29.), in the midst of thine enemies (*Jews and Heathens*, or, in a spiritual sense, the world, the flesh, and the devil), in the day of thy power (that is, when all power shall be given him, both in heaven and earth, *Matthew* xxviii.

and that they have made the knowlege of the sacred books much easier and expeditious than it could have been without it. Their other productions, tho' equally laborious, are of a more trifling nature; they invented a great variety of other points, some rhetorical, some musical, and others critical; the former of which were designed to keep up the right cadence and chant of the *Hebrew*, and the latter to fix the sense of ambiguous places in their own way; all which grew as various, numerous, and intricate, as they were indeed useles, and in some cases ridiculous. From these they set themselves about numbering the verses, and even letters, and middle verses of every book; and to set down how often every letter of the alphabet occurs in each book. And as the design of all this labour was to prevent any mistakes, additions, omissions, or alterations, creeping into the text; so it plainly intimates, that they were conscious of its having done so before; and that, notwithstanding all their pretended care and scrupulous exactness in transcribing them, they had not been able altogether to avoid some such mischances.

THE materials they wrote upon, as well as the instrument they wrote with, may, in some measure, be gathered from some places of scripture. As to the former, it is plain, that their first writing, namely the *decalogue*, was upon tables of stone. But it is likely, that *Moses* made use of a less heavy and cumbersome material to write the rest of his laws upon, such as the *shittim*, or some other hard wood. This way of writing upon tables was still in use, not only in *Isaiab's* days^c, but even continued so till our Saviour's time^d. But, besides these, we find frequent mention made in *Job*, the *Psalms*, and in the prophets, of their writing upon rolls^e, which are reasonably supposed to have been made of skins, or of some pliable matter, fit to roll up or round; for so the original word imports (F). And we have the testimonies

^c *Isai.* xxx. 8. ^d *Luke* i. 63. ^e *Job* xxxi. 35,
36. *Pf.* xl. 7. *Isai.* viii. 1. *Jerem.* xxxvi. 4. *Ezek.* ii. 9.
iii. 1, & seq. *Zechar.* v. 2.

xxviii. 18.), in the beauties of holiness (which is the peculiar characteristic of CHRIST'S reign, and of his religion).

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(F) מגלה *megilah* comes from גלל *gallal*, which signifies to roll up, as *volumen* from *volvo*; answerable to which, Q the

of *Herodotus* ^f, and *Diodorus Siculus* ^g, that the *Ionians* and *Persians* used the skins of sheep and goats to write upon, long enough before king *Pergamus*'s time, who is rather therefore to be looked upon as an improver than the inventor of parchment ^h. These rolls differed in the size, according to the subject they contained, and the character in which it was written; so that some of them had several skins sewed to one another lengthwise. The *Jews* retain them to this day in their synagogues. The lines were not continued through the whole length of the skin, much less of the roll, but were conveniently divided into columns. This is what is meant by what our version renders leaves, in that place of *Jeremiah* ⁱ, where the king cut the roll in pieces, after they had read three or four pages of it (G). Of this sort, we suppose, was also the book of the law, which the high-priest found in *Josiah*'s time ^k (H).

WE do not find, that they had any schools, or colleges, for the instruction of their youth, if we except those of the prophets, which were of a different nature, as we

^f Lib. v. ^g Lib. ii. ^h See Voss. orig. & lib. de
grammat. cap. xxxviii. ⁱ Jerem. xxxvi. 23. ^k 2 Kings
xxii. 8.

the evangelist (39) makes use of the words *πύξας* and *ἀναπύξας*, for the opening and shutting of the book.

(G) The word is *דלתות* *daltot*, which properly signifies doors; and here pages or columns, from their likeness to a door. A leaf of a book doth, indeed, bear the same resemblance, but cannot properly belong to such rolls as we are speaking of.

(H) Hence we conclude they used two sorts of instruments; the first of steel, or some hard metal, for engraving upon stone and wood; one side of which was sharp-pointed, and the other blunt and smooth, and

served either to smooth or erase what had been written. Hence the *Latin* proverb, *vertere stylum*. This kind of instrument we find mentioned in some places of Scripture (40), tho' not described, but guessed at, from those which were used by other nations. The other sort was for writing upon the skins of beasts; but how it was made, whether like our pens, pencils, or some other way, we cannot conjecture; only we read of a pen-knife, or, as the original has it, a scribe or writer's knife, with which king *Jeboiakim* cut the roll which was sent him by *Jeremiah*.

(39) *Luke* iv. 17, 20.

(40) *Job* xix. 24. *Psal.* xlv. 2, & *alib.*

shall shew by-and-by. They have not so much as a word to express them (I) : and, if we consider their manner of education and life, we shall find no great use for them. They bred up their sons to bodily exercises, such as would best fit them, either for war or husbandry ; and their daughters to household occupations, without troubling themselves much about cultivating their minds, farther than to instruct them in the knowlege of their religion and laws ; and this was the province of the parents, chiefly on the sabbath (K).

ALL

(I) The Jews, however, to wipe off this imputation, have coined two names for their schools, of which there is no mention in the sacred books, namely, the בית מוסר *beth mussar*, which signifies the house of instruction, or an inferior school for reading and writing ; and the בית מדרש *beth midrash*, or house of inquiry or expounding, whether they went to be instructed in the weightier matters of religion, or rather in the rabbinic subtilties. But tho' it be visible, that these are of more recent date, namely, after the *Babylonish* captivity, yet they affirm the former to have been kept by the tribe of *Simeon*, and the latter by that of *Levi* ; which they infer from *Jacob's* prophecy of the dispersion of those two tribes in *Israel* (41). So that, having no inheritance, they were obliged to keep schools for a livelihood (42). Agreeably to this notion (for it is plain, that *Simeon* had a portion with the rest (43), tho' too small for it), they interpret

the words of the psalmist, *passing through the valley of Bacca, use it for a well ; and the rain filleth the pool* (44) ; of these wells of learning : and it was a common phrase with them, Master, we come to drink waters from thy well ; instead of, We come to be thy scholars or disciples (45). And thus also the words in the next verse, *they go from strength to strength*, they understood, of raising from one class to the other. These are, according to them, the מועדי אל *mohad El*, houses of God ; or, as our version more truly renders it, the synagogues, which the psalmist said were destroyed by the king of *Babylon* (46). So that, upon the whole, we have not any grounds from Scripture for any such schools.

(K) They had, indeed, rather an aversion than curiosity for foreign languages ; and he that could speak and write his own well, or at least as well as his neighbours, thought himself sufficiently learned ; and, for these, custom served

(41) Gen. xlix. 7.

& al. in Gen. xlix. 7.

(44) Pf. lxxxiv. 6, 7.

Midrash in pf. lxxxiv. 8.

(42) Targ. Hierosol. Rab. Rasch. Sal. Jarch.

(43) Vide Job. xix. 1. and vol. ii. p. 484. & seqq.

(45) Vide Gemar. tr. גיגין, fol. 3. &

(46) Pf. lxxxiv. 8. Vid. Midr. in loc.

Morality, whence. ALL that related to religion and morality, was contained in the *Mosaic* books, and interspersed in the others; but,

them instead of grammar. History, further than they found it in their sacred books, they thought beneath their care, because they found, in these, all that they esteemed worth knowing; the creation of the world, the flood, the origin and dispersion of nations, and, what concerned them most, their own history and descent from *Abraham*, their affinity to other branches of his posterity, the *Egyptian* bondage and deliverance, and, in a word, all that wonderful series of transactions which had happened to their nation; in all which God had shewed such peculiar regard to them, that it is no wonder, if we find them so full of themselves, and so prone to despise all the rest of the world. Besides the *Pentateuch*, and the histories of *Joshua*, of their judges and kings, which they thought themselves obliged to be versed in, they had also several others, which have been lost since; such as the book of the wars of the LORD, that of *Jasher*, and especially the book of the *Kings*, and the *Chronicles* of the kings of *Judah* and *Israel*, to which those we have extant continually refer: but these last were not perhaps so universally studied, but fell only to the lot of princes and politicians.

If it be asked, who were the authors of those books, it

is plain, that the former were written by the historians or recorders of every reign, who were appointed to that office by the kings themselves. But who were the writers of the latter, is not so easily agreed: for as, on the one hand, the historians mentioning every transaction, as done in their time, has induced many of the learned to suppose, that they were written at several times, and by several inspired penmen cotemporary with them, such as *Samuel*, *Gad*, *Nathan*, *Isaiab*, *Jeremiah*, and others; so, on the other side, the seeming uniformity of style, thro' all those books, makes that notion seem very improbable, and several expressions interspersed in them, impossible. Thus it is said, in the beginning of the book of *Samuel*, that the word of God was precious, or scarce, in those days (50); and that it was then the custom, to call a prophet a seer, and to inquire for him by that name (51). These, and several others in the same style, seem, at least, to intimate, that it was otherwise when the books were written. Thus it is also said in another place of the same book, that, in the author's time, the name of *Bethel*, or *house of God*, was turned into that of *Bethaven*, or the *house of wickedness*; which did not happen till after

(50) 1 Sam. iii. 1.

(51) Ibid. ix. 9.

but, besides these, they had the *Psalms*, the *Proverbs*, and *Ecclesiastes*, with many other writings of *Solomon*, a great part of which are likewise lost; to say nothing of *Job* and the *Prophets*. All these they were to be instructed in, even from their infancy; they heard them expounded on the sabbath, and other festivals, by the *Prophets* and *Levites*, and in them they found such a dreadful account of the theology of other nations, that we can-Contempt not suppose them to have had the least curiosity to know of secular more of it. And indeed their lawgiver knew but too learning, well, how dangerous such knowledge would have been to a people so easy to be corrupted; and therefore wisely ordained, that their children should be instructed only in such truths, as were proper to inspire them with an awful regard to God and his laws, and with the love of virtue; whilst he forbade them, almost upon all occasions, to be inquisitive after the religion and learning of other nations (L).

THE

Jeroboam's revolt (52). These, and many more which we omit, make it very probable, that they were not written by cotemporary authors.

To reconcile these, it is generally believed, that the original authors of them were those inspired persons above-mentioned, who committed them to writing as they happened; but that all those pieces were afterwards collected into a regular history, either by *Ezra*, *Haggai*, or some of those prophets, who return'd from the captivity; and who, being alike inspired, might make such further additions as they thought proper, to illustrate their history; such as the change of names, customs, and the like, without derogating from their authority. Accordingly we find, that they

have been still constantly acknowledged by the *Jews*, to be of divine authority, and have been appealed to as such, by the writers of the gospel (53).

(L) This was most probably also the foundation of that extraordinary disregard they shewed for those useful arts and sciences, in which their neighbours had so long excelled. Arithmetic, being so necessary for the trading part, might indeed find some encouragement amongst them; and even this we offer more as a probable conjecture, than from any testimony; but, as for navigation, astronomy, and such-like, we find nothing in their history, but what assures us of their unskilfulness in them. The maritime tribes contented themselves with re-

(52) *Ibid.* xii. *pass.*
25. & seq. & *alib. pass.*

(53) *Vid. Matth.* xii. 3. & *al. Luc.* iv.

Measure- THE changing of the solar into the lunar year, and
ing of time. the complete month of 30 days into the irregular moons
of 29 and 30 days, mentioned under other heads; the
distinguishing of the days of the week (not by the seven
planets, of which they do not seem to have had any
knowledge, or so much as names for; but to have ranked
them, the two great luminaries excepted, among the fixed
stars; but) by 1st, 2d, 3d day, or 1st and 2d from the
sabbath; the division of the day and night, not into 12 equal
parts, as the *Egyptians* are thought to have done long before,
but the day into four parts, and the night into four
watches; these divisions of time, so very opposite to
that more perfect one of the *Egyptians*, and other neigh-
bouring nations, seem intirely calculated by their law-
giver, to prevent their applying themselves to the study of
astronomy, and thence falling insensibly into that of
astrology, and being thereby ensnared into the worship of
those heavenly bodies, after the example of other na-
tions (M). What instruments they had to reckon the
time

ceiving foreign merchants into
their harbours, without en-
deavouring to carry on their
commerce abroad; insomuch
that when *Solomon* resolved to
send some ships into foreign
countries, he was forced to
have them manned with fo-
reign sailors. And as for as-
tronomy, we need but call to
mind what has been said under
another head, of the poor
shifts they were drove to, to
find out their new moons (53),
to convince us of their profound
ignorance of it. We shall
only add, that they were so
far from knowing any thing of
eclipses, that they have not so
much as one upon record, or
indeed a name for it. They
probably looked upon them as
miraculous, and as tokens of
the divine anger, and so never

dived farther into the nature of
them. Perhaps also they were
led into this notion, by that
figurative expression in *Job*
(94), *he covers the light with*
his hands, and sets, as it were,
an interposer over it; for that
is the literal sense of the ori-
ginal, and of the version of the
Septuagint: agreeable to which
is that awful description of the
day of the LORD in *Joel* (55),
and of the downfall of *Egypt*,
and other nations, which we
meet with in the *Prophets*.

(M) It is no difficult mat-
ter to conceive, how those an-
cient nations came to worship
the planets, and heavenly
bodies, after they had once
imbibed the belief of their
having so considerable a share
in the government of all sub-
lunary things, and had ascribed

(53) See before, p. 33. (H).
31. iii. 15.

(54) *Job* xxxvi. 32. (55) *Cb.* ii. 10.

time by, whether the *Egyptian clepsydæ*, or water-glasses, or sun-dials, or any other, we cannot affirm, except

to every one their several influences, good or bad, and the particular periods, in which they ruled by turns. But how this notion came first into their heads, is not so easy to imagine; and yet that it must have begun very early, and was universally received by all the heathen world, will plainly appear, if we consider how ancient the division of the day and night into 24 hours is; and that the consecrating every day of the week to one of the seven planets, not in the regular order in which they stand in their system, ♄, ♃, ♁, ☉, ☽, ♀, ☿. but by skipping two of them every new day, could not be owing to any thing but an opinion, that every planet

ruled alternately the several hours of each day.

Thus, on *Saturday*, *Saturn*, the planet of that day being supposed to govern the 1. 8. 15. and 22 hours, whilst *Jupiter*, the next in order, governed the 2. 9. 16. and 23. ♁ the 3. 10. 17. and 24. the sun must of course govern the first hour of the next day; upon which account he became the planet of that day, and, having ruled the 1. 8. 15. and 22. *Venus* and *Mercury* the two remaining ones, brought in the *Moon* to be lady of the next, or of the *Monday*; and so of the rest, according to the following diagram.



Thus then it is plain, that this planetary division of the week was of astrological extraction; and that that of the days

into 24 parts was so likewise, tho' not equally demonstrable, can hardly be questioned, if we consider the great connection

except that we read of the sun-dial, or, as the original signifies, the stair-case, or flight of steps, of *Abaz*ⁿ: but, allowing it to have been a real and regular sun-dial, it may easily be supposed to have been rather the work of some foreign astronomer, than a common thing among them; that prince's character sufficiently shews, that he was not over-scrupulous of introducing new things of a much more dangerous nature, witness his new altar from *Damascus*^o. Besides, as they divided the day into four parts, the two first of which were from the sun-rising to its meridian, and the two last from noon to its setting, it was not difficult for them to make out the other division by such observations, either on his career, or on the shadow of any trees, houses, or even of their own bodies, as every ploughman with us is able to do to a much greater justness. The same might be done in the division of the four night-watches from the motion of the stars (N).

ON

ⁿ 2 Kings xx. 9, & seqq.^o Ibid. xvi. 10, & seqq.

nection which these two have one with another, and that the reputed author of this last, the *Egyptian Hermes*, surnamed *Trismegistus*, and cotemporary with *Moses*, if not the same person with him, was a great astrologer, as appears by some of his writings on that subject, still extant under his name.

(N) To seek for other sciences, or for schools or universities, among them, were like seeking them among the *Goths* and *Vandals*; they not only had an equal contempt for them, and for those nations that cultivated them, but looked upon them as dangerous and unlawful. Their zeal, or rather hatred, against them was so far from abating, after their return from *Babylon*, where

they had seen them flourish, that it rather grew into a kind of fury, infomuch that their large chronic, intituled *Juchasim*, hath recorded a sentence of anathema, which passed in the time of *Hyrchanus* and *Aristobulus*, against such as should suffer their children to be instructed in any part of the *Greek* learning. *Salomon*, indeed, we are told, was an excellent naturalist, and wrote a great deal upon that subject; but he was so far from recommending that study to others, that he calls his researches of that kind, *vanity and vexation of spirit*; or, as the original imports, a feeding upon the wind (12): which is probably the reason why, instead of following his example, they suffered all those excellent wri-

(12) *Eccles.* i, & seqq. pass.

ON the other hand, they were no less careful to cultivate the knowledge of religion among themselves: we cannot indeed be sure, that they had any synagogues before the captivity, tho' it be far from improbable, considering the great distance at which some of them lived from the temple, and that at best they were obliged to resort thither but thrice a year; but other places they had for prayer and instruction, namely, the schools of the prophets, to which they might repair on the sabbaths, new-moons, and other festivals ^q. By prophets we mean not those strictly so called, men endowed with the spirit of prophecy (O), but their disciples, or, as the Hebrew idiom words it, the sons of the prophets. The former were generally consulted by the kings, priests, and elders of the people, upon all extraordinary occasions, whether about religion or state-affairs ^r; and the latter were

^q Vide 2 Kings iv. 23. & sup. p. 33. ^r Vide 1 Kings xxii. 5, 7. 2 Kings xix. 2. 20, & seqq. Jerem. xxxvii. 3, & seq. Ezek. xiv. 1, & seq. & alib.

tings to be lost. Whilst they were thus averse to the learning of other nations, they were no less scrupulous of concealing their own from them, especially their sacred books; witness the grief they expressed when *Ptolemy* obtained a version of them into *Greek*, in memory of which they have kept a strict, even a double fast on the 8th and 9th days of the month *Thevet*, or *December*.

(O) The word prophet doth not always signify an inspired person, in the Old Testament, but often a preacher of righteousness, such as were all the patriarchs from *Seth*, or, in the sense of the gospel, such as believed and taught the coming of the *Messiah* (56);

in which sense also, those that preached him, and his doctrine, after his coming, are also called prophets, and their preaching prophecy (57). The same may be also said of those who sung the praises of God, or accompanied them with some musical instrument, as *Miriam* (58), the company of prophets that met *Saul* (59), and the sons of *Asaph*, of *Heman* and *Jeduthun*, who are said to have prophesied with harps, psalteries, and cymbals (60); tho' they were properly no other than musicians. The apostle gives the title of prophet even to the heathen poets (61); and hence comes that distinction in *St. Austin*, of *Jewish*, *Christian*, and *Heathen* prophets (62).

(56) *Luke* i. 70.

(58) *Exod.* xv. 20.

(61) *Tit.* i. 12.

(57) *Vide* 1 *Cor.* xi. 4. xiv. 24, 29. & seqq. & alibi.

(59) 1 *Sam.* x. 5.

(60) 1 *Chron.* xxv. 1.

(62) *Præfat. in lib. xix. cont. Faust.*

brought

brought up under them, and fitted for instructing the people in the way of virtue, and the worship of God.

Prophets. THESE had their habitations chiefly in the country; they lived in a kind of society among themselves, and had generally one or more of the prophets to be heads over them, and to whom they gave the title of father ^s. Their houses were but mean, and of their own building ^t. Their food was chiefly pottage made of herbs ^u; unless when the people sent some better fare to them, such as bread, parched corn, honey, dried fruits, and the like ^x. Their dress was plain and coarse, and tied about with a leathern girdle ^y; their wants, being so few, were easily supplied by their own hands; and as their views reached no further, so they limited their labour to that, that they might bestow the more time in prayer, study, and retirement. Riches were no temptation to them in such a state; and therefore *Elisha* not only refused *Naaman's* presents, but punished *Gebazi* in a severe manner, for having clandestinely obtained a small portion of them ^z. This laborious, recluse, and abstemious course of life, joined to their meanness of dress, gave them such a strange air, especially among the courtiers, that they looked upon them as no better than madmen ^a. Their extraordinary freedom, in reproving even princes for their wicked deeds, did likewise expose them frequently to persecutions, imprisonments, and sometimes to death; especially in the reigns of some wicked princes, such as *Ahab* and *Manasseh*; but, in the main, they were always respected by the better and wiser sort, even of the highest rank, and used with the utmost reverence and regard, both in language and behaviour ^b.

THIS is all that we know, concerning those religious communities, and their manner of life: those who have ventured to give us a further account of it, such as their living in perpetual celibacy, poverty, obedience, and the like, have spun it out of their own brain ^c. It is true, that we do not read of any women living amongst them; and that, when the *Shunammite* went to acquaint *Elisha*

^s 1 Sam. ix. 5, & seqq. 2 Kings vi. 1, & seq. ^t Ibid. ver. 2, 3, & 4. ^u Ibid. iv. 38, & seq. ^x 1 Kings xiv. 3, & seq. 2 Kings iv. 42, & alib. ^y Vide Zech. xiii. 4. 2 Kings i. 8. ^z 2 Kings v. pass. ^a Ibid. ii. 23. ix. 11. ^b 1 Kings xviii. 7, & seqq. 2 Kings i. 13. xiii. 14, & alib. ^c Vid. int. al. BOULDUK. eccl. ant. leg. CALM. sub voc. Prophet.

with

with the death of her son, he sent *Gebazi* to meet her, and that, when she would have fallen down at his master's feet, he offered to hinder her; but it is also certain, *Prophets and prophetesses* that several of the prophets were married, and had children, as *Samuel*, *Ifaiab*, whose wife is called a prophetess^d, *Ezekiel*^e, and *Hosea*^f, and it was the widow of one of the sons of the prophets, whose oil *Elisha* did miraculously multiply, to save her sons from being sold to the creditors of the deceased^g. The prophetesses were likewise married: *Deborah* was the wife of *Lapidoth*^h; and *Huldah*, whom king *Josiah* sent to consult, was the wife of *Sballum*; and she is observed (in the text) to have lived in the college of *Jerusalem*ⁱ. These inspired persons, whilst they continued in *Israel*, which was till the return from *Babylon*, being the surest expounders of the *Mosaic* law, proved such a strong fence against schism and heresy (that political one of *Jeroboam* excepted, against which they waged a continual war), that it could never get footing amongst them (P); whereas prophecy

Prophets and prophetesses married.

^d Ifai. viii. 3. ^e Ezek. xxiv. 18. ^f Hof. i. 2, & seqq. ^g 2 Kings iv. 1, & seqq. ^h Judg. iv. 4.
ⁱ 2 Kings xxii. 14, 15.

(P) We must not, however, pass by a distinction which the antient *Jews* have hammered out of the sacred writings, between the חסידים *hassidim*, called by the *Greek* and *Latin* writers *Affidei* (62), the צדיקים *tzadikim*, and רשבים *reshabim*. The words properly signify no more than *merciful, just, and wicked men*; and the assembly or company of the two former is often opposed to that of the latter, not as being different sects, but as persons of a different character. But the *Talmudists* have attributed some peculiar opinions to each of these, tho' they are not quite agreed, whether they related to spe-

culatation or practice. They give the preference to the *Hassidim* in both respects, as being the honestest interpreters and practisers of the law; and the *Pharisees* boast themselves sprung from them; tho' much more likely from the *Tzadikim*, which were an over-strict and scrupulous sect, pretending much to works of supererogation, to whom it is thought the advice of *Solomon* was directed, *Be not righteous overmuch* (63). These, however, are the tenets attributed to each of them, with respect to *meum* and *tuum* (64): The *Hassidim* said, What is mine is yours; the *Reshabim*, What is yours is mine; but the *Tzadi-*

(62) *Vide* 1 *Maccab.* vii. 12. (63) *Eccles.* vii. 16. (64) *Vide* *D. Kimchi* in *ps.* ciii. 17. *Bartenor. gloss.* in *pirke abb.* c. 2. 8. v. 10. *Wagensch. ad lib.* טו"ב, c. ix. 15.

kim;

no sooner ceased, than they split themselves into such a great variety of sects, and gave such a scope to their fertile fancies, that the *Talmudists* own, *Elias* himself would be at a loss to solve the subtle difficulties which they have raised against each other^k.

Their number. THESE prophets, the *Talmudists* reckon, from *Abraham* to *Malachi*, to the number of forty-eight, and six prophetesses (P). Several of the former are known to

us

^k Tract. Megillath.

kim, What is mine is mine, and what is yours is yours. To this the apostle seems to allude, when he says (65), that scarcely for a righteous man will one die, yet peradventure for a good man some would even dare to die, whilst CHRIST vouchsafed to die, even for the worst of the three, even for the wicked; where the *δικαιος* alludes to the *Tzadik*, or rigidly righteous, and *ἀγαθός* to the *Hassid*, or merciful man, as the wicked to the *Reshabim*. Whether that distinction likewise of our Saviour (66) between the good and the bad, the just and unjust, hath not probably an eye to this threefold sort of men, we leave to the reader.

(P) The prophetesses are *Miriam*, *Deborah*, *Hannah* (*Samuel's* mother), *Abigail*, *Huldab*, and *Esther*; some add the two *Egyptian* midwives to that number. As for the prophets, they are *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, *Moses*, *Aaron*, *Joshua*, *Phineas*, *Elkanah*, and his son *Samuel*, *Eli*, *Nathan*,

Gad, *Iddo*, *David*, *Solomon*, *Micajah* the son of *Imlah* (67), *Obadiab*, *Abijah* the *Shilonite* (68), *Jehu*, the son of *Hanani* (69), *Azariab* the son of *Obed* (70), *Abaziel* the son of *Mathaniah*, *Eliezer* the son of *Dodavab* (71), *Hosea*, *Amos*, *Micah*, *Amos* II. supposed the father of *Isaiab*, *Elijah*, *Elisha*, *Isaiab*, *Jonab*, *Nabum*, *Joel*, *Habakkuk*, *Zephaniab*, *Jeremiah*, *Uriah* the son of *Shemaiah* (72), *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, *Baruch*, *Neriah*, *Seraiah* his son, *Maasiab* his father (73), *Haggai*, *Zecbariah*, *Malachi*, *Mordecai*, *Shallum* the husband of *Huldab*, and *Hanameel*, *Jeremiah's* kinsman, of whom he bought a field (74).

Some add, that, when the father of any prophet is mentioned, he is also a prophet (75); as where *Jeremiah* is said to be the son of *Hilkiab*, *Hosea* the son of *Beri* (76), &c. and that, when the place of his nativity is not mentioned, he is supposed to have been of *Jerusalem* (77).

It is observable with respect

(65) *Rom.* v. 7, 8. (66) *Matt.* v. 45. (67) 1 *Kings* xxii. 8, & seq. (68) *Ibid.* xi. 29. (69) *Ibid.* xvi. 1. (70) 2 *Chron.* xv. 1. (71) *Ibid.* xx. ult. (72) *Jerem.* xxvi. 20, & seq. (73) *Ibid.* li. 59. (74) *Ibid.* xxxii. 7, & seq. *De his prophet. vid. sedar olam minor.* (75) *Vide Kimcb. in Hof. i.* (76) *Jer.* & *Hof. i. 1.* (77) *Kimcb. ibid.*

us by nothing but their names; as for the rest of them, we shall defer the farther account of their actions, writings, and character, till we come to the history of those kings, in whose reigns they lived, and with which they have an immediate relation. The ways by which GOD *How inspired.* revealed himself to them were various; to some he appeared and spoke, either in a human, or some other visible form, as he did to *Abraham* and *Moses*; to others by voice only, as to *Samuel*, *Jeremiah*, *Hosea*, and others¹; sometimes by visions, as he did to *Isaiab*, *Eze-*

¹ 1 Sam. iii. 4, & seqq. Jerem. i. 4, & seqq. & alib. Hof. i. 2.

to *Daniel*, that though the *Jews* allow him a rank among the other prophets, yet they will not admit his writings amongst those of the other prophets, but only among the *hagiographa*, which they look upon as of the least authority of all the canonical books. The reasons they give for it are, 1. That *Daniel* was a courtier, and spent his life in luxury and grandeur in the service of an uncircumcised king. 2. That the spirit of prophecy was confined to the land of *Canaan*, out of which he lived all his life. To these some have added a third, namely, that he had been made an eunuch, according to *Isaiab's* prophecy to *Hezekiab* (78); and that such were excluded from entering into the congregation of the LORD (79). Some learned *Jews* have indeed vindicated him from this last imputation (80); but their *gemarrab* doth cast still a much more injurious reflection upon

him; namely, that he stole away privately into *Egypt* to buy hogs, whilst *Nebuchadnezzar* was setting up his golden image, and his three friends *Shadrach*, *Mesbech*, and *Abednego*, were condemned to the flames for refusing to worship it (81). But it is plain, that all this rancour springs from the great use, which the *Christians* have since made of his writings against them, in spite of the noble character which *Ezekiel* gives him, when he mentions him with *Noah* and *Job* (82). Even *Josephus*, tho' he allows him to have been a complete politician, is so far from denying him the title of prophet, that he doth even give him the preference to the rest, in several respects (83). But the rest of the *Jews* have thrown his prophecies into the ספר כתובים *sepher ketubim*, or *hagiographa*, among those of *Job*, *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, &c. (84).

(78) 2 Kings xx. 18. (79) Deut. xxiii. 1. (80) Vid. *Abenezr. in Dan.* (81) *Troctat. sanbedr.* (82) Ezek. xiv. 14. 18. 20. (83) *Ant. l. x. c. 12.* (84) Vid. *Hieron. præfat. in Isai. Maim. more nwoch. p. 2. Græc. præfat. in Isai. Munster. Bund. & al.*

kiel, Daniel, and others^m; at other times by dreamsⁿ: but the most usual and general way was, by the sole operation of the Spirit of GOD, acting on the mind of the prophet. In this last manner, the book of *Psalms* is generally thought to have been dictated by the Holy Ghost to the author, or rather authors of it, viz. *Moses, David, Solomon, the three sons of Chore, Asaph, and the rest*^o.

S E C T. IV.

The JEWISH chronology, from Abraham's vocation, to the Babylonish captivity.

ACCORDING to the chronology we have followed in this edition, which, as was formerly hinted, is that of the learned archbishop *Usher*, will be found to be the time which elapsed from *Abraham's* first entrance into *Canaan*, to *Jacob's* descent into *Egypt*, 215 years; and that his posterity continued in the latter another 215 years and no more, is what will be farther shewn when we come to that epocha; in all, 430. From their coming out of that bondage, to *Solomon's* laying the foundation of the temple, the text tells us, was 480 years^a; from thence to the destruction of it by *Nebuchadnezzar*, when *Judah* was carried into captivity, are reckoned 422 years^b: so that the whole time of this epoch, from the vocation of *Abraham*, to the *Babylonish* captivity, amounts to 1332. As to the kingdom of *Israel*, it lasted only 254 years from its defection from that of *Judah*, in the 37th year after the building of the temple, to their being carried away captive by *Shalmaneser*; which happened 134 years before the *Babylonish* captivity.

THUS far then the larger divisions of this æra are fixed upon a solid ground, the authority of the sacred writers: but, lest our readers should think it equally easy to adjust the smaller periods, especially those which relate to the several reigns of their judges and kings, or should think it impossible to err in them, because the length of each is transmitted to us by inspired writers, from whom it would be impious to dissent; we beg leave to remind

^m *Isai. vi. 1, & seqq. Ezek. i. 4, & seqq. Dan. vii. 1, & seqq.* ⁿ *Dan. ii. 19. Mat. i. 20, & al. Acts xvi. 9.*

^o *Vid. HIERON. præfat. in Psalm.*

^a *1 Kings vi. 1.*

^b See the marginal chronol. of our Bibles, and *USHER's* ann. p. 31.

them, before we give a list of those monarchs, of what has been already observed ^p, and will hereafter be more fully explained, concerning the vast and almost irreconcilable difference between the *Hebrew* and *Samaritan* chronology, as well as between these two, and that of the *septuagint*: to say nothing of *Josephus*, and other *Jewish* writers.

BUT these are not the only causes of the difficulty that occurs in settling the *Jewish* chronology: we beg leave to add a few others equally considerable; *viz.*
 1. That the sacred writers affected to use round numbers in their large computations, without minding too scrupulously the odd years that fell over or under them. 2. The same they did in their lesser reckonings; those, for instance, of their kings reigns, which they computed by complete years, and overlooked the odd months, which the first and last happened to fall short of; by which it often happened, that a whole year was gained within the compass of two or three reigns, or of forty or fifty years. 3. The book of *Judges*, whoever was the author of it (Q), compared with *Josephus's* history of them, seems

^p See vol. i. p. 252.

(Q) It is plain, that it was not begun and continued by several hands, under the government of each judge, as some have imagined, not only from the uniformity of style throughout, but also because the author of it, whoever he was, gives a kind of epitome of the whole book at the beginning (85); and the expression which often occurs in it, that *in those days there was no king in Israel* (86), shews it to have been written after the beginning of their monarchy. On the other hand, those who date it after their captivity; because it is said there (87), that *Jonathan* and his sons con-

tinued to be priests until the day of the captivity of the land, which they think must at least be that of *Tiglath-pileser* (88); seem to post-date it prodigiously, not considering, that by what the author says at the beginning (89), that *the children of Benjamin dwell with the Jebusites in Jerusalem, unto this day*, he must have lived before these were driven out of it by *David*. It is therefore more probable, as the *Jews* think, that the captivity here spoken of, was the battle which the *Israelites* lost against the *Philistines*, when the ark was taken by them; at which time, one may reason-

(85) *Cb.* ii. 10, & seq.

alib. (87) *Judg.* xviii. 30.
i. ver. 21.

(86) *Cb.* xvii. 6. xviii. 1. xix. 1, &

(88) See 2 *Kings* xv. 30. (89) *Cb.*

seems only a short account of so many persons, and of their government, without regard to the interregnums and anarchies, which happened between any of them. It seems, indeed, as if they were designedly passed by, as dead *epochas* not worth recording. But, lastly, and to mention no more, after the division of the two kingdoms, the length of every king's reign seems indeed exactly set down, and the synchronisms between those of *Judah* and *Israel* exactly observed; and yet there often happen such jarring and disagreement between them, as cannot be reconciled by any other way, than by supposing, that some of those monarchs, in either kingdom, were taken into copartnership with their predecessors; and that the beginning of their reigns was dated from that time, and not from that of their father's death. The necessity of this supposition cannot but be obvious to those who are conversant with chronologic works, espe-

bly suppose, a great number of the people were also taken captive.

What makes this conjecture still more probable is, that, in the very next verse to that where the captivity is mentioned, the author adds, *that the Danites set up Micah's ephod all the time that the house of God was in Shiloh*, which was only till they fetched the ark from thence, to carry it against the *Philistines*; and this was about the beginning of *Samuel's* time; for, after his return, it was not carried back to *Shiloh*, but to *Kirjath-jearim* (90). If the *ephod* then continued no longer in *Dan*, there was no farther need of keeping any priests to sacrifice to it. Neither, indeed, is it credible, that such a notorious piece of idolatry could have continued under *Samuel's* government, when it is expressly said, that he made the children of *Israel* put

away their strange gods to serve the LORD alone (91).

It seems, therefore, very probable to us, that a mistake has been committed in the last word of that 30th verse, from the likeness of the final letters; and that, instead of גלות הארץ, the captivity of the land, it was originally written גלות הארון, the taking of the ark. From all which it will follow, that *Samuel* lived at the time this book was written; and consequently, that he is most likely to have been the author of it. Neither will the supposition of a much later captivity destroy this conjecture, if we suppose that *Ezra*, or any of the inspired writers, who returned from that of *Babylon*, might add this circumstance, as we have made it probable already, they did many others to the historical books, by way of illustration.

(90) *Conf.* 1 Sam. iv. 4. & vii. 1, 2.

(91) *Ibid.* ver. 3, 4.

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cially those of the learned *Usher*. How far the *Jewish* computation by lunar years, their ignorance of astronomy, and want of exact tables, of which we have lately had occasion to speak under another head, may have increased these difficulties, we need not say^c. But these, and many more, which we willingly omit, have induced a great number of learned chronologers, antient and modern, such as *St. Jerom*, *Scaliger*, *Vossius*, *Genebrard*, and others, to think it next to impossible to adjust the *Jewish* chronology by those few books we have extant, and which are but epitomes of more full and comprehensive histories, long since lost.

WE need not tell our readers, that the histories of several kings are said in the text to have been written by cotemporary prophets; of whom we have nothing extant but their names; and that the books of *Kings* and *Chronicles* conclude every king's reign in words to this effect: *Now the rest of the acts of such a king, his valour and conquest, and the like, are they not written in the book of the Kings (or Chronicles of the kings) of Judah (or Israel)?* Now it were absurd to suppose, that those we have extant, under the name of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, do refer to one another, seeing, some few inconsiderable particulars excepted, they all mention the same things, and almost word for word; and are alike regardless of all the other particulars of those reigns. It is therefore more reasonable to suppose, that they referred the readers to more exact and voluminous annals or histories, written by proper persons in every reign, and which either perished during the captivity, or since. But whether we ascribe the difficulties of the *Jewish* chronology to the loss of these books, to the *Jews* corrupting of the text, or to the carelessness of transcribers; each of these will sufficiently account for the different ways by which almost every chronologer has endeavoured to fix the various *eras* before the birth of CHRIST.

THE *Jews* indeed, whether antient or modern, do not differ so widely from one another in this respect, as the Christians do; but then it is plain, as will appear from the tables, which we shall exhibit in the general preface, that they have shortened, one and all, the space between the creation of the world, and the birth of Christ, by 240 years, little more or less, of the vulgar *era*. Whether, therefore, this was wilfully done, and with design to explode the completion of the prophecies concerning the time of

^c See before, p. 33, & seqq.

the Messiah's coming, which is but too likely, seeing their chronology, from that time to this, doth exactly agree with ours; or whether it happened through the inadvertency of copyists, which yet was hardly ever granted by any true *Jew*; their chronology can no more be reconciled to ours, than to that of the *Egyptians*, or of any other nation.

THE truth is, that all their records, the sacred books excepted, are not only of a more recent date than their *Talmud*, but seem wholly directed by it. So that whatever small difference is to be met with between them, in point of chronology, is rather owing to a different reading or understanding of that book, than a deviation from it; and, of what authority both this and the others ought to be to us, we need not tell the reader. However, for the satisfaction of such as are not acquainted with these chronological works, we shall subjoin some few of the most considerable, together with their authors, as far as they are known, and the time in which they were compiled (A).

THE first is the *Sedar Holam Rabbah*, or large chronicle; which contains a short history from the creation, and is generally attributed to one rabbi *Jose Ben Chalephta*, who flourished, if we may believe the generality of the *Jews*, about 130 years after CHRIST, and is said to have been master to the famous *Jehudah Hakodesh*, the compiler of the *Mishna*^d; but what shews him to be of more modern date is, that his work is continued down to the time of the emperor *Adrian*^e (B).

2. THE

^d Vid. WOLF. biblioth. rabbin. num. 848. p. 462. & seqq.
^e See MORIN. BARTOLOC. BUXT. & al.

(A) And here we shall pass by their fictitious *Josephus Ben Gorion*, whom they have obtruded upon the world instead of the real one, so well known to the Christians, and so often mentioned in this history. The reader may see an account of these two, and the reasons for the former being trumped up by the *Jews*, in opposition to the latter, in *Prideaux's Connection*(1), where he will find also a fuller account of the following chronological works; which we shall, for that reason, content ourselves with the bare mention of, and only observe here, that they follow the *Hebrew* text as far as it goes; the rest is mostly supplied by the *Talmud*, to the time of its being compiled, and then by authors of later date.

(B) Dean *Prideaux* observes, that the book is stuffed with

(1) *Preface to the 3d vol. p. 18, & seqq.*

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2. THE *Shealoth* and *Teshuboth*, or questions and answers, dialoguewise, of rabbi *Sherira*, surnamed *Gaon*, or the sublime. This is a chronological epitome, the author of which flourished from the year 967 downward ^h.

3. THE *Sedar Holam Zutta*, or lesser chronicle, another epitome of history, from the creation to the year of CHRIST 552; but whose unknown author lived, as the book itself says, about the year 1123 ⁱ.

4. *Sepher Gabbala Rabbi Abraham Levita Ben Dior*; this book pretends to give a continual and uninterrupted succession of all the patriarchs, prophets, elders, and wise men, through whose hands the oral tradition passed, from *Adam* to *Moses*, and so on to the compilers of the *Talmud*, and from thence to the year of CHRIST 1141 (C).

5. THE *Sepher Juchasin*, or book of genealogies, from the creation to the year of CHRIST 1500. This is a much larger work than any of the former.

6. THE *Shalshleth*, or chain of the cabbala, of the same kind with the *Juchasin*.

7. THE *Tzemach David*, or sprout of *David*, treats on the same subject with the two last (D).

THESE, especially the first seven, are the books which the *Jews* urge against our chronology, and from which

^h Vid. WOLF. & PRID. ubi sup. ⁱ Vid. *Sepher Juchasin*, *Shalshleth*, & *Tzemach David*, ap. WOLF. ubi sup.

rabbinic fables, which certainly appear to have been taken out of the *Babylonish Talmud*; from which he concludes, that it was written after it (2). To this we may add what a learned *Jew* tells us (3), that he had seen a copy of it, in which it was said, that the author lived 760 years after the destruction of the temple.

(C) This author doth often abridge the fictitious *Josephus Ben Gorion*, and is supposed to be the first, who brought that spurious author and his book into credit among the *Jews*.

(D) These three are still more modern, and less worth our notice (4). Besides these, we find an apocryphal book, intitled, *Dibre bajamim*, or chronicle of *Moses*; but which is universally rejected by the *Jews* as well as Christians. As for the *Samaritan* chronicle, published by *Bernard* (5) and *Basnage* (6), it is so short, obscure, and incorrect, that it could yield us but little help in this particular, were it of greater authority than it is.

(2) *Prid. ubi sup.* (3) *R. Azar. maor benalm, pt. 3.* (4) *Id. &*
Prid. ubi sup. (5) *Ap. Calmet, sub voc. Croniq.* (6) *Histoire*
des Juifs, t. vi. lib. viii. c. 6.

they pretend to demonstrate, that CHRIST appeared earlier in the world by about 240 years, than we say he did: but as their authority is altogether founded upon that of the *Talmud*, we shall spend no more time in confuting either ⁿ.

WE pass by also the *Jewish Targums*, or *Chaldee paraphrases*, because we have none upon the book of the *Judges* or of the *Kings*. But upon the whole, whatever small differences there may be between those chronological works, they all agree in the series and succession of their kings and judges, in the same order of time as we find them in those two sacred books, and that of the *Chronicles*. It is true, that this last sometimes jars with those of *Samuel* and *Kings* in point of numbers, whether of years, or other things mentioned in both. But such differences are scarce worth the pains which some critics have taken to reconcile them ^o (E).

ⁿ Vid. PRID. conn. ubi sup. & pt. i. lib. v. ^o Vid. int. al. WHISTON'S chronology, and CAPZOVIVS'S learned answer to it.

(E) We shall have occasion, in the sequel of their history, to hint at some of the latter sort; and, as to the first, the only instance we are going to give, will easily convince the reader, that, in these cases, some errors have manifestly crept into the text, whether through the likeness of the numerical *Hebrew* letters, or the negligence of copyists, whatever the *Jews* may pretend to the contrary. The place we mean is, where the book of *Chronicles* says, that *Abaziah* was 42 years of age when he began to reign (7), contrary to that of *Kings*, which makes him but 22 years old (8). It

will be no hard matter to find where the mistake lies, since, according to the former author, that monarch must have been two years older than his father, who is affirmed to have died in the 40th year of his age (9). It were ridiculous to follow the forced and unnatural solution of two or three authors, who have in vain endeavoured to solve the difficulty (10), against the far greater majority, who have plainly owned, that it could not be removed by any other way, than by owning the bigger number to be an error of the transcriber (11).

(7) 2 Chron. xxii. 2. (8) 2 Kings viii. 26. (9) 2 Chr. xxi. ver. ult. (10) Uffer in an. Broughton. Jun. in loc. (11) Jeron. Kimch. Abarban. L. de Dieu, Piscat. Cajet. Scalig. Grot. Capel. & al. mult. Vid. & Nort. Knatchbul. animadv. in N. T. in AB. iv. Le Secq. essay on a new vers. p. ii. ch. vi. §. 8. & al. mult.

C. VII. *to the Babylonish Captivity.*

THE following is the list of the patriarchs, heads or chiefs, judges and kings of *Judah* and *Israel*. As for their chronology and synchronisms, we shall refer them, as we have done hitherto, to their history.

The Jewish patriarchs
were { *Abraham,*
Isaac,
Jacob, and his 12 sons.

The heads
or leaders, { *Moses,*
Joshua.

The *Israelitish* judges.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>Othniel</i> , son-in-law to <i>Joshua</i> (A). | 6. <i>Abimelech</i> his son. |
| 2. <i>Ehud</i> . | 7. <i>Tolab</i> . |
| 3. <i>Shamgar</i> . | 8. <i>Jair</i> . |
| 4. <i>Deborah</i> the prophetess, and wife of <i>Lapidoth</i> (B), with <i>Barak</i> her general. | 9. <i>Jephthah</i> the <i>Gileadite</i> . |
| 5. <i>Gideon</i> , or <i>Jerubbaal</i> . | 10. <i>Ibzan</i> . |
| | 11. <i>Elon</i> . |
| | 12. <i>Eli</i> the high-priest. |
| | 13. <i>Samson</i> . |
| | 14. <i>Samuel</i> the prophet. |

(A) *Josephus* makes *Kenaz*, the father of *Othniel*, to have been the first judge (1); and takes no notice of his son, either as his colleague or successor; but the text is against him, which gives that dignity to the latter, and attributes that signal victory to him, for which he was raised to it, and adds, that he held it forty years (2).

(B) Some chuse to render the words אִשֶׁת לָפִידוֹת *esbeth Lapidoth*, a woman of *Lapidoth*, as if that was the place of her abode; and others, because *lapidoth* signifies properly lamps, will have her called so on account of some em-

ployment she had about those that burned in the sacred place, for either of which there is not the least foundation. *Deborah* was not the only prophetess that had a husband: witness *Huldah*, the wife of *Shallum*, mentioned in a former note. The text doth not tell us what tribe *Deborah* was of, neither doth the place of her residence determine it, the *thamar* or palm-tree, where she dwelt, being situate on the frontiers of *Benjamin* and *Ephraim* (3), which were indifferently inhabited by either tribe.

(1) *Antiq.* l. v. c. 4. c. iv. ver. 5.

(2) See *Judg.* iii. 8, & seq.

(3) *Ibid.*

Jewish kings before Jeroboam's revolt.

- | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| 1. <i>Saul.</i> | 3. <i>David.</i> |
| 2. <i>Ishbosheth.</i> | 4. <i>Solomon.</i> |

Kings of *Judah* and *Israel*, after the rupture of the two kingdoms :

- | <i>Judah.</i> | <i>Israel.</i> |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>Rehoboam.</i> | 1. <i>Jeroboam.</i> |
| 1. <i>Abijam.</i> | 2. <i>Nadab.</i> |
| 3. <i>Asa,</i> | 3. <i>Baasha.</i> |
| | 4. <i>Ela.</i> |
| | 5. <i>Zimri.</i> |
| | 6. <i>Omri.</i> |
| 4. <i>Jehoshaphat.</i> | 7. <i>Ahab.</i> |
| 5. <i>Jehoram.</i> | 8. <i>Abaziah.</i> |
| 6. <i>Abaziah.</i> | |
| 6. <i>Athaliah, the usurping queen.</i> | 9. <i>Jehoram.</i> |
| 8. <i>Jehoash.</i> | |
| 9. <i>Amaziah.</i> | 10. <i>Jehu.</i> |
| 10. <i>Uzziah, or Azariah.</i> | 11. <i>Jehoahaz.</i> |
| | 12. <i>Jehoash.</i> |
| | 13. <i>Jeroboam II.</i> |
| | An interregnum of eleven years and half. |
| | 14. <i>Zachariah.</i> |
| | 15. <i>Shallum.</i> |
| | 16. <i>Menahem.</i> |
| 11. <i>Jotham.</i> | 17. <i>Pekahiah.</i> |
| 12. <i>Abaz.</i> | 18. <i>Pekah.</i> |
| 13. <i>Hezekiah.</i> | 19. <i>Hoshea.</i> |
| 14. <i>Manasseh.</i> | |
| 15. <i>Amon.</i> | |
| 16. <i>Josiah.</i> | |
| 17. <i>Shallum or Jehoahaz.</i> | |
| 18. <i>Eliakim or Jehoiakim.</i> | |
| 19. <i>Jechoniah or Coniah, called also Jehoiakim.</i> | |
| 20. <i>Mattania, called also Zedekiah.</i> | |

S E C T. V.

The Jewish History, from Abraham to Moses.

WE have had occasion already to hint, that this celebrated patriarch was the father and founder of the Jewish nation^a; though they were never, as we can find, called by his name; but either by that of *Israelites* or *Jews*, or by the more common one of *Hebrews* (A). But, as he was designed by the divine providence to fill up a more noble character, and to be, in a more eminent and exalted manner, the father of the faithful; and, as such, was to give so many signal tokens of his faith and intire resignation to the divine call, which brought him out of his native home into a strange land, where he was to continue only a sojourner; it was, doubtless, on that account chiefly, *The design of the book of Genesis.* that the sacred historian hath thought fit to give us a more

^a See vol. i. p. 253, & seqq. ii. p. 380, & seqq.

(A) We have ventured here to call them *Jews*, in compliance with custom, tho' that name was not given them till after the *Babylonish* captivity, when the tribe of *Judab* became the most considerable, if not almost the whole of what was left of *Israel* (1). The first name that was given to *Abraham* and his children, was that of *Hebrews*, which some derive from *Heber*, the fifth in descent from *Noah* (2). But it is hardly probable, that *Abraham* would call himself by his name, rather than by that of any of his ten predecessors, and we rather think, that it was given him by the *Canaanites*, because he came thither from the other side of the *Euphrates*; the word *Heber* sig-

nifying in the original, the other side, whether of a river, sea, or any other thing: in which sense some people are called *transmarine*, *transalpine*, and the like. What seems to confirm this etymology is, that we don't find, that he was called by that name, till word was brought him of his nephew *Lot's* misfortune (3); so that it is likely the messenger enquiring for *Abraham*, of the inhabitants, might describe him by the word *יְהוּדִי* *Hibri*, or one that came from the other side of the river. However, after *Jacob* had received the great name of *Israel*, they preferred that of *Israelites* to that of *Hebrews*, though the neighbouring nations still called them by the latter.

(1) See vol. ii. p. 382, & notes.
(3) *Gen.* xiv. 13.

(2) *Gen.* x. 24. *D. Kimchi.*

succinct account of his life, travels, and various trials, as well as of the wonderful means, by which the divine wisdom and goodness led him through them to the promised blessing, which was to crown them all. Neither was, in all probability, this surprising history thus circumstantiatedly penned without a view of exciting the too unbelieving *Israelites*, then in the same wandering condition, but designed for a more happy lot, to rely on the same infallible guide, which was speedily to conduct them to it, if their murmurings and disobedience did not put some obstruction to their promised happiness.

Year of the flood 427. Bef. Chr. 1921. **ABRAHAM** the son of *Terah*, and the tenth in a lineal descent from the son and successor of *Noah*^b, was born in *Ur of the Chaldees*^c, and about seventy-four years of age when his father and he came from thence into *Haran*^d, where they had not been seated long, before *Terah* died in the two hundredth and fifth year of his age (B). His funeral

^b Gen. x. 25, & seqq. See vol. i. p. 299, & seqq. ^c Gen. xi. 28, & seqq. ^d Vide vol. i. p. 257, & seqq.

(B) There seems to be an insurmountable difficulty in this account of *Terah's* age, of which we have taken notice in a former volume (3), and which chronologers have variously endeavoured to remove. *Willet* and *Tremellius* think, that though *Terah* was but seventy years old when he began to have children, yet he was near an hundred and thirty when he begat *Abraham*, and that those that were born before him, are purposely omitted by *Moses*, that *Abraham* might have the honour of *primogeniture* for the excellency of his faith (4). Others with *Calmet*, choose rather to give him *Adar*, or *Azar*, for his father, and *Terah* for his grandfather, according to the *Arabian* history of that patriarch; and to fill up the chasm, suppose that *Adar* begot *Abraham* in the sixtieth year of his age (5); but besides the small reliance we can have on that history, the thing seems quite opposite to the text. Others more reasonably suppose, with *Sir Norton Knatchbull* (6), that there is an error crept into the original; and that *Terah* was either an hundred and thirty years old when he begat *Abraham*, or that if he was then but seventy years old, he died in the hundredth and fifty-fifth, and not in the two hundredth and fifth year of his age: for the text says, that *Abraham* was seventy-five years old when he

(3) Vol. i. p. 1256, & seqq. (4) *Idem* in loc. *Villet*. cb. ii. quæst. 19.
 (5) *Calmet*. *bist.* Vid. *Herbelot*. *bibliot. orient.* p. 12, 13. (6) *Vid. essay on a new vers.*

funeral was scarce over when *Abraham* was commanded *Abraham* by GOD to depart thence, into a land which he should shew *ham'scall*. to him; and GOD assured him, that he would bless, protect, and multiply him in an extraordinary manner; and that in his seed all the nations of the earth should be blessed^e: he readily obeyed, being doubtless well acquainted with the call, and taking *Sarah* his wife, and *Lot* his brother's son, with all his servants and cattle, went into the land of *Canaan*, and pitched his tents near the city of *Sichem*^f (C) then inhabited by the *Canaanites*, where he built an altar unto the LORD. Here GOD was pleased to appear again unto him, to confirm all his former promises, and to assure him, that he would one day give that land to his posterity. Soon after, a great famine, which happened in those parts, forced him to remove into *Egypt*, which was then the only place where he might hope to find provision for his numerous family, and great multitude of cattle. However, the fear he was in upon the account of *Sarah* his wife, who, tho' she was past the sixty-fifth year of her age, retained yet beauty enough to endanger the man's life who should pass for her husband, made him resolve, after some hesitation, that she should pass for his sister, in every place they came to. And from

Year of
the flood
428.
Bef. Chr.
1920.

Goes into
Egypt.

^e Gen. xii. 2, & seqq.

^f Ibid.

left *Harān*, and that his father died but a little while before. But we choose to refer our reader for a more satisfactory solution to the learned *Capzovius*, especially with the notes of *Marcus Moses* in our *English* tongue.

It may not be improper to take notice here, that though *Harān*, the land so called, and *Haran*, the son of *Terah*, be spelt with the same letters in ours, and other versions, from which some have concluded, that the latter gave his name to the country; yet in the original they are differently writ; *viz.* the former with a η *chetb*, equivalent to the

Greek χ , and might be more properly spelt *Charan*; whereas *Terah's* son's name begins only with a η *he*, which answers to our *h*.

(C) If we may credit *Nicholas of Damascus*, *Abraham* came with an army from *Chaldea*, stopt, and reigned some time in the country of *Damascus*, before he went to *Sichem* (7), and his name was still famous there. *Josephus* seems to have quoted his very words, adding, that *Abraham's* name was to that day in great veneration in that country, and that there was still a village which bore the name of *Abraham's* habitation.

(7) *Ap. Joseph ant.* l. i. c. 8. *Euseb. præp.* l. ix. c. 16.

this

this descent into *Egypt* the generality of chronologers compute the space of four hundred and thirty years mentioned by St. *Paul*^h, agreeably to what *Moses* says in another placeⁱ, that *Israel* dwelt in *Egypt* four hundred and thirty years; that is, as the LXX interpret it, that from the first coming of *Abraham* thither to the *exodus* should be four hundred and thirty years. We shall have occasion to resume this point in its proper place. *Abraham* had not been long in *Egypt* before *Sarah* charmed the *Egyptians*, and in the end captivated *Pharaoh* himself; who, for her sake, shewed extraordinary favours to her pretended brother (E). In a short time *Abraham* saw himself possessed of vast numbers of sheep, oxen, camels, asses, men and maid-servants, besides gold, silver, and other precious things, which *Pharaoh* heaped upon him; though all too mean to recompense him for the loss of his wife: at length God was pleased to interpose on his behalf, and to deliver *Sarah* from the imminent danger she was in. *Pharaoh* and his house were infested with such plagues, as plainly convinced them on whose account they suffered. The king then sent for *Abraham*, and having sharply rebuked him for deceiving him in a matter of such consequence, delivered up his wife to him as free from any stain of disloyalty as he had received her; and gave orders, that they might safely depart his dominions with all the wealth they had.

Year of
flood 429.
Bef. Chr.
1919.

ABRAHAM made no stay in *Egypt* after this; the famine being ceased in the place which he had left, he returned thither by the same way; and, on the altar he had built before, offered a sacrifice of thanks for his happy escape, and safe return^m. In the mean time, the herds of

^h Galat. iii. 17.
& xiii.

ⁱ Exod. xii. 40.

^m Gen. xii. pass.

(E) Perhaps it may not be unacceptable to observe here, that *Pharaoh* was not the name of this particular king, but an appellation common to all the kings of *Egypt*. They had also other particular names, as *So*, *Necho*, *Shishac*, &c. but under which of the kings of *Egypt* this event happened, is

impossible to determine, not only because his particular name is not mentioned by *Moses*, but likewise by reason of the great confusion we have observed in their chronology, and succession of their kings (8); however, abp. *Usher* ventures to call him *Apophis* (9).

(8) See vol. ii. p. 38.

(9) *Sub A. M.* 2084.

Lot, as well as his own, being grown too numerous for the land they lived in, such contentions arose between their shepherds, that *Abraham* resolved in a friendly manner to separate from *Lot*; and, having given him his choice of the whole country that lay before him, *Lot* chose the fertile plains of *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*, which he saw watered by the river *Jordan*, and parted from his uncleⁿ. *Abraham* was no sooner separated from him, but *God*, who seems to have been the sole conductor of this scene, that the promised blessings might fall on him alone, bid him cast his eye round the horizon, and promised to give all that land he beheld, to him and his posterity. *Abraham* soon after left *Bethel*, and went to dwell in the land of *Moreh*, which is in *Hebron*, where he built an altar unto *God*, and soon after contracted a friendship with three of the greatest men of the place; viz. *Mamre*, *Aner*, and *Eshcol*; the first of whom communicated his name to all the country[†]. This alliance proved very serviceable to *Abraham* in process of time, and was the cause of his living peaceably near ten years among them: but a misfortune which befel *Lot* about this time, who was taken captive by *Chedorlaomer* and his allies^o*, forced him to muster up all his forces and courage to rescue him out of their hands. This disaster no sooner reached *Abraham's* ears than he communicated the news of it to his three friends, *Mamre*, *Aner* and *Eshcol*. He readily obtained their assistance, and joining three hundred of his men to it, they marched in pursuit of the conquerors, surprised them at *Dan* in the night, pursued them as far as *Hoba*, on the left of *Damascus*, and having rescued *Lot* with all his family, servants, and cattle, brought him back to his old habitation. The king of *Sodom*, who was probably the son of him who had perished in the slime-pits, came out to congratulate *Abraham* upon his success, and even offered him all the booty which he had retaken, the men and women excepted, but the patriarch nobly refused to accept the least share of it. Here *Melchisedek* met and blessed him, and he presented that high-priest with the tythes of all the spoil^p.

AFTER this *Abraham* removed to *Mamre*, or *Hebron*, where *God* was pleased to appear to him a fifth time in

ⁿ Ibid. ver. 7, & seqq. Vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 120. † See before, vol. ii. p. 412, & (K).

^o Genes. c. xiv. pass.

* Vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 120. † Genes. c. xiv. ver. 18.

Sup. ibid. p. 196.

a vision, and to give him fresh assurances of his special favour, adding, that he would be his exceeding great reward. *Abraham*, who had hitherto hearkened to God's promises without any expression of distrust, ventured now, for the first time, to expostulate with him, not comprehending how they could possibly be fulfilled whilst himself continued childless, and to all appearance must leave all his substance to *Eliezer of Damascus*, overseer of his household. This was indeed a modest way to try whether God designed to bless him with a child; and God did not leave him long in suspense, but assured him, that not *Eliezer*, but a son of his own should be his heir; then commanding him to lift up his eyes to heaven, promised to make his posterity more numerous than the stars thereof. *Abraham* was now eighty-five years old, and *Sarah*, turned of seventy-four, was thought barren. All these had been sufficient to stagger a faith less firm than his; but the Scripture says, that he believed in God, and that it was imputed unto him for righteousness^r. God was pleased moreover, to repeat his former promises, that he would infallibly give that land to his posterity, assuring him, that it was for that very end that he had brought him thither out of *Chaldea*. Here *Abraham* could not forbear desiring of God to give him some certain token, whereby he might be assured that his seed should possess that land, and God was pleased to comply with his request. He bid him take an heifer of three years, a goat of three years, and a ram of three years (I), with

^r Gen. xv. 1—6, & seqq.

(I) The word which we translate three years old, in the original is, מִשְׁלֹשִׁים *meshulesheth*, which rather signifies triplicated, or thrice told, being the *paul*, in the conjugation *piel*, as the grammarians speak. Accordingly *Onkelos* (32) translates it three heifers, three goats, and three rams; wherein he is followed by other *Jewish* commentators. One of them tells us (33),

that *Abraham* was then representing the three future sacrifices; namely, burnt-offerings, sacrifice for sin, and peace-offering. However that be, it is from this action of dividing the victims, and passing thro' the midst to them, that the *Israelites* introduced the like ceremony in the ratifying their covenants either with God or men.

^r (32) *Vid. Mercer. Villet. Rab. Sal. & al. in loc. Gerund. ap. Munst. in Gen. xix. sub not. d.*

(33) *M^s.*

a pigeon

a pigeon and a turtle-dove, and offer them up. *Abraham* immediately took them, killed the three beasts, clove them in the midst; and joining the pieces one to the other, laid the birds on the top of them, whilst himself stayed to drive away the fowls from the sacrifice. As soon as the sun began to set, a deep sleep fell upon him, followed by a horror of great darkness; during which, it was revealed to him from GOD, that his posterity should sojourn and be afflicted in a strange land four hundred years* (K): at the expiration of which, GOD would punish

* *Ibid.* ver. 6. *Rom.* iv. 3, & alib.

(K) Expositors have given into various opinions, in order to make out these four hundred years. *Genebrard* a learned *Romish* chronologer has affirmed, that the *Israelites* dwelt in *Egypt* the full number of four hundred years (34), whose error may be easily confuted by the lives of *Kobath*, the son of *Levi*, who went down with *Jacob* (35), and died in *Egypt* in the hundredth and thirty-third year of his age (36): of his son *Amram*, the father of *Moses*, who lived one hundred and thirty-seven years (37); and of *Moses*, who was eighty years old when he brought *Israel* out of *Egypt*; all which several numbers make but three hundred and fifty years, out of which we must subtract those which *Kobath* had attained when he went down into *Egypt*, and likewise the time the fathers lived with their children. This has made some reduce the number to less than two hundred

and ten years (38), and others to two hundred; whereas we shall endeavour to prove, that they remained there two hundred and fifteen years. *St. Paul* reckons from the first promise made to *Abraham*, to the promulgation of the law, in the first year after the *exod*, four hundred and thirty years (39). Of which two hundred and fifteen were already expired, when *Israel* came into *Egypt*, which is thus proved, 1. From the time of *Abraham's* arrival in *Canaan*, to *Jacob's* descent into *Egypt*, are but two hundred and fifteen years; viz. twenty-five from the time of the promise to the birth of his son *Isaac*; 60 more to the birth of *Jacob*, who is affirmed by *Moses* to have been 130 years old when he stood before *Pharaoh*, all which make but 215. 2. The last remaining two hundred and fifteen may be thus reckoned: *Kobath* came down with *Jacob*, and,

(34) *Id. ibid.*

(37) *Ibid.* ver. 20.

(39) *Galat.* iii. 17.

(35) *Gen.* xlv. 11.

(38) *Cbrysoft.* homil. l. i. *Nic. de Lyr. in loc.*

(36) *Exod.* vi. 18.

nish their oppressors, and bring his children into the land which he had promised him, whilst himself should be

according to *Eusebius*, begat *Amram* in his seventieth year, and *Amram* begat *Moses* much about the same age; to which if we add the eighty years of *Moses's* age when he led them out, the whole will make two hundred and twenty, from which may be subtracted five years, the supposed age of *Kobath*, when *Jacob* left *Canaan*, and the remainder will be the time of their abode in *Egypt*, namely, two hundred and fifteen years (40).

Hence it is plain, that the four hundred years of *Abraham's* seed sojourning in a strange land, must be reckoned, not from their coming into *Egypt*, but from the birth of *Isaac*. For all the time of their sojourning in the land of *Canaan*, *Gerar*, or any other, was still in a strange land, in which they had not a foot of ground, if we except the cave of *Macpelah*. As to what is added, that they shall likewise serve and be ill treated, it is commonly understood to be spoken circumstantially, and might be put in a parenthesis, thus; they shall sojourn and be strangers (and likewise serve and be oppressed) during the space of four hundred years, as *St. Austin* and others have fully proved (41). Accordingly, we find *Isaac* op-

pressed in *Gerar*, his wells filled up by its inhabitants, and himself forced still farther from them *; and *Jacob* served, and was oppressed by *Laban* near twenty years, yet neither of them laboured under a continual oppression. The *Egyptian* servitude did not commence till after *Joseph* and his brethren were dead (42): before that, the *Israelites* lived in peace and plenty. Allowing therefore, that *Levi* was forty-four years of age at his first coming into *Egypt*, which is the most that can be supposed, he must have lived ninety-three years in *Egypt*, because the text tells us, that he died in the hundredth and thirty-seventh year of his age (43). And these ninety-three years being subtracted from two hundred and fifteen, the time of their abode there, there will remain but an hundred and twenty-two years of thraldom, even supposing it to have begun immediately after his death. The natural sense therefore of this prophecy to *Abraham*, can be only this, that his seed, from *Isaac* on, should be strangers in a land that was not theirs, during the space of four hundred years, during some part of which they should be oppressed, afflicted, and at length

(40) *Villet. cap. 159. 15. Le Clerc in loc. Mercer. Munster. De Lyra, & al.* (41) *Aug. quest. in Exod. vi. 47. Merc. jun. Munst. Villet. ubi sup. Grot. Le Clerc, & al.* * See *Genes. xxvi. 13, & seqq.* (42) *Exod. i. 6, & seqq.* (43) *Ibid. vi. 16. Vid. & Mercer. Jun. & al. in loc.*

brought

be gathered to his fathers in a good old age. After this, *Abraham* saw a smoking furnace, and a burning lamp, pass between the victims, which in all probability consumed them. Thus was this new and glorious covenant ratified between *God* and *Abraham*, who, highly pleased with all these promises, went to impart his joy to his beloved wife ^t.

SARAH not dreaming that she was to be the happy Year of mother of the promised child, and having moreover all flood 437. the convincing proofs that a woman can have, of her Bef. Chr. being pass all possibility of having any of her own, re-1911. solved to be at least a mother by proxy, according to the custom of that age and country. To this end she persuaded her husband to take her hand-maid *Hagar* to him, that if he had a child by her, she might bring it forth upon her knees. *Abraham* acquiesced, and *Hagar* no sooner found herself pregnant, than she became haughty and insolent towards her mistress. *Sarah*, impatient to see herself insulted by a slave, whom her kindness had raised, could not forbear breaking out into bitter complaints against them both; and *Abraham*, willing to convince his wife that he loved her as much as ever, left it to her, to do herself justice in what way she should think fit; which she accordingly did; but with such severity, that *Hagar*, not being able to bear it, stole away from her, *Hagar is* and went and sat down by a fountain on the road to *Sur*, forced to leading to *Egypt*. Here the angel of the *LORD* met her, fly from and persuaded her to return, and submit herself to her her mistress; assuring her that she would be soon delivered of a tress- son, whom she should call *Ishmael* (L); that his posterity would multiply exceedingly, and that both he and they should prove fierce and warlike; that their hand should be against every man, and every man's against them (M); and


^t Gen. xv. 9, & seqq.

brought under bondage; which term being expired, they should find a happy deliverance.


(L) *Ishmael* is compounded of the words *שמע* and *אל* *jishmagb* and *El*, the *LORD* hath, or will hear. The reason of which name is imme-

diately subjoined by the angel, namely, because the *LORD* had heard her complaint.

(M) This prediction has been exactly verified in the several tribes of the *Arabs*, *Ishmael's* descendants, who are generally cruel, warlike, and given to rapine; and whose habitation

and that they should dwell in the face of all their brethren ^u. *Hagar* hearing this comfortable news, was soon *Is persuaded*-persuaded to take the angel's advice; and, in memory of *ed by an* this surprising vision, she called the well *Beer-labai-roi*, *angel to re-* which signifies *the well of him that lives and sees me*. This *turn, and* well was between *Cadesh* and *Barneah* ^w. Soon after her *submit.* return she brought forth the promised son, and called him *Year of* *Ishmael*, according to the angel's word. *Abraham* was *flood 437.* now eighty-six years of age, and did not expect another *Bef. Chr.* son, but brought this up as the heir of all his substance, *1911.* and of all GOD's promises, and *Hagar*, whose interest  it was not to undeceive him, thought fit to conceal what the angel had revealed to her; so that it was not till almost thirteen years after, that GOD plainly promised him a son by *Sarah* his wife.

Abram's By this time *Abraham* had attained to the ninety-ninth *name* year of his age, when GOD was pleased to ratify his former *changed* covenant with him, by changing his name from *into Abra-* *Abram* to *Abraham* (N); and by assuring him, that he would *ham.* make him the father of many nations; that kings should come out of him, and that his posterity should surely

Year of possess the land wherein he was a stranger. And, as a token, *flood 451.* or rather trial, of his faith and obedience, GOD commands *Bef. Chr.* him to circumcise all the males in his family, with a *1898.* further injunction, that for the future all the males that  should be born of him, or in his family, whether bond or free, none excepted, should be circumcised on the eighth day after they were born; and that if any male remained uncircumcised, that soul should be cut off as a despiser of GOD's covenant, from having any share in the promised blessings designed for him and his posterity. Lastly, and to complete his happiness, GOD was pleased to assure him, that *Sarah* his wife should bear him a son, who should be heir to all these blessings; and therefore, that

^u Gen. xvi. 12.

^w Ibid. ver. 14.

habitation is in tents, within the neighbourhood of *Judea*, *Idumea*, &c.

(N) Concerning the etymon of this twofold name, and the uncertain conjectures of the learned about it, we shall re-

fer our reader to what hath been offered in a former volume †. As for the reason of it, it is plainly hinted in the text, *viz.* that he was to become the father of many nations.

† *Vid. sup. vol. i. p. 350 (K).*

her name should be no longer *Sarai*, but *Sarah* (P). Here *Abraham* falling on his face, probably to conceal his laughing, which either the strangeness or improbability of what he heard, had forced from him, began to intercede for the life and preservation of *Ismael*, beyond which he thought it unreasonable to ask or wish for any thing: but the Almighty soon assured him, that these great blessings were not designed for *Ismael*, but for a son to be born of the hitherto barren *Sarah*, whom he should therefore name *Isaac* (Q); that, as to the son of *Hagar*, he would indeed bless him with a numerous posterity; but that *Isaac* alone, whom *Sarah* should bear within the year from that very day, was to be intitled to the covenant and promise, that in his seed all nations of the earth should be blessed *.

God was no sooner departed, than *Abraham* took his son *Ismael*, and all the males in his family, and circumcised them, as well as himself, without any regard either to his own age, which was almost one hundred years, or to the tenderness of his son, who was not above thirteen. All submitted alike to the operation, and to God's command, on the same day (R); and it was not long before

Year of the flood
451.
Bef. Chr.
1897.

Abraham
and his family
circumcised.

* Gen. xvii.

(P) *Sarai* שרַי in Hebrew signifies *my princess*, and שרה *Sarah*, the name now given her, *princess*.

It is farther observable, that God, in the beginning of *Genesis* xvii. (44), calls himself the first time, אֱלֹהֵי שַׁדַּי *El Shaddai*, which our version rightly translates *Almighty God*. This compound word however, is variously canvassed by etymologists; but we think the most genuine derivation is from ש, used instead of שׂ, for the pronoun *qui, who*, and י, *dai, sufficient*, or *self-sufficient*, an expression very fit and proper to assure *Abraham*

and *Sarah* of the certainty of his promise to them, which none but an all-sufficient power could fulfil (45).

(Q) *Isaac*, or according to the Hebrew יצחק *Ischakh*, signifies *he has, or shall laugh*.

(R) Whether this ceremony of circumcision was first introduced into the world, by the *Hebrews* or *Egyptians*, hath been much contested by antient and modern historians, critics, and others. *Herodotus*, who declares he had received all his knowledge of the affairs of *Egypt* from their priests, gives it indeed for the *Egyptians* (46); but he seems in some measure

(44) *Ver. 1.*

(45) *Oleasf. & al.*

(46) *Herodot. l. ii. c. 36.*

Abraham
entertains
three an-
gels.

his obedience was rewarded with a seventh and more remarkable visit from God. *Abraham*, who dwelt still at *Mamre*,

to retract, if not to contradict himself, in this very point, when he affirms, that no nation practised it, but what received it first from the *Egyptians*; and a little after owns, that he did not know which of the two had it first, the *Egyptians* or *Ethiopians*, though he is inclined to believe the former (46). As for the rest of the antients, who are on that side the question, as they have blindly followed *Herodotus*, all their authority centres in him. However, it is certain, that neither they, nor any other nation we know of, the *Jewish* excepted, did practise it universally. The priests were indeed obliged to be circumcised, but the rest of the people were left wholly at their liberty. Neither doth it appear, that they practised it upon a religious account, as the *Jews* did. *Philo* (47) has given us the reasons why those nations used circumcision; namely, first, in order to avoid a distemper called a carbuncle, to which they, who were not circumcised, were often subject. Secondly, for the sake of cleanliness, by cutting off whatever was apt to harbour any filth; and for this reason it was, that they shaved their bodies all over. The third is symbolical, and foreign to our subject. The last is,

that circumcision is an help to fertility; and that those who are circumcised, are apter for procreation than those who are not. Now for the modern, we mean the *Christian* writers; these do not indeed affirm absolutely, that *Abraham* learned it from the *Egyptians*; but that it is possible he might have seen it in *Egypt*, and be so much taken with it, that God, in compassion to his infirmity, whose faith could not sustain itself without some outward and visible symbol, might sanctify this *Egyptian* ceremony, by retrenching all that was superstitious in it, and give it to him, and his posterity, as a sensible token of his alliance with them (48).

Only *le Clerc* (49) subjoins an argument, which, in his opinion, turns the scale very much on the *Egyptian* side; for, says he, *Abraham's* family, at his first coming into *Egypt*, was so inconsiderable, and his posterity afterwards so hated and despised by the *Egyptians*, that it is by no means probable, that proud nation should have received such a ceremony from them. But might not this be the very motive that determined them in favour of it? Was it not natural for the *Egyptians*, no less superstitious than haughty, to infer, that since it procured

(46) *Idem ibid.* c. 104. *Vid. Calm. dissert. de circumcis.* (47) *Ph l. de circumcis. pag. 810. ap. eund.* (48) *Spenc. de leg. ritual. Jud. Le Clerc in loc.* (49) *Id. biblioth. an. & mod. par. i. p. 250.*

such

Mamre, was sitting one day at the door of his tent, under a tree, when he beheld, afar off, three men, whom he took
to

such great and valuable blessings to that despised people, it could not fail of proving more successful to them, if once they admitted it amongst them? might not *Joseph's* time have been a proper crisis to recommend it to them? and were not those motives we have mentioned out of *Philo*, of its being reputed a promoter of fertility, cleanliness, and health, sufficient to recommend it? and, lastly, might not this be the very reason which made the *Egyptian* women use it as well as the men? However that be, the notion of the *Hebrews* having received it from them, seems so contrary to the design and conduct of God to preserve them from the superstitions of other nations, that it meets with but few advocates; and, indeed, it seems more reasonable to think, that the *Egyptians* had it from some other nation, whether the *Arabs* (as *Bochart* thinks, by reason of the difference there was between the *Jewish* and *Egyptian* circumcision), or from any other of their neighbours, or even, that they might stumble upon that ceremony, without knowing, or having it from any, than to suppose, that one must have it from the other;

and that therefore the *Jews* might as well have it from the *Egyptians*. As for the reason of its being enjoined on the eighth day after the child's birth, the best we have met with is that of *Cunæus* (50); that children were not thought sufficiently clean or perfect, during the first seven days, being still full of the corruption they brought from the womb. And this seems to be the reason of God's ordaining, that no beast that was offered to him, should be less than eight days old (51). Circumcision therefore being a kind of solemn offering of a child to God it seems highly reasonable, that the same law should be observed in it, as was enjoined concerning victims. But, as to the eighth day being chosen rather than any other afterwards, without seeking for mysteries in that number, as some are fond of doing, it will be sufficient to say, that the child being reckoned perfect and fit at that age, and there being a necessity of fixing a day for it, and not to leave it to the choice of the parents, no time could be fitter than that; because the child is then least sensible of the smart, and least in danger of being hurt by it.

(50) *Cun. apud Basnag. rep. Hebr. p. 351.*
xxii. 27.

(51) *Levitic.*

to be strangers; he went to meet them, and in the most civil and respectful manner invited them to come and take

The last inquiry we need make upon this subject of circumcision is, the reasons of its institution: and here we shall only mention one or two of those that are thought most considerable. The first is topical; because the heat of the climate required it, for the reasons mentioned above. Secondly, political, in order to distinguish those who were in the covenant of God, from other nations. Thirdly, moral; to imply the circumcision of the heart, and the mortification of carnal appetites. Fourthly, religious; in that it was, first, the symbol and seal of the covenant made between God and *Abraham*, and his seed, and figurative of the faith which was to be in CHRIST (52). To these reasons we shall subjoin one more out of a modern author (53), which the reader will hardly meet with elsewhere: he writes thus: we reckon circumcision amongst the trials of *Abraham's* faith. It is easy to observe, by very many circumstances of that patriarch's life, that he was designed as a pattern to all the faithful. The more his faith was tried, the more conspicuous it became; the more difficulties he observed in the accomplishment of God's promises, the more he shewed the great idea he had of him that had made

them, by overcoming those obstacles.—Why did not God give him *Isaac*, till the laws of nature seemed to exclude all hopes of his ever being a father? it was to try his faith.—Why did God command him to sacrifice that very son to whom so many blessings belonged, but to the same purpose? Why did God set so long an interval between the promise of a son, and the accomplishment of that promise, that *Sarah*, thinking it impossible she should become a mother, did give him her maid *Hagar*? Why was *Ismael* born so many years before *Isaac*, &c. but to make still fresh trials of his faith? Why might not then God have the same views in injoining him to be circumcised? He not only makes him wait for this son near twenty years, though promised in so solemn a manner; but, when that time is nearly elapsed, and *Abraham* thinks himself on the eve of receiving the reward of his faith, God crosses his hopes afresh, and commands him to undergo an operation that seemed wholly to put an end to them. *Abraham* could not but look upon circumcision as dangerous in that hot country, even to young men, much more to one of his years; and consequently, that it must put him quite out of condition

(52) *Targ. Onkel. Villet. & al. Tesh.*

(53) *Saurin disc. hist. du V.*

take a small refreshment with him; and, having obtained their consent, ordered a feast to be got ready for them^v. And in this interview it was, that his divine guest confirmed his promise of *Sarah's* having a son within the year. *A son promised to Sarah*, who was listening at the tent-door, and thought herself past child-bearing, burst out into a laughter; and the stranger asked the reason of it in such a serious tone, as struck her with a fright. She would fain have denied it; but it was to no purpose, that she endeavoured to hide any thing from the person that spoke to her, who dismissed her with this gentle reproof, that she was highly in the wrong to mistrust what he had said to her, since nothing was impossible with GOD. The three heavenly guests (for such they were) rose up in order to proceed on their journey, and *Abraham* courteously accompanied them some part of the way. At length one of them, whom the original calls the LORD (T), as a further mark of his favour, began

^v Genes. xviii. pass.

of ever being a father. The command of his *having the covenant in his flesh*, seemed as opposite to the promise of his having a son, as that of his *sacrificing that son*, was to the promise of his being the father of many nations. Notwithstanding which, *Abraham's* faith triumphed over this obstacle also, he being fully persuaded, that God could not only renew the strength of an old man, but likewise make him fruitful after his having undergone an operation which seemed so contrary to it. It is to extol this triumph, that the Scripture observes, he was ninety-nine years old when he was circumcised; and it was to preserve the memory of it, that God enjoined that ceremony to all his posterity, &c. (54).

(T) The name *Jehovah* יהוה, by which *Moses* calls the stranger that talked to *Abraham*, being looked upon by the generality of *Jews* and *Christians*, to be the incommunicable name of GOD, it is believed by the far greatest part of the latter, that it was the Son of GOD who appeared in that form: however others, particularly some modern ones (55), maintain, that it was but an angel, who spoke to him in the person of GOD. But it is not probable, either that *Moses* should call an angel by that name, or that *Abraham* should intercede with him as he doth, when he says, *That be far from thee, to destroy the good with the wicked; shall not the Judge of the world do right?* or lastly, that an angel should peremptorily

(54) Gen. xvii. 24.

(55) Le Clerc comment. in loc.

Abraham
pleads for
Sodom.

began to reveal a most dreadful secret to him ; which was, that the cry of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* was gone up to heaven ; and that he was going down fully resolved to destroy them utterly, if, upon inquiry, he found their wickedness equal to the cry of it. Whether the remembrance that *Lot* was in one of those cities, or rather his natural compassion, gave the good patriarch fresh courage to intercede for those righteous men that might be found among the wicked ; he did not cease expostulating with him, till he had obtained a promise, that if there were but ten righteous men found in the place, he would spare it for their sakes : upon which the LORD departed from him. The fate of those cities, and *Lot's* deliverance, have been already related^x : as for *Abraham*, he saw the next morning the thick smoke of those unfortunate places, ascending like that of a furnace^y.

Abimelech takes
Sarah.

Is threatened by
God, and
restores
her.

NOT long after, *Abraham*, leaving the plains of *Mamre*, probably to be out of the stench of the vale of *Siddim*, went and dwelt in the country of the *Philistines* between *Cadesb* and *Shur*^z, where the same adventure happened to him which he had met with in *Egypt*. *Sarah*, whom neither her pregnancy, nor advanced age (she being now ninety years old), had deprived of her beauty, was again desired by *Abraham* to pass for his sister. *Abimelech*, king of that country, found her still charming enough to invite her to his bed ; but the LORD appeared to him in a dream, and threatened him with immediate death, if he did not immediately restore her untouched to her husband, who was a prophet very dear to him ; in consequence of which, *Abraham* had his wife returned to him, with considerable presents^a (W).

THE

^x Supr. vol. ii. p. 121, & seqq. vid. vol. ii. p. 486, sub not. also vol. ii. p. 225, & seqq.

^y Genes. xix. ^z De his, ^a Genes. xx. per tot. See

say, If I find forty, thirty, or twenty righteous men in the place, I will spare it for their sakes. It is therefore more probable, that it was CHRIST himself, who is emphatically called the Judge of all the world.

(W) There seems to be a double mistake in our transla-

tion, in *Abimelech's* speech to *Sarah*, which runs thus : *Behold, I have given thy brother a thousand pieces of silver : behold, he is to thee a covering of the eyes*——and thus she was reprov'd. For it is plain, the king was purchasing *Abraham's* friendship, and not quarreling with him or his wife ; and

THE time appointed being come, soon after their leaving the court, *Sarah* brought forth the long-expected son, and called his name *Isaac*; and *Abraham* failed not to circumcise him on the eighth day. They were now in the zenith of their happiness. *Sarah* suckled the child herself, and weaned him at the usual time; and *Abraham* made a feast to all his household that day: but their joy could not last long without some mixture of grief, by the jealousy which *Isaac* caused to *Hagar* and her son. *Isaac* was scarce seven years old, when *Sarah* observed *Ishmael* shew some marks of contempt to him (Y); which made her resolve to part them for ever, that *Ishmael* might have no share in the inheritance with her son. Tho' *Abraham*

Year of the flood 452. Bef. Chr. 1896.
 Isaac born. Year of the flood 457. Bef. Chr. 1891.

Ishmael mocks

and *Abraham* had already so far justified both himself and her, that the king was satisfied. And therefore the word נכרת *nokecheth*, should not have been rendered *rebuked*, as *Kimchi* and others do, that think she was blamed for the lye she had told. *Pagninus* renders it *erudit-se*, i. e. she learned more wit; whereas it is the participle of the verb יכר, which, though generally rendered to reprove, or rebuke, yet as often signifies to search, or inquire thoroughly into a thing. *Abimelech* therefore means no more, than that she is acquitted after a full hearing; and the *Chaldee* paraphrase hath translated it accordingly. The other mistake is *Abraham's* being said to be a covering to her eyes, whereas the king seems to speak of the thousand pieces of silver which he gave her, as a token of her justification, the veil being looked upon as the symbol of womens modesty (67).

(Y) The *Jewish* interpret-

ers expound the word מצחק *Isaac* in the text, which signifies laughing or playing, by גלעגל, which signifies to deride and despise; and not without good grounds, since *Sarah* did so highly resent it. They think, that it happened on the day in which *Abraham* made the feast for the weaning of *Isaac*; and that, whilst the guests were congratulating him for having a son and heir in his old age, *Ishmael* shewed some tokens of derision, which *Sarah* observing, went and complained of it to her husband (68). However it is plain, it must have been something worse than childrens play, as the *Septuagint* has rendered it, since *St. Paul* calls it a persecution (69). Besides, it must be remembered, that *Ishmael* is described by the angel (70), as a fierce and wild man; and consequently, could not but begin to shew some tokens of that disposition, being then upwards of twenty-one years of age.

(67) *Pfeifer Flacc. in loc. Le Scene essay.*
 (69) *Galat. iv. 29.*

(70) *Gen. xvi. 12.*

(68) *Vid. Munst. in loc.*

loved her to such a degree, that he could deny her nothing, yet he could not forbear looking on her request as cruel and unreasonable; but GOD confirming what *Sarah* had said, and promising moreover to protect *Ishmael*, and to make him a great nation out of regard to him, *Abraham*

Is sent a-way was at last prevailed upon to send him and his mother away the very next morning^a. What befel them afterwards is foreign to our present subject.

Abimelech makes a covenant with Abraham. ABRAHAM, in the mean time, entered into a solemn league of friendship with *Abimelech*, king of the *Philistines*, as we have related elsewhere^a; upon which occasion that place was called *Beersebah*, or the well of the oath, because of the covenant which they had sworn there. The pleasantness of the place, and the friendship of the king, invited *Abraham* to sojourn there many years. He planted here a stately grove, and built an altar to the LORD, resolving to end his days in this part, unless GOD should otherwise determine^b.

Abraham commanded to sacrifice his son Isaac. BUT GOD had yet a further trial to make of *Abraham's* faith and obedience, and such an one as would put it to the utmost proof. *Isaac*, the son of his old age, the promised head of a new and numerous race, the fountain of so many promised blessings, and the dear and only object of so much affection; this very *Isaac* was now at length commanded to be brought unto a mountain GOD was to point out to him, and there to be offered up a burnt-sacrifice, by the hands of his own father (B).
1871. *Abraham,*

^a Genes. xxi. 7—14.
seqq.

^a Vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 225, &

^b Gen. xxi. per tot.

(B) As the age of *Isaac* is not set down in the text, it is uncertain how old he was when *Abraham* was ordered to offer him up. The opinion of some learned *Jews* (74), that he was but twelve years old, is ridiculous, since it would have been impossible for him to have carried such a load of wood as he did. Others (75) say, that he was

thirty-seven years old; but that was the year of *Sarah's* death, whereas she was alive when this happened. *Josephus* makes him twenty-five years old (76): and some Christians, antient and modern, conjecture, that he was past thirty; because that was about the age in which CHRIST suffered, whose type *Isaac* was; at least in this transaction, in

(74) *Abenezra ap. Tostat. antiq. l. xiv.*

(75) *Ap. Villet. ubi sup.*

(76) *Jos.*

which

Abraham, without expostulating about the illegality or severity of the command, resolved to obey: and leaving it to GOD to make good his own promises, set out the very next morning; and on the third day discovered mount *Moriab*, the place appointed by GOD for the dreadful sacrifice (C). There, leaving his servants behind, he goes up to the mount, whilst *Isaac*, being laden with the wood, and other materials for a burnt-offering, and observing nothing of a victim, could not forbear questioning him about it in such submissive terms as might have staggered a heart less firm than *Abraham's*, who only answered calmly, that GOD would provide himself with one. He little thought how prophetically he spoke; for he had no sooner bound his son upon the wood, and stretched out his hand to give the fatal blow, but GOD was pleased to stop him, being fully satisfied with this last trial of his obedience. He renewed all his promises and covenants afresh, and bound them with an oath; and *Abraham* looking about, found a ram, the victim GOD was to provide, caught by the horns in a thick bush; and, with the help of his son, offered it up instead of him: in memory of which, he called that place *Jehovah-jire*, the LORD will look to, or provide, alluding to the answer he had given to *Isaac's* question. He rejoined his servants, and returned home to *Beersheba*. Soon after this he heard the joyful news, that *Milcab*, his brother *Nabor's* wife, had born him a numerous issue (D), which determined him to send thither for a wife for his son *Isaac*^d.

But countermanded by an angel.

^d Gen. xxiv. 3, 4, &c. ABRA-

which there were several circumstances bearing a great conformity with those that attended CHRIST's passion.

(C) This mountain is certainly the same on which the temple was afterwards built by *Solomon* (77); and therefore those who affirm, that CHRIST was crucified upon it, don't fix the name to that particular hill, but to the whole ridge of them. *Moriab* takes its name from the Hebrew *ראה* *raah*, to see: whence

the LXX and *Aquila* translate it *γην ὑψηλὴν*, an high or conspicuous land. *Fuller* derives it from two Hebrew words *ראה*, vision, and *יהוה*, GOD; and by contraction *Moriab*; because GOD was seen upon it (78).

(D) The children of *Nabor* by *Milcab* were, 1. *Huz*; 2. *Buz*; 3. *Kemuel*; 4. *Chezad*; 5. *Hazo*; 6. *Pildas*; 7. *Jidlaph*; and, 8. *Bethuel*, who begat *Rebecca* the wife of *Isaac*. He had some

(77) 2 Chron. iii. 1, 2. vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 408.

(78) Miscel. sacr. l. ii. c. 14. De hoc

others

Sarah's
death.

Year of
flood 488.

Bef. Chr.

1860.



ABRAHAM lived in great peace with his son for some time; but it was at length disturbed by the death of Sarah, which happened in the hundredth and twenty-seventh year of her age, in the city of *Arbab*, alias *Hebron* (E). Abraham came thither to mourn for her,

* Vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 199.

others besides, from a concubine named *Reumah* (79). *Huz*, the first-born, is supposed by some, to have peopled and given name to the land of *Huz* (80), where *Job* dwelt (81); but it is not improbable, that it was already so called from *Huz* the son of *Aram* (82). From *Buz* came the *Buzites*; of which family *Elisha*, one of *Job*'s friends, probably was (83). *Kemuel*, called in the text the father of *Aram*, is therefore thought the father of the *Aramites* or *Syrians*, perhaps the same with the *Camuelite* of *Strabo* (84), in the land of *Haram* (85): but we are inclined to believe, that by this *Aram* is only meant a son of *Kemuel*, and not a race of descendants, much less of the *Syrians*, as the *LXX* and *Vulgate* read it; or of *Aram Nabarim*, as some; or *Aram Seba*, as others think (86); for the city of *Nabor* was in *Aram*. This city and nation therefore seem to have

been more antient than *Kemuel*, and to have been so called from *Aram* the son of *Shem* (87). As for *Chezad*, if he was the father of the *Chafdim*, or *Chaldees*, at least of those who dwelt on this side *Babylon*, as is supposed by the same author (88), 'tis certain, there were others more antient on the other side; for *Abraham* came from *Chaldea*. However, those sons of *Nabor* gave names to some cities and families of *Syria*, such as *Buzan*, &c. mentioned by a *Latin* author (89). The children of his concubine were *Tebah*, *Gaham*, *Thabash*, and *Maachab*. From this last the city of *Maachab*, or *Abel Beth Maachab* (90), whose territories are supposed to have been situate between the two *Lebanons*, might probably receive its name (91).

(E) The text is somewhat obscure in this place. *Sarah* is said to die at *Arbab*; and yet no mention is made of *Abra-*

(79) *Gen.* xxii. 21, & seqq. (80) *Calmet, hist. Vet. Test.* p. 148.
 (81) *Job* i. 1. (82) *Gen.* x. 22. *Vid. Hieron. in loc.* (83) *Job*
 xxxii. 6. (84) *Strabo*, l. xvi. (85) *Calmet, ubi supr.* (86) *Te-*
stat. Cajet. in loc. (87) *Gen.* x. 22. (88) *Calmet*, l. i.
Vid. Jun. & Villet. (89) *Ammian. Marc.* l. xviii. (90) *Dent-*
ili. 14, & seqq. See before vol. ii. p. 455. (91) *Calmet, ibid.* p. 148.

her, and to pay his last devours to so dear a wife; and, having given a sufficient vent to his grief, his next care was to procure her an honourable burial. He therefore went to the gates of *Hebron* (F), in order to purchase a burying-

ham's. removing from *Beer-sheba* thither; only he is said to have gone thither to mourn for her and bury her. Some therefore are of opinion, that they might be parted upon some occasion or other, and that *Sarab* went to *Arbab* whilst her husband kept his old dwelling. Others, not brooking such a separation, think that he came only from his own tent into that of *Sarab* to weep over her; for, in those days, persons of his rank kept separate apartments for their wives and maid-servants, whether they dwelt in houses or tents.

(F) The gates of cities in those days, and for many centuries after, were the places of judicature and common resort. Here the governors, or elders of the city, met to hear complaints, administer justice (92), make conveyances of titles and estates, and to transact all the affairs of the place (93). Whence that verse in the *Psalms* (94), *They shall not be ashamed, when they speak to their enemies in the gate*; i. e. when they are accused by them before the court of magistrates.

It is probable, that the room or hall, where the magistrates sat, was over the gates, because *Boaz* is said to go up to the

gate. The like did *David*, when he went to weep for the death of *Abfalom* (95). How considerable they became in time for largeness and sumptuousness, appears by the two kings of *Israel* and *Judab* being present at one of them in all their royal splendor, and convening thither four hundred priests of *Baal*, besides their own guards and officers (96). It seems as if these places had been at first chosen for the conveniency of the inhabitants, who, being all husbandmen, and forced to pass and repass, morning and night, as they went and came from their labour, might be more easily called as they went by, whenever they were wanted to appear in any business. These gates were likewise markets for provisions, like those of the *Romans*, as appears by the prophet *Elisha's* foretelling an incredible plenty to happen the next day, in the midst of a famine, at the gates of *Samaria* (97). What the number of these magistrates were, how far their power extended, and how many orders of them there were, is not to be gathered from Scripture; only it is plain there could be but few of the latter, since in the time of *Josbua* (98) we can find but four

(92) *Gen.* xxxiv. 20.

(93) *Ruth* iv. 1, & seqq. 2 *Sam.* xviii.

33. (94) *Psal.* cxxvii. *ver. ult.*

(95) 2 *Sam.* xviii. 33.

(96) 1 *Kings* xxii. 10. 2 *Chron.* xviii.

(97) 2 *Kings* vii. 1, 31.

(98) *Josb.* xxiv. 1,

Abraham
buys the
cave of
Mach-
pelah.

burying-place from the sons of *Heth*, who dwelt in that city, and were probably the most considerable in that place. He had no sooner declared the occasion of his coming, but they one and all told him, with the utmost civility and respect, that he might make choice of the best sepulchre in the whole land; assuring him, that none of them should withhold his own from him. *Abraham* returned their civilities, but begged to be permitted to buy the cave of *Machpelah* from *Ephron* the *Hittite*, who was then one of the assembly, and immediately made him a free offer of it ^f. But *Abraham* still insisting upon paying the full value of it, they agreed for four hundred pieces of silver (G), which he paid down in full weight: and, being become possessor of the cave, field, and trees belonging to it, he soon after deposited the dear remains of his beloved wife in the cave ^g.

Year of the flood 491. Bef. Chr. 1857.

By this time *Abraham* was well advanced in years, and *Isaac* in the fortieth year of his age. He thought it therefore high time to marry him to some of his own family during his life, which he then imagined could not last much longer. To this end he called one of his chief and most faithful servants, and, having made him take an oath to get his son a wife out of his own kindred (H),

Abraham
sends his
servant to
get a wife
for Isaac.

^f Vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 199, & seqq. per tot.

^g Gen. xxiii.

forts of them, *viz.* the *ra-shim*, or heads of the people, the *sopbetim*, or judges, and the *soterim*, or officers. *Abraham*, therefore, could not make his purchase from *Ephron* the *Hittite*, without having recourse to the city-gates.

(G) The learned *Prideaux*, who has given us the last and best estimation of *Hebrew* and *Attic* coins, reckons a shekel to be equivalent to three shillings of our *English* money; so that the sum which *Abraham* paid for his new purchase

will amount to sixty pounds sterling (97).

(H) The text tells us, that the servant took the oath by putting his hand under his master's thigh, or upon his privities. This is the first time we read of that ceremony, but it was afterwards used by the patriarch *Jacob* (98), in *Egypt*, when he was dying. The oddness of it has inclined some judicious writers to think, that it implied a more solemn mystery than men are aware of, *viz.* a swearing by the

(97) *Connect. pref. p. 22.*

(98) *Gen. xlvii. 29.*

great

gave him all necessary instructions and authority to conclude the marriage, and sent him away with a train suitable to the embassy he was sent upon; that is, with ten camels loaden with the richest presents for the damsel's dowry; it being the custom in those days for the husband not to receive, but to pay a dowry for the wife. The servant made the best of his way to *Haran*, where *Nahor* dwelt; and what by his presents, what by his address, and the favourable account he gave of *Abraham's* grandeur and wealth, did easily obtain from him the beautiful *Rebecca* ^{Rebecca is} for his young master; and as soon as he had obtained ^{given to} her father's and her brother *Laban's* consent, he forthwith *Isaac* took out all the jewels of silver and gold, and fine raiment, which he had brought, and presented them to her, making at the same time some considerable presents to her mother and brother; after which, the rest of the day was spent in feasting and mirth. The next morning *Abraham's* servant, impatient to acquaint his master with the good success of his negotiation, desired to be dismissed, and with some difficulty obtained it; and after they had wished her all the usual blessings, and ordered her nurse to accompany her, they took their leave. The servant soon after brought her in sight of his young master, who chanced that night to be taking a solitary walk in the neighbouring fields; and as soon as *Rebecca* was informed who he was, she alighted; and, throwing a veil over her face, as the manner of young damsels then was, she waited to receive his first compliments^h. He then conducted her to his mother's tent, highly pleased with her extreme beauty, and modest carriage, as well as the kindred she came from; all which he looked upon as ample amends for the loss of his mother. He had now nothing to wish for, but that she might prove fruitful; but he was forced to wait nineteen years before he could obtain that blessing; during which he comforted himself and

Isaac takes her home.

^h Gen. xxiv. pass.

great MESSIAH that was to come, and the like (100). Some *Jews* think it was a swearing by the covenant of circumcision; and that whoever violated the oath, lost all the privileges and benefits of that covenant. *Kimchi* tells us, that it was still observed all over the east by those of his nation (101).

(100) *Rab. Sal.*, in loc. *Vid. Alix.*, in pentat., *Mausf.*, in loc.

(101) *Kimchi* apud

her

her with the assurance of God's promises, and the example of *Sarah*, who remained childless till the ninetieth year of her age.

Year of the flood 495. Bef. Chr. 1853. Abraham, being 141 years old, marries *Keturah*, and has six sons by her.

ABRAHAM could not but be pleased to see his son in the possession of so agreeable a wife; but that not proving sufficient to comfort him for the loss of his own, and finding himself still capable of making a new addition to his family, though he was then an hundred and forty-one years old, and had continued a widower several years, he took another wife, named *Keturah* (P); by whom he had six sons, whom he afterwards portioned, that they might not interfere with *Isaac's* inheritance, and sent them to dwell towards the east. They went eastward of *Beersheba*, and the land of *Canaan*; and settled in both *Arabias*, the *Petræa* and the *Deserta*ⁱ, where some footsteps of their names are still to be met with, of which we have given an account in a former volume^k.

ⁱ Gen. xxv. per tot. ^k Vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 150, & seqq.

(P) The *Jews* pretend, that this *Keturah* was the same with *Hagar*, whom *Abraham* sent for again after his wife's death, and by whom he had all these children. The reasons they give for it are, 1. Because the *Psalmist* calls the *Midianites*, which came of *Keturah*, *Hagarens* (108). 2. It is said elsewhere, they made war with the *Hagarens*, with *Jethur*, *Naphish*, and *Nadab* (109), which were the sons of *Ismael* (110). And, 3. Because *Ismael*, *Hagar's* son, is said to have assisted *Isaac* at the funeral obsequies of their father *Abraham* (111). To which they add, that *Hagar* being *Abraham's* lawful wife, it was juster for him to marry her than another. But these rea-

sons, and her name's being changed from *Hagar* into *Keturah*, which signifies incense, and is the emblem of continency, in which she had lived ever since she had been dismissed from *Abraham*, are rabbinical dreams, for she is still called *Hagar* in the same chapter (112). Besides, the text is plain against them, it being said, that *Abraham* added or proceeded to take another wife, which is inconsistent with his recalling the old one. Add to this, that *Hagar* was only a concubine, and is no-where called a wife, as *Keturah* is; and that *Hagar* must then have been about eighty years of age, and so too old to bear so many sons to so old a man (113).

(108) *Psal.* lxxxiii. 6.

(109) 1 *Chron.* v. 20.

(110) *Hie-*

ron. tradit. *Hebr.* in *Gen.* xxv. 20.

(111) *Gen.* xxv. 9.

(112) *Ver.* 12.

(113) *Jun.* in *loc. Villet.* c. 25. *quæst.* 3. & *al.*

CONCERNING *Abraham* we have nothing more recorded, except that he lived to the hundredth and seventy-fifth year of his age, and was gathered unto his fathers; and that his two sons paid him their last devoirs, *Isaac* having probably sent for his brother *Ismael*, and buried him in the cave of *Machpelah*, near *Sarah* his wife. Hence it is plain, that *Moses* has here anticipated his death, by mentioning it before the birth of his two grandsons *Esau* and *Jacob*, though he must have lived to the fifteenth year of their age (Q).

Year of the flood 491. Bef. Chr. 1857.

Abraham's death.

As

(Q) *Abraham's* history has been embellished with a great many notorious fictions by the *Jews, Arabians, and Indians*. We have already touched on some of them in his life; and we shall now subjoin some few more that are remarkable, such as his making a long abode in *Egypt*, and teaching astronomy, and other sciences there (115); his inventing the *Hebrew* characters and tongue (116), the same that are now in use; his being the author of several books, and in particular the famous one mentioned in the *Talmud*, and highly valued by several learned rabbies, called *Jetzirah*, or the creation; of which it gives an account. There is also an apocalypse attributed to him by the *Sethians*, a sort of heretics that sprang up in the earliest times of christianity (117). His assumption is mentioned by *St. Athanasius*; and *Origen* tells us of an apocryphal book pretended to be

written by him, wherein two angels, a good one and a bad one, are introduced disputing about his salvation or damnation (118). The *Jews* make him also the composer of some prayers, and of the ninetieth psalm, and of a treatise against idolatry (119). The *Indian* fire-worshippers, who think him to have been the same with their great prophet *Zoroaster*, attribute his books to him, which they call the *Zend, Pazend*; and *Vostab*, containing all the principles of their religion (120). *Dr. Prideaux* mentions them as one book, or perhaps three books in one volume, which he calls *Zendevesti*; or, as the vulgar people pronounce it, *Zundevestow* or plain *Zund*. Which name, he tells us, signifies a fire-kindler, such as a tinder-box is here with us; and was given it by the author to insinuate, that it would kindle a brighter fire in those who should

(115) *Artapan. & Eupolem. ap. Euseb. præp. l. ix. c. 17, 18. Justin. ex Trog. l. xxxvi. Joseph. ant. l. i. c. 8.* (116) *Id. ibid. Suid. in Abraham. Isidor. Hispal. l. i. c. 3. Origen, &c.* (117) *Epiphani. hæres. l. xxxix. c. 5.* (118) *Origen. homil. xxxv. in Luc.* (119) *R. Salom. in Berwa Bathra, c. 1. Gemar. cod. Talm. tract. Abodab Zarab, c. 1.* (120) *Herbelot. bibliot. orient. p. 16.*

attentively

Rebecca's As for *Rebecca*, she continued barren above nineteen pregnancy-years ; during which time *Isaac* ceased not intreating the LORD

attentively and devoutly read it (130).

The *Arabians* have likewise given us an history of this patriarch, though so altered and blended, that one would hardly think they were descended, as they are, from him by *Ishmael*.

Abraham, according to them, (131), was the son of *Azar*, and grandson of *Terab*; which account, could it be relied upon, would easily resolve that difficulty about his age when he died, which we have lately spoken of, p. 248, (B); since *Terab* might have begot *Azar* in the seventieth year of his age, and *Azar* have begot *Abraham* in the sixtieth of his; so that this last number, which is wanting in *Moses's* account of his life, would be here found complete; but we dare not affirm any thing about it. *Calmet* indeed thinks we might easily suppose two *Terabs*, one surnamed *Azar*, *Abraham's* father, and the other his grandfather; but we dare not add with him, that there is nothing in such a supposition that contradicts the sacred text. The eastern heathens have also a long tradition of *Abraham's* life, though vastly different from that of *Moses*, and fraught with many wonderful additions

of their own invention, but which we think not worth a place in a book of this nature, and for which we shall refer our reader to the author quoted last in the margin (132). The *Persian* fire-worshippers to this day express a great veneration for him; they call him *Zeerdoost*, or *Zoroaster*, which signifies the friend of fire; because when he was thrown, as they pretend, into the furnace by *Nimrod's* order, the flames, instead of consuming him, caressed and embraced him in a friendly manner (133). We may add, that *Calmet* (134) mentions a book in the *French* king's library, No. 792, written originally by *St. Ephrem* the *Syrian*, and translated from the *Syriac* into *Arabic*, upon *Abraham's* journey into *Egypt*; in which book there is also a sermon on his death, preached by *St. Athanasius*, patriarch of *Alexandria*, on the twenty-eighth of *March*; on which day the *Coptic* or *Egyptian* Christians celebrate his festival. The ancient fathers of the church have highly celebrated him on the account of his great faith and obedience; and the martyrologies have given him a place among their other saints, on the ninth of *October* (135). The church

(130) *Conn.* p. 317. (131) *Tarikmounteckeb ap. eund.* p. 12. (132) *Id.*
ibid. p. 13. *ex lib. Malle.* (133) *Prid. connect.* p. i. *book iv.*
 (134) *Ex bibl. orient.* p. 16. (135) *Martyrol. Rom. Adon. Ufu-*
ard, &c.

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LORD for her, who was pleased at length to hear his prayers, and send to him the long-desired blessing. They now began to think themselves truly happy; but *Rebecca's* happiness was short-lived. The unnatural struggling of the twins in her womb gave her an extraordinary uneasiness, till, after having consulted GOD about it, she was answered, that *two nations were striving in her, and that two sorts of people should be separated from her bowels, one of which should prove stronger than the other, and that the elder should serve the younger.* Accordingly she was soon

of Rome hath likewise ordered an office for him, and they address him in particular for those who are at the point of death.

It is reported, that the tomb of *Abraham* having been discovered near *Hebron*, they found his body, and those of *Isaac* and *Jacob*, whole and uncorrupted. There were likewise some gold and silver lamps hung up in the cave, which was visited by multitudes (136). The *Mossams* have such a veneration for this place, that they make it one of their four pilgrimages, the three others being that of *Mecca*, *Medina*, and *Jerusalem*; and the Christians built a church over the cave (137), which the *Turks* afterwards turned into a mosque, as has been already hinted (138).

Mos. Ben Maimon (139), and after him the learned *Spencer*, tell us, that *Abraham* was brought up in the religion of the *Zabeans*, who are supposed to have been great astronomers, astrologers, &c. and,

by discovering the power and influence of the stars and heavenly bodies, came at length to worship them. As to what *Maimonides* says, we shall only answer with *Meyer* (140), that it is impossible to prove, that the *Zabeans* were even as old as *Moses*; much more that they were older than *Abraham*; for though it be granted, that there were some people called *Zabeans* before *Moses's* time, and that their idolatry had been in vogue long before him; yet this will not prove, that the *Zabeans* we are speaking of, were older than *Abraham*; and *Spencer* himself owns (141), that it is almost impossible to discover their beginning, which has given rise to so many different opinions about it, and perhaps not one of them right. However, it is not improbable, that *Abraham*, being born and educated in an idolatrous country and family, might have been addicted to that superstition, till God called him away from the one and the other.

(136) *Ben Sbolmah ap. Herbelot.*
ii. p. 773.

(138) *Vol. ii. p. 477, (A), ad fin.*

(139) *Maimon. tractat. more nevoch. part. iii. c. 29 & 46. & in Avodab Zarab, c. 11, & 12.*

(140) *Meyer de fest. dieb. Hebr. c. 12.*

(141) *Spenc. de leg. Hebr. ritual. l. ii. c. 1.*

Year of the flood 510. Bef. Chr. 1838. after brought to bed of two sons, of whom the first, viz. *Efau*, was all over hairy, and the second came into the world holding him by the heel, and was therefore named *Jacob* (R). *Efau* became a great lover of hunting, and consequently the darling of *Isaac*, who was very fond of his venison; but

Efau and Jacob born. *Jacob* was the mother's favourite, who knew that he was to inherit the blessings, and could not, perhaps, forbear intrusting him with the secret, though she seems all along to have concealed it from her husband. The two brothers were not above twenty years old, when *Jacob* gave proof of his being acquainted with it, by making *Efau*, pursuant to his mother's directions, swear away his birth-right, as we have related elsewhere¹.

Year of the flood 543. Bef. Chr. 1805. A FAMINE, which happened some years after, obliging *Isaac* to seek for another habitation, he resolved to go into *Egypt*; when GOD appeared to him, and diverted him from it, bidding him go to *Abimelech* king of *Gerar*, where *Abraham* had heretofore been so friendly entertained; promising, that he would protect and bless him; as he did accordingly in a wonderful manner, as we have seen in a former volume, till their repeated troubles and vexations he met with there obliged him to remove farther^m.

Isaac goes to Gerar. AT length he was sued to by *Abimelech* in personⁿ, either to revive the old covenant, or to make a new one. *Isaac* expostulated with him, and those that attended him, upon the ill usage he had met with in their land; but nevertheless prepared a sumptuous banquet for them, and on the morrow entered into the covenant they requested. On the same day word was brought to *Isaac*, that his servants had found water^o;

A covenant between *Abimelech* and *Isaac*.

¹ See vol. ii. p. 162. ^m See before, vol. ii. p. 228, & seq. ⁿ See before, *ibid.* 230. ^o Genes. xxvi. 32, & seqq.

(R) From the Hebrew word *בֶּקֶעַ*, *bekeb*, which signifies the heel, is formed the verb *בִּקַּעַ*, to supplant; and by the addition of the ' *jod*, one of the formatives of nouns, *Jacob*, a supplanter; which name he in time made good. As for the name *Efau*, the meaning is somewhat obscure, unless we derive it, with some (142), from *בַּשָּׂפָה*, *bassah*, to make, because *Efau* came out all hairy, and, as it were, perfect; whereas other children are born with hair only on their heads. He is also supposed to have been called *Sheir* or *Sehir*, from *שֵׁיב*, *shabar*, which signifies hair; and lastly, *Edom*, from his selling his primogeniture for a mess of red pottage; as we have seen elsewhere.

upon which account he called the place *Beersheba* (S). Year of
 The tranquillity which this new alliance procured him, was the flood
 soon after disturbed by *Efau* marrying two wives, *Judith* 589.
 the daughter of *Beeri*, and *Bashemath* the daughter of *Bef. Chr.*
Elon, both *Hittites* 1.

1759.

HOWEVER *Isaac*, who beheld him still as heir, was
 soon reconciled to him; and, if he knew any thing of
 his selling his birth-right, he only looked upon it as a
 youthful trick, and the effect of hunger and weariness.
 Finding himself, therefore, grow old and feeble, and his
 eyes quite dim with age, and apprehending his death
 to be nearer than it really was, he being then an hundred
 and thirty-seven years old, resolved to bless him before he
 died. He therefore called him to him one day, and bad
 him get some fresh venison, and dress it to his palate, and
 told him he designed to confer his blessing on him that
 day. *Rebecca*, who overheard their discourse, knowing
 the importance of the paternal blessing, laid hold on that
 favourable opportunity to procure it for her favourite son
 in the absence of *Efau*.

By what stratagem she accomplished it, notwithstanding-*Jacob gets*
Jacob's great reluctance, and fear of such a discovery *his bro-*
 as would have brought a curse instead of a blessing from *her's blef-*
 the good old father, we have seen in a former volume *r: sing from*
 but, whilst the mother and son were congratulating *him.*
 each other, *Efau* came to his father with the venison he
 had prepared for him. He invited him in the same
 dutiful manner that his brother had done, and wondered
 to observe such tokens of surprize and concern in his fa-
 ther's face. Not to repeat what we have already expa-
 tiated on^s, *Efau* found he had been circumvented in his
 absence; and a mournful scene ensued between the father
 and the son; which was closed up by *Isaac's* strenuously
 insisting, that his blessing should remain with *Jacob*. I

¹ Gen. xxvi. p. tot. See also vol. ii. p. 163, & seqq.
^r See Gen. xxvii. pass. See also vol. ii. p. 164, & seqq. Vid.
 sup. ibid. & seqq.

(S) This name is rather re-
 vived than given to the place,
 since we have lately seen on
 what account *Abraham* called
 it so; though it is not impro-
 bable but the discovery of this
 new well might lead *Isaac* into
 an allusion to a third meaning

of the word *שבע*, *shabab*, which
 signifies not only *to swear*, and
seven, but likewise *to satisfy*
 or *satiate*; whereby he might
 intimate, that he had wells
 enough, and would rest satisf-
 fied with them.

have blessed him, says he, *yea, and he shall be blessed*: (T). Nevertheless, to allwage *Efau's* excessive grief, he blessed him in

t Gen. xxvii. 33.

(T) Whofoever narrowly observes *Jacob's* life after he had obtained his father's blessing, will own, that it consisted in nothing less than worldly felicity, of which he enjoyed as little as any man whatever. Forced from his home into a far country, for fear of his brother; deceived and oppressed by his own uncle, and forced to fly from him, after a servitude of twenty-one years; in imminent danger, either of being pursued and brought back by *Laban*, or murdered by an enraged brother. These fears are no sooner over, but the baseness of his eldest son, in defiling his couch; the treachery and cruelty of the two next to the *Sichemites* (145); and lastly, the loss of his beloved wife, and supposed untimely end of his son *Joseph*; all these overwhelmed him with fresh successions of grief: and, to complete all, his being forced by famine to descend into *Egypt*, and to die in a strange land; these, and many more, are sufficient proofs, that his father's blessing was of a quite different nature, and consisted chiefly in these two particulars, *viz.* the possession of the land of *Canaan*, in right of primogeniture, which his brother had sold him, and which rather belonged to his poste-

rity than to himself; the other and more glorious one was, that of the *MESSIAH's* being born of his race, and not of that of *Efau*. As to the stratagem by which this blessing was obtained, though it appears somewhat harsh and unjust at first sight; yet if we consider, that these two brothers were designed by providence as types, *viz.* *Efau* of the *Jews* (who were afterwards to be rejected for preferring a carnal and imaginary kingdom and *MESSIAH* to a spiritual one, which is, in fact, preferring a mess of pottage to the noblest birth-right), and *Jacob* of the *Gentiles*, who were to be admitted into that kingdom, which the former had rejected; if we consider further, that this alienation from one brother to another had nothing to do with a future state, as hath been formerly shewn; but was confined wholly to the present (146); if we consider these things, we shall not want the subtillies of the schools, to justify an action which was determined and conducted by a divine hand, unless men will affirm, that God could not in justice make such an alienation; an assertion so bold and absurd, that we don't think any man of sense and common modesty would venture to maintain it;

(145) See before, vol. ii. p. 200. (H).

(146) See before, vol. ii. pag. 266,

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in these words, *Thy dwelling shall be the fatness of the earth, Esau is at and of the dew of heaven from above. By thy sword and so blessed. thy bow shalt thou live, and shalt serve thy brother; and it shall come to pass, that when thou shalt have the dominion, thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck.* This blessing was inferior to *Jacob's* in the following particulars: 1. It omits plenty of corn and wine; from which some have inferred, that *Esau's* lot should not be so fertile as his brother's^t. 2. Here is no mention of GOD, as there is in the first, *GOD give thee, &c.* 3. There is a spiritual blessing promised to *Jacob*, that *they should be blessed that blessed him, &c.* but no such thing is said to his brother. *Jacob* was for a while in danger of his brother's heaviest indignation; which *Rebecca* dreading, she found out a pretence for conveying him out of his reach as far as *Padan-aram*, where he might marry one of her kindred (U).

JACOB, in his way thither, was overtaken by the night near *Luz*, and forced to lie in the open fields with only a stone for his pillow. Here he saw in a dream a ladder reaching from earth to heaven, and angels ascending and descending, whilst GOD, who stood on the top, was pleased to encourage him, by promising, that he would bless and multiply him beyond measure^u. *Jacob*, awaking from his dream surpris'd and frighted, cried out, *Surely GOD was in this place, and I knew it not!* Rising therefore from his hard bed, he took the stone which had served him for a bolster, and, pouring oil thereon, erected it into a pillar; and in memory of this vision called the place *Bethel* (the house of GOD); for it was called *Luz* before that time. Here he likewise made a vow unto GOD, that if he would

^t See before, vol. ii. p. 165, & note. 12, & seqq.

^u Gen. xxviii.

or would deserve an answer, if he did.

(U) It is very probable, that *Isaac* had likewise some suspicion of *Esau's* ill design; else it is not likely, that he would have sent *Jacob* away alone, and with only his staff in his hand, when his father *Abraham* had sent thither a servant in so noble a manner,

unless it were done to conceal his flight. However that be, the other reason which the mother alleged, was thought highly reasonable; and *Jacob* was privately sent for, to take his leave of his father, and to receive his commands, and his farther blessing; which done, he set out for *Padan-aram*.

grant him his protection, feed, cloath, and bring him back safe to his father's house, the LORD should be his GOD; that he would pay the tythes of all he had unto him, and that the stone which he had reared should be GOD's house. Having finished his prayer, he went on chearfully the rest of his way, till he came to his journey's end ^w.

Serves 7
years for
Rachel.

Is cheated
by Laban.

Marries
Rachel.

His uncle *Laban* received him with joy; and, after a month's stay with him, *Jacob* falling in love with his youngest daughter *Rachel*, a beautiful virgin, they agreed that he should serve him seven years for her; at the end of which she should become his wife. *Jacob*, pleased with this promise, spared no pains to make his service acceptable to his uncle *Laban*, who liked him so well for a servant, that he resolved to continue him in the same capacity seven years more. For when the time was come for his being put in possession of the wife he had so dearly earned, he conveyed his new son-in-law into his eldest daughter *Leah*'s apartment. *Jacob* did not discover the deceit till the next morning; when finding, instead of his beloved *Rachel*, her homely sister, he could not forbear expressing his resentment in the strongest terms. *Laban*, who had his answer ready, told him, that it was an unprecedented thing in that country to marry the youngest daughter before the eldest, and that it would have been a great injustice to *Leah* to have preferred a younger sister to her: But, continued he, in a milder tone, if you will fulfil the nuptial week with your wife, and consent to serve me seven years more for her sister, I am content to take your word for it, and to give *Rachel* to you as soon as the seven days are ended. *Jacob* could not but be troubled at such an unfair procedure; but he loved *Rachel* too well not to obtain her at any price; he therefore consented to those hard terms, and at the week's end enjoyed the fruits of his servitude and constancy. What befel his brother *Esau* during that time, hath been already mentioned*, and needs not be repeated here; only with respect to his wives, we beg leave to remove a difficulty, for which we refer the reader to the following note (X).

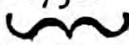
IN

^w Gen. xxviii. * See before, vol. ii. p. 166, & seqq.

(X) It will be proper to observe here, that *Moses* gives these three wives of *Esau* quite other names, when he comes to

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IN the mean time *Jacob* behaved very differently to- Year of
wards his two wives. *Rachel* had his heart and affection, the flood
whilst *Leab* was forced to content herself with a formal 596.
civility; but GOD made quite another difference between Bef. Chr.
them, by making the latter mother of many children, 1752.
whilst her sister continued barren for a long time. *Leab* 
was soon brought to bed of a son, and it being then the
custom of those times for mothers to give names to their
children; not without some particular reason or meaning,
she called him *Reuben*, intimating that GOD had seen her
affliction, and had given her a son, which would probably
engage her husband's affection to her. She had another *Simeon*,
soon after him, whom she called *Simeon*; because, she *Levi, and*
said, the LORD had heard her complaint. Her third she *Judah*
called *Levi*, hoping her husband would be now cordially *born.*
joined to her; and the fourth she called *Judah*, thinking
herself bound to praise GOD for her fruitfulness; after
which she left off bearing for a while².

RACHEL by this time was so extremely mortified at her Year of
sister's happiness, that she came one day in a fit of envy, flood 599:
and told her husband, that, unless he gave her children Bef. Chr.
1749.

² Gen. xxix. p. tot.

to speak of the posterity he had by them (147); which might lead an unwary reader to think, that he had more than three, especially, because the fathers of the two former are likewise called by different names. Thus his first wife, *Judith* of *Beeri*, is afterwards called *Adab*, the daughter of *Elon* the *Hittite*; the second, viz. *Bashemah*, the daughter of *Elon*, is again called *Abolibamah*, the daughter of *Anab*, the daughter of *Zibeon* the *Hi-vite*; the last, called at first *Mahalab*, is now called *Bathshemath*; but what shews, that these two latter names mean the same person, and that the same thing may be sup-

posed of the other two (especially considering, that *Esau* is recorded to have had but three wives) is, that she is called in both places, the daughter of *Ismael*, and sister of *Nebaiotb*. All the account that can be given for this difference is, that they had two names, and that it was usual to call them sometimes by one, sometimes by the other. Thus the mother of *Abijam*, king of *Judah*, who is called in one place *Maachab*, the daughter of *Abishalom* (148); is in another nam'd *Michaiab*, the daughter of *Uriel* of *Gibeab* (149). Other parallel places might be brought in great numbers, were it needful.

(147) Compare Gen. xxvi. 34. xxviii. 9. with xxxvi. 2, & seqq.
(148) 1 Kings xv. 2. (149) 2 Chron. xiii. 2.

also, she should inevitably die of grief. *Jacob*, who could not forbear being provoked at such a speech, which seemed to lay the blame of her sterility upon him, answered her in a passion, that it was out of his power to do miracles; and that *GOD*, who had shut up her womb, was alone able to open it; but that her behaviour was more apt to prevent, than to gain such a blessing. This mortifying answer made her bethink herself of the usual way, at that time, for women in her case to give their maids to their husbands; she therefore desired him to take *Bilhab*, and try to make her a mother by her means; to which he consented, and soon after had a son by her, which *Dan and Rachel* called *Dan*, meaning that *GOD* had judged in her favour. She called the other son, which *Bilhab* bore, *Naphthali*, to express the violent struggles she had had with her sister: after which *Leah*, thinking she had quite left off bearing, gave her maid *Zilpah* also to *Jacob*, whose first son she called *Gad* (a troop) expecting more to come, and the next she called *Asher*, to express the happiness she now enjoyed.

By this time *Reuben* being about six years of age, brought home one evening some mandrakes (Y), which he

(Y) What these mandrakes were, is not easy to guess: but they could not certainly be what we understand by that name; 1. Because they had nothing inviting, either in smell, taste, or colour, to induce a child of his age to gather them; much less could he choose them for any particular virtue or quality they had. 2. The text says, it was then wheat-harvest, which in those hot countries is about *May*, when the apples of that root are far from being ripe. 3. The mandrake has a very strong stupefying smell, and is therefore called by the *Arabians jabrokim*; whereas the *dudaim*, or *mandrakes*, are commended for their fragrance, in the only place of Scripture, where they are mentioned besides (150). For this reason some have fancied them violets (151); others lilies (152); others jessamin; others have rendered the word desirable flowers (153), agreeable to the word *dudaim*, which signifies loves in the dual, or, the breasts of a woman. Others again, and perhaps more probably, have guessed them to be citrons (154). That which has induced so many interpreters to suppose them to be mandrakes, is the virtue attributed to them of helping con-

(150) *Cant.* vii. 13.(151) *Onkel.* in loc.(152) *Oleasf.*(153) *Jun.* in loc.(154) *Bochart.* *Brown's vulg. err.* *Calmet comm.* in *Gen.* cap. xxx. v. 11.

ception,

he had been gathering in the fields in the time of the wheat-harvest. *Rachel* no sooner saw them, but she desired to have some part of them. *Leah* hereupon answered, not over-complaisantly, that it was a little too much for her to take her husband and her son's mandrakes too: wherefore, to pacify her, and purchase the fruit, she agreed, that *Jacob* should lie with her that night (Z); and *Jacob* no sooner came home, but *Leah* challenged him to confirm the bargain, which he accordingly did; the consequence of which was, that she bore him a fifth son, whom she called *Issachar* (the man of reward), alleging that he was a reward to her for giving her maid to *Jacob*. After which she bore her sixth and last son, and called him *Zebulun* (dwelling), in hopes that so many sons would make her husband dwell with her. She had likewise a daughter, whom she called *Dinah*, which is the

Year of
the flood
603.
Bef. Chr.
1745.

ception (155), which made *Rachel* willing to try the effects of them; but, besides that they were plentiful enough to have been bought at a cheaper rate, it is plain, that she did not conceive after them. Neither is it probable, that *Leah* would have parted with them, if they had been known to have had such a virtue, which perhaps was not discovered till a long time after; when it became known among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, by the name of the apple of love, and of the juice of which the emperor *Julian* tells his friend (156), that he had taken a dose to excite him to it. A modern author, in his history of *Ethiopia*, has confuted the notion of *dudaim* signifying mandrakes (157); and affirms, that it signifies a certain fruit, which the *Syri-*

ans call *mauz*, not unlike the *banana*, or *Indian fig-tree*, in shape and taste, and about the bigness of a cucumber, thirty or forty of which often hang upon one stem: but, whatever these *dudaim* were, whether a fruit or flower, it is certain, they must have had something pleasant and inviting to a child, either in smell or taste.

(Z) The custom of those countries, where polygamy was allowed, was in those days for the husband to take his wives by turns (158); the kings of *Persia*, if we may believe *Herodotus* (159), were not exempt from that rule. This makes it more probable, that she sold her turn for that night to her sister, than that she directed her husband which of the four he should lie with.

(155) *Epiph. ap. Villet.* (156) *Ludolph. hist. Æthiop. l. i. cap. 72.*
(157) *Vid. Calm. in Gen. xxx. 16. Dict. sub voc. Mandrag. Agg. l. xxii. cont. Faust. cap. 29.* (158) *Villet. Munst. & al.* (159) *Herodot. l. iii. cap. 69.*

feminine of *Dan*; after which she bore no more. As for *Rachel*, her prayers at length being heard, she was happily brought to bed of a son, whom she called *Joseph*, in hopes that *God* would add another to him. By this time, *Jacob*, having finished his fourteen years servitude, and being desirous to revisit his old parents, desired his uncle to dismiss him and his family. But *Laban*, who had found no small advantage in having such a faithful servant, begged him to stay a little longer, promising, upon that condition, to give him what wages he should name. They soon came to an agreement about that; but *Laban's* avarice put him on so many stratagems to defraud him of it, as obliged *Jacob* to use others in his own defence, and which the reader may see in the xxxth chapter under-quoted, and which succeeded so well to him, that his flocks thrived greatly, whilst *Laban's* dwindled visibly away.

Jacob's
stratagem
of the spee-
kled flock.

LABAN, vexed at his heart to see such a great difference between the two flocks, and perhaps suspecting some trick, obliged him to invert the bargain. This arbitrary change was renewed more than once or twice, as he complained to him afterwards^a; in spite of all which, *Jacob* grew exceeding rich; and with the money which he got by his fleeces, &c. bought men and women servants, camels, oxen, and asses; which raised such envy in *Laban* and his sons against him, that they began to look upon him with an evil eye; and this made him contrive the means of getting off with all he had^b. He acquainted his wives with his design, and finding them of the same mind, he set them and their little ones upon camels, and, having got all his servants and substance together, began his journey towards the land of *Canaan*, whilst his father-in-law, who was at a pretty distance from him, was busy shearing his sheep; which gave *Rachel* an opportunity of stealing her father's gods (B). *Laban*, who did not hear of his flight

Jacob
steals
away from
Laban.
Year of
the flood
609.
Bef. Chr.
1739.

^a Gen. xxxi. 41.

^b Gen. xxx. p. tot.

(B) The word which we translate gods, in the *Hebrew* is תְּרָפִים *teraphim*, which all the *Jewish rabbies* own to be a word of no *Hebrew* etymology. The *LXX* translate it sometimes an oracle, and sometimes vain idols, and *Aquila* idols. Some think it to be an *Egyptian* word, and the same with *Serapis*; introduced by *Ham*, or his son *Mizraim*, who filled that country with idols (159). As to their shape,

(159) Kircker. *Oedip. Egypt. Synt.* iv. c. 3. *Cunæus rep. Hebr.*

flight till the third day after, was full seven days before he could overtake him ; by which time *Jacob* had already passed

the most received and probable opinion is, that it was human, or something resembling a human form, as a busto, *terminus*, &c. though the *Jews* pretend, that it was the head of a first-born son, plucked off from the neck, and embalmed ; under the tongue of which was fastened a golden plate, with the name of some false deity engraven upon it ; which head, being placed in a nich, or upon a shelf, gave vocal answers (160) : but these are rather to be looked on as fables not worth confuting ; and the figure which *Michol* put in *David's* bed (161), which the original calls by the name of *teraphim*, shews, that it must have had an human shape. *Josephus* indeed, who might think it a reflection on *David*, that there should be found an image or *teraphim* in his house, has attributed a more subtle stratagem to *Michol*, though less credible (162). But, waving the improbability of this story, we shall meet with so many instances in the sequel of this history, wherein this author doth depart, from the Scriptures, and from truth, whenever the honour of his nation is concerned, that his authority will be of little weight in all such cases.

These *teraphims* were after-

wards universally known by the name of talismen, as they are to this day all over *India*. The *Persians* called them *telephim*, a name not unlike *teraphim*. They were made of different metals and sizes, cast under certain constellations, with the figures of some planets, and magic characters, engraven upon them. What metal those of *Laban* were, or how big, or how many, is not easy to guess ; only this the text tells us, that she hid them in the straw, and sat upon them. As for their use, it was chiefly to give answers, to foretel what was to come, to discover what was hid or lost, and the like. Besides this, they were also addressed to for temporal blessings, and to avert evils. They were to be consulted and prayed to at certain times, under particular aspects of the planets, from which, according to the *Jews*, they partly received that power, and partly from the characters engraven on them (163). Another rabbi goes further, and pretends that they gave their answers *viva voce* (164), and proves it from the words of the prophet, *The teraphims have spoken vain things* (165). However, we must not suppose, that all the *teraphims* were of the same

(160) *Jenat, targ. in Gen. xxxi. R. Tanbuma Eleaz. & al.* (161) *1 Sam. xix. 16.* (162) *Ant. lib. vi. c. 14.* (163) *D. Kimchi sub vos. Teraph.* (164) *R. Eleaz. cap. 36.* (165) *Zecbar. x. 2.*

make,

passed the *Euphrates* (C), and was got up the mountains of *Gilead*, where he had pitched his tent for that night.

make, or for the same uses, even among the *Jews*. We shall have occasion to mention some of other sorts, when we come to speak of that of *Micah* (166): besides, as they came to be universal, every one had them made after his own fancy; though the generality of them had at least an human head.

The last thing worth inquiring into, is, what induced *Rachel* to steal her father's gods. To which some answer, that she did it to repay herself for the damage which they had sustained by her father (167); others, that she thought by that means to prevent *Laban's* inquiring of them, which way *Jacob* went (168); others, that she would thereby cure her father of his idolatry, against which *Jacob* had read his wives many a lecture (169). The learned *Shusford* looks upon this theft to have been committed by her, out of a fond regard for her ancestors (170). And lastly, others think, that both she and her sister were still addicted to that superstition, and that their designing to continue in it, made her to conceal the theft from her husband (171); which seems the most probable, since *Jacob*, making a thorough reformation in his house, caused them to be taken from her,

and buried them under a tree in *Sichem* (172).

(C) Though the text doth not say what river he passed, yet it is plain, it could be no other than the *Euphrates*, which the Scripture sometimes calls the river *Perab*, sometimes the great river, and sometimes emphatically, *the river*, or flood (173); either because that and the *Nile* were the only two considerable ones they knew; or, because it was one of the four rivers of *Paradise*; or lastly, because it was the boundary of the promised land (174). However, *Jacob* must have made prodigious speed to have arrived at mount *Gilead* in 10 days, with all his family, cattle and lumber, it being little less distant from *Haran* than 250 miles; so that he must be supposed to have travelled at the rate of 25 miles a day, unless he had perhaps taken the advantage of two or three days journey, under pretence of fresh pasture before he set out for good. *Laban* and his company must have made still greater haste to have overtaken him in seven days, and have travelled at the rate of 37 miles a day; which plainly shews, that he was no less eager to wreak his resentment on him, than *Jacob* was to avoid it.

(166) *Jud.* xvii. 1, & seqq.

(168) *Abenezra* in loc.

Greg. Nazianz. orat. de S. Pasch. & al.

p. 342. vol. ii. l. vii. p. 154.

Musc. Calv. & al.

& alib.

(167) *Percir. Johnson, & al.*

(169) *Theodoret. quæst. 9. Rab. Sal.*

(170) *Connest. vol. i. l. v.*

(171) *Cyrl. in Gen. lxi. Gbryloft. Cajet.*

(172) *Gen. xxxv. 4.*

(173) *Vid. Josb. i. 4.*

(174) *Vid. Gen. xv. 18.*

It is evident, that he had some ill design against his son-in-law; but GOD, who appeared to him that night in a dream, was pleased to avert it, by threatening him severely, if he committed any hostility or violence against him; so that he contented himself with expostulating Laban with him, that he had stolen away without giving him an opportunity of kissing his children and grandchildren, and sending them away with the usual ceremonies of music and dances. *Jacob*, on the other hand, was not without his complaints; *Laban's* deceiving him, and making him serve so long for a woman he did not care for; the changing his salary so many times, and his late strange behaviour towards him and his family; all these and many more, he answered him, were but ill requitals for all his diligence and care, or for the blessings which GOD had heaped upon him for his sake. *Laban* had yet another thing to lay to his charge, namely, the stealing of his gods; and *Jacob*, ignorant of *Rachel's* theft, desired him to make the most diligent search for them throughout his family, promising that the person on whom they were found, should be immediately put to death. *Laban* lost no time, but searched every tent, and last of all came to that of *Rachel*, who had hid the *teraphim* under the camel's litter, and had set herself down upon them. She kept sitting whilst he was curiously examining every corner, and excused it, with telling him, that the condition she was then in, allowed her sex to dispense with the usual ceremonies. This prevented all further scrutiny; and *Laban*, departing with an heavy heart, acquainted his son-in-law with his ill success. This caused some fresh expostulations; which being ended, they fell upon a more agreeable subject, which was to make an alliance between them, and to erect a monument as a standing witness of it to future ages. They all put a helping hand, and reared the pile, which *Laban* called in the *Syrian* tongue *Jegar-sahadutha*, and *Jacob* in *Hebrew*, *Gilead*; both which signify the heap of witnesses^b. Here they likewise swore, that neither would pass over that monument to hurt the other; and *Jacob*, that he would use his wives and children with all becoming tenderness and affection. The ceremony being ended, *Laban* and a sacrifice offered upon the occasion, *Jacob* feasted the whole company the rest of that day; and the next morning *Laban* having embraced and blessed the whole family, returned home to *Padan-aram*^c.

^b Vid. sup. vol. i. p. 347, & seqq. & vol. ii. p. 292.

^c Gen. xxxi. p. tot.

Jacob's vision.
He calls the place Mahanaim.

He sends some presents to Esau.

JACOB, who thought his absence a greater security than the oaths he had sworn, was glad to have so well escaped; but one fear succeeded another, and the resentment of his brother *Esau* began now to give him a fresh trouble; but a vision which he had of an host of angels, who met him in his way to *Canaan*, allayed his anxiety for a while; and in memory of this vision he called the place *Mahanaim* (two camps). But, being still fearful of his brother^a, he resolved to soften him with a submissive message; and though still near 120 miles from him, yet to send a message to acquaint him with the success he had during his stay in *Mesopotamia*, the riches and multitude of wives, children, servants, and cattle, which he had acquired; and that he did not think fit to proceed further homewards, till he had sent him his best compliments (D). The messengers returned with the news, that *Esau* was coming to meet him, accompanied with four hundred of his men. This was enough to make him conclude, that he came with a design to destroy him, and all that belonged to him; but, recovering little from his fear, he set himself about giving orders to his family. He divided them into two bands, in hopes that if the one perished, the other might escape; which done, he addressed himself to GOD in a very humble prayer, acknowledging his great mercies, and his own unworthiness, and begging his future protection against his brother's sword, and that he would fulfil all his former promises to him. After this he resolved to try how far presents would work upon *Esau's* temper; and, having set

^a Vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 166.

(D) As *Jacob* was still so many miles from mount *Seir*, where *Esau* then dwelt, this message would have been superfluous or premature, had he not designed, by acquainting him with the great wealth he had got in *Haran*, to have dispossessed his brother of a prejudice, that he came empty-handed, and with a view only of inheriting his old father's substance, which might have rekindled his resentment, and caused a fresh misunderstanding.

ing. It might moreover be done with a politic view, to inform himself how he stood affected towards him, in order to stop short or steer another course, if he found him in no better temper than he had left him. And this, as a judicious divine rightly observes (172), sufficiently accounts for *Jacob's* message, without supposing two lands of *Edom*, one nearer, and another farther from *Gilead*, as *Adrichomius*, and others after him, have done.

(172) See *Shuckford's connect.* vol. iii. p. 156, & seq.

apart

apart two hundred she-goats and twenty he-goats, two hundred ewes and twenty rams, thirty she-camels, with their colts, forty cows and ten bulls, twenty she-asses and ten colts, he sent them before him in separate bands, and charged their drivers, when they met his brother, to tell him, that they were presents sent by *Jacob* to his lord *Esau*, in order to intreat his favour and good will^b. On the next morning he made all his family and flocks go over the brook *Jabbok* long before break of day, whilst himself tarried at *Mahanaim*. Here appeared to him in the shape of a man, according to the prophet *Hosea*^c, the same divine person that had before at *Bethel*, who wrestled with him till the morning; and, not being able to prevail with him, touched the hollow of his thigh, and put it out of joint; then desired him to let him go, since day appeared. *Jacob* then begged, that he might have his blessing first; upon which he changed his name from *Jacob* to *Israel*, which signifies a man that has prevailed with God. But, when he was desired to tell his own name, he refused, and departed from him (D). *Jacob* therefore

^b Gen. xxxii. 14, 15.

^c Hof. xii. ver. 4.

(D) Most versions, as well as ours, render the words of the angel to *Jacob* in the latter part of the 28th verse, as if *Jacob* had prevailed over men as well as over him; whereas he had been so far from prevailing over the only two enemies he had, *viz.* *Esau* and *Laban*, that he had been forced to flee from them both. This makes it therefore necessary to have recourse to a better version of these words, if the original can bear us out in it, which it will do without the least violence; or rather, by following the most strict and literal sense of it, which runs thus, *Thou hast acted or behaved prince-like* (in thy wrestling) *with God, and thou shalt also prevail over men.* And indeed, what could be

more comfortable to *Jacob* in the streight he was in, about meeting his brother *Esau*, than such a promise? or what can more naturally account for this vision, than to suppose, that it happened to him in order to dispel his fears? This version is likewise more agreeable to the *Chaldee* paraphrase, the *Septuagint*, and the *Vulgate*, which render it thus, *If thou hast been thus far able to prevail with GOD, how much more wilt thou be able to prevail over men!*

Some of the antient fathers think it was to be understood in a spiritual, and not actual sense (173). As to the person who wrestled with *Jacob*, some have believed it to be an angel, only because *Hosea* calls him by that name in the place

(173) Hieron. qu. Hebr. Orig. & al.

therefore called the place *Peniel*, or the face of GOD; and, when he came to march, he found that he halted upon his thigh; upon which account his posterity never eat of that joint^d. And *Josephus* tells us, that neither *Jacob*, nor any of his posterity ever since, did eat that part of any creature^e: and though the text mentions only the sinew that shrank; yet so scrupulous have some of the *Jews* been even to this day, that, for want of knowing which joint it was, they abstain from the whole hind-quarter; though others, less nice, abstain only from the thigh; and some again will eat even that, and content themselves with plucking the sinew out of it^f. Some think, that *Jacob's* lameness was soon over; others, that he halted all his life. However, the new assurances which the angel gave him inspired him with such fresh courage, that he marched on cheerfully, till he had overtaken his family, and was come in sight of his brother.

Meets
with his
brother
Esau.

Year of
the flood
609.

Bef. Christ
1739.

How tender and affectionate their meeting was, and how contrary to *Jacob's* expectation, we have already shewn^g (E); which was closed with a kind invitation to his

^d Gen. xxxii. 22—32.
O. T. in loc.

^e Ant. l. i. c. 20.
^g Vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 166.

^f Calm.

above-quoted; whereas, when it is GOD or CHRIST, that appears like one, he is distinguished by the angel of the covenant, or some other word (177). But what follows in the very next verse of the prophet above-quoted, plainly confutes that notion, *he found him in Bethel, even the LORD GOD of hosts*. That it was GOD who met him in *Bethel*, is plain, by his saying, *I am the GOD of Bethel* (178). The general opinion therefore of antient and modern authors is, that it was CHRIST who wrestled with *Jacob* here. 1. Because he blessed him; and, 2. Because *Jacob* says, *I have seen*

GOD face to face, &c. and called the place *Peniel* (179).

(E) It is very probable, that *Isaac* and *Rebecca* had taken much pains to convince him, during his brother's absence, that what *Jacob* and she had done, was by order of GOD himself, who had decreed the inversion of the succession before they were born; that it would therefore be not only in vain, but even an unpardonable crime, for him to oppose the decrees of providence; and that, instead of recovering his brother's blessing, he would bring a terrible curse on his own head: by which, and other such-like

(177) *Pereir. in loc. & al.* (178) *Gen. xxxi. 13.* (179) *Tertul. lib. ii. cont. Marcion. Hilar. de Trin. l. iv. Ambr. de fid. l. vi. Chryss. in cap. vii. act. & al. Calv. Merc. Jun. & al. mult.*

his habitation on mount *Seir*; but *Jacob* thought fit to turn towards *Succoth*, where he built him an house, and afterwards removed to *Salem*, a city belonging to the *chemites*, where he bought some ground of the children of *Hamor*, and settled there ^g (F), and built an altar to the LORD, which he called *El Elohe Israel*, or the mighty GOD of *Israel*^h. This was in all likelihood the same place where *Abraham* had heretofore built one, soon after his first coming into the land of *Canaan*ⁱ. And here also was probably *Jacob's* well near mount *Gerizim*, where CHRIST talked with the woman of *Samaria*^k; for that mountain stood in the country of the *Shechemites*^l.

HERE *Jacob* might have lived long in peace and tranquillity, being universally beloved and respected, had not the treacherous and inhuman massacre of the inhabitants by his two sons *Simeon* and *Levi*^m obliged him to withdraw from the place nearer to *Mamre*, where his father still lived. *Jacob* reproved them for their barbarity;

Year of the flood 616.
Bef. Chr. 1732.

* Gen. xxxiii. 18. ^h Ibid. 20. ⁱ Gen. xii. 7.
Annal. USSER. sub ann. CALM. hist. O. T. VILLET. & al.
^k JOHN iv. 6, & seqq. ^l Judg. ix. 7. ^m Jos.
ant. l. i. c. 21.

arguments, they had wholly persuaded him to acquiesce in the divine will, and to set aside all animosity against *Jacob*.

(F) We have here followed the *English* version, though the original, we think, might be more properly rendered, he arrived *safe* and *sound*, or *peaceably*, at the city of *Shechem*; for the word *Salem*, or rather *Shalem*, bears that signification; whereas we find no remains of any place near *Shechem*, that is called by the name of *Salem*. Some have thought it to be that *Salem* of which *Melchizedek* was king (186), the ruins of whose palace were still to be seen in St. *Jerom's* time; which shewed

it, he says, to have been a magnificent building, and which, he thinks, is the same with *Salem* here spoken of (187). But it is not likely, that the former was so near *Shechem*, any more than the *Salim* where *John the Baptist* did frequent (188), which was near *Jordan*; whereas *Shechem* was at a distance from it. Besides, *Josephus* tells us, that the old *Salem* was the same as *Jerusalem* (189). And the *Psalmist* seems to intimate the same, when he says, *At Salem was his tabernacle, and his dwelling in Sion* (190); but the supposed *Salem* near *Shechem* must have been near thirty miles from *Jerusalem*.

(186) Gen. xiv. 18. (187) Hieron. quæst. Hebr. (188) Jobn
iv. 5. (189) Ant. l. i. c. 11. (190) Psal. lxxvi. 2.

and the rest of the inhabitants of the country would, no doubt, have made them pay dear for it, had not GOD interposed, and sent a panic fear amongst them, inso-much that they even let them depart quietly, and carry off all the plunder they had got from the slaughtered *Shechemites*ⁿ.

Jacob is bid to go and dwell at Bethel. GOD was soon pleased to dissipate all *Jacob's* fears once more by speaking to him in a dream, and bidding him go to *Bethel*, where he had formerly appeared to him when he fled from his brother, and to dwell there, and build an altar unto him. Here *Jacob*, unwilling to profane that holy place by carrying with him any thing that might be displeasing to GOD, ordered his family to deliver to him all the idols they had taken from the *Shechemites*, or brought from *Padan-aram*, not indeed to be destroyed, as one might have expected, but to be buried in a deep hole, which he caused to be made under an oak near to *Shechem*. His commands were forthwith obeyed, and they parted even with their very ear-rings, which they used to wear as talismans or charms against sickness and other misfortunes^o. After which *Jacob* and his whole family set out with all they had, and arrived safe at *Luz*, afterwards called *Bethel*: none of the neighbouring inhabitants daring to pursue them. As soon as he came thither, he built an altar to GOD, and called it *El Bethel*, or the GOD of *Bethel*: soon after which *Deborah*, his mother's nurse, died, and was buried under an oak at the foot of the hill of *Bethel*, and the place was called *Allon Bachuth*, or the oak of mourning. He made but a short stay at *Bethel*, being desirous to go to visit his father, whom, for ought we find, he had not seen since he went to *Mesopotamia*: but, as he was marching towards *Ephrath*, *Rachel* fell in labour at a small distance from the place; and, perceiving that it would cost her her life, called the child *Benoni*, or the son of my affliction; but after she was dead, *Jacob* changed that name, too apt to revive his grief for her loss, into that of *Benjamin*, or the son of my right-hand. *Rachel* was buried in the way to *Ephrath*, and a stone monument was reared over the grave, which was still to be seen in *Moses's* time. This was not the only misfortune that *Jacob* met with in this place: for his son *Reuben* having taken a liking to *Bilhah*, his father's concubine, and *Rachel's* maid, he did not scruple to comply with his wicked inclination: which

Their idols buried.

Year of flood 616.

Bef. Christ 1732.

Deborah dies.

Rachel dies, and is buried at Ephrath.

Reuben's incest.

ⁿ Gen. xxxiv. per tot. xxxv. 4.

^o See CALMET. comm. in Gen.

made so deep an impression in his father's heart, that he grieved at it to his dying day P. Soon after this *Jacob* Year of left that melancholy place, and came at length to *Mamre*, the flood to his old father *Isaac*, with whom he continued almost 619. the space of thirteen years, some say, nineteen, that is, Bef. Chr. till the good old man departed this life, which he did in 1729. a very advanced age, being an hundred and eighty years old, having been almost blind and decrepit a considerable *Isaac dies, and is buried by his two sons.* part of that time (H). His two sons buried him in the cave of *Machpelah* with *Abraham* and *Sarah*; after which *Esau* returned home, and *Jacob* continued at *Mamre* 9.

HOWEVER, the happiness which *Jacob* had enjoyed Year of during his stay with his father, had not been without some the flood allay. *Joseph*, then about seventeen years of age, was 632. become his darling, in regard of the excellencies both of Bef. Chr. his body and mind. But his fondness for him raised no 1716. small jealousy in his brothers (K). What increased it still *Joseph be- more loved by his father.*

P Gen. xlix. 4.
pag. 167.

9 Gen. xxxv. p. tot. See also vol. ii.

(H) The *Jews* tell us, that the masters who taught *Isaac* the law of God, were the patriarchs *Shem* and *Heber*, who were still living; and that, when *Abraham* took him with him to mount *Moriab* to sacrifice him there, he told *Sarah*, that he was going with him to the school of *Shem* (197). They likewise attribute to him the composing of the noon-prayers, which they constantly use: for they think *Abraham* was the author of those of the morning, and *Jacob* of those of the evening, and *Isaac* of those of noon (198).

(K) Most versions, as well as ours, have made *Jacob* to love *Joseph*, because he was

the son of his old age; whereas he had two sons younger than he, viz. *Zebulun* and *Benjamin*, and this last was born above fifteen years after him. It seems, they have mistaken the words *בן זקנים* *ben zekenim*, the son of senators or elders, as he is called here, for *בן זקנה* *ben ziknah*, the son of old age. But the former has a quite different meaning, it signifying, according to the *Hebrew* idiom, the son or disciple of senators; that is, because he was endued with extraordinary wisdom and prudence. Accordingly the *Samaritan*, *Persic*, and *Arabic* versions have rendered it, *because he was a wise and pru-*

(197) *Sgambat. archiu. Vet. Test. l. ii. p. 197.*
crypt. Vet. Test.

(198) *Fabric. apo-*

Hated by
his bre-
thren.

His two
dreams.

Year of
the flood
619.
Bef. Chr.
1729.

more was, that *Joseph*, having observed some vile actions in the sons of *Bilhah* and *Zilpah*, with whom his father had sent him to feed the sheep, in hopes that they would pay him a greater regard than his other brethren, came and acquainted him with it. But he himself helped to complete their envy, or rather to turn it into an irreconcilable hatred, by innocently telling them some dreams he had, which seemed to foreshew, that he should one day get the power and authority over them. One of them was, that he saw in a wheat-field his own sheaf standing upright, and theirs falling down before it, and paying homage to it. Another was, that he saw the sun, moon, and eleven stars, doing the like obeisance to him. This last he likewise told his father, who, though he could not perhaps but think it significative of some great fortune that would attend him; yet, observing with what envy his brethren heard it, thought fit to rebuke him severely before them, asking him, if he thought, that his father, mother, and brethren, were to bow themselves to the earth to him? But this rather helped to increase their hatred against him, and made them resolve on his death. It was not long before an opportunity offered of executing their design. *Jacob*, being uneasy that he had not heard from them, since they were gone to *Shechem* with their flocks, sent *Joseph* to inquire after them; and these no sooner saw him, but they all agreed to rid themselves of the dreamer, as they called him, and make their father believe, that some wild beast had devoured him. They had executed their bloody design, without any regard either to his tears, his age, or to the grief which the news of his death would cause to their aged father, had not *Reuben* dissuaded them from imbruing their hands in his blood, and advised them to throw him alive into a pit, and let hunger and grief perform that cruel office. Whether the fear of the guilt of blood, or desire to make him die a

dent son; though even this comes short of the energy of the idiom, and might be more properly translated, *because he had the wisdom or prudence of a senator* (198).

Justin in epitome of *Trogus* makes mention of his being

fold into *Egypt* by his brethren, who envied the excellency of his wit, and, having got him privately into their hands, sold him to some merchants, who carried him down into that country (199).

(198) *Vid. Le Scen. essay.*

(199) *Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 2.*

more lingering death, prevailed upon them to take the advice, they let him down into the pit. In the mean time a troop of *Ishmaelites* happening to pass by, with spices and balm from *Gilead*, and bound for *Egypt*, *Judab* persuaded his brethren to sell him to them, since his death would do them no more service than his being carried down into *Egypt*. Accordingly *Joseph* was sold to the merchants, and carried off unknown to *Reuben*, whose design was to have got him out of the pit, and to have sent him back privately to his father. The surprize and concern he was in when he found him gone, forced such complaints from him, that they took the more care not to let him know what was become of him. Soon after, having dipped his party-coloured coat in some kid's blood, they sent it home to their father; who no sooner saw it, than, thinking that his beloved child had been torn in pieces by some wild beast, he took his supposed loss so to heart, that he did not cease mourning for him, till he heard the surprising news of his advancement in *Egypt*, where *Joseph* happened to be sold to an officer of the king's guard, named *Potiphar* (M). Here *Joseph* shewed such diligence and integrity, and proved so successful in all he undertook, that his master soon committed the care of all his affairs wholly into his hands. He had been ten years in *Potiphar's* house, when his mistress, taken with the extraordinary comeliness of his person, after several other unsuccessful attempts to make him comply with her wanton desires, accosted him one day when the whole family was abroad, in so passionate a manner, that *Joseph*, not thinking it safe to stay and expostulate with her, as he had frequently done, abruptly withdrew, leaving his upper garment, which she had laid hold of, in her

He is sold and carried down to Egypt.

Sold there to Potiphar.

Is solicited to an amour by his mistress.

† Vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 153.

‡ Gen. xxxviii. p. tot.

(M) It may not be improper to observe here, that though the text calls *Potiphar* an eunuch, yet he was not a real one, as the LXX. render it, and the *Jews* fancy; for though the *Hebrew* word סריס *faris* doth properly import an eunuch, yet it is often used to signify an officer belonging to the court,

and near to the king's person. He is also called שר שבחים *far tabachim*, which in its primitive meaning signifies the prince of the butchers, from *tabach*, which signifies slaughter. For which reason some have rendered it, the prince of the cooks (201).

(201) Vid. Mercer. Jun. & al.

His refusal makes her accuse him.

hands. Not able to brook this affront, she vowed the ruin of the innocent youth; and accordingly having brought together with her outcries all who were within hearing, she charged *Joseph* with her own crime, confirming the charge by the dumb witness she had torn from him. By the time her husband came home, she had dressed up her story so well, that she was easily believed. Had *Potiphar* loved *Joseph* less than he did, it is probable he would have sacrificed him that minute to his resentment; but he contented himself for the present with sending him into the king's prison, where we shall leave him for a while, to take a view of what passed in his father's family.

He is sent to prison.

Judah's marriage with a Canaanite. Er's death. Onan's sin and death.

NOT long after *Joseph* had been sold into *Egypt*, *Judah* married the daughter of a *Canaanite*, whose name was *Shuah*, by whom he had three sons (N), *Er*, *Onan*, and *Shelah*. *Er* being cut off for his wickedness, before he had any children by his wife *Tamar*, *Judah* bid his second son *Onan* take her, according to the custom of that country, and raise a posterity to his brother. *Onan* obeyed seemingly; but, not brooking the thoughts, that his children should be esteemed his brother's, took such a wicked and unnatural way to prevent *Tamar's* having any by him, that *God* was provoked to punish him with

* Gen. xxxix. p. tot.

(N) It is not easy to guess at what time *Judah* had these three sons by this *Canaanitish* woman; and, if we take the words in the original, at that time, in a strict sense, as if it happened about the time that *Joseph* was sold, he must have been too young, being but twenty-two years of age; for *Joseph* was seventeen years old, and he could not be above four or five years older, being the fourth son of *Leah*, and he and *Joseph* both born within the compass of seven years. So that the most that can be thought is, that he had married either a little before *Jo-*

seph was sold, or about that time, and that the latter part of the story of his son's marriage and death, and the business of *Tamar*, happened during the twenty years that *Joseph* continued in *Egypt*. And therefore, though *Moses* relates all these events in the chapter preceding that which gives an account of his disgrace and imprisonment, it is most probable, that he has done it to prevent intermingling the story of those two brothers too much, and so has made an end of *Judah's* adventures, before he went on with those of *Joseph*,

death

death also (O). *Judah* therefore bid her remain a widow in her father's house, till his third son was grown old enough to supply his brother's place; but the time being come, and *Judah* neglecting to send for her, as indeed he never designed it, lest *Shelah* should meet with the fate of his two brothers, she resolved to put him in mind of his engagement by some other way.

JUDAH, having buried his wife about this time, as soon as the usual days of mourning were over, went to look his sheep-shearers at *Timnath*, attended only by his friend *Adullam*. *Tamar* had timely notice of his design; and, thinking this a favourable opportunity to execute her own, she divested herself of her widow's garments, covered her face with a veil, and in the attire of an harlot placed herself between the two ways that led to *Timnath*. *Judah* saw her, and, taking her to be what she appeared, made his addressees to her, and prevailed. He won her consent, by promising her a kid, and leaving with her, at her request, his signet, his bracelets, and his staff, as so many pledges for the performance of his promise. The kid he immediately sent by his friend *Adullam*; but the pretended harlot had disappeared, and no tidings could be heard of her.

SOME months after *Judah* was informed, that *Tamar* was certainly with child. At this news he was not displeas'd, as her death would free him from his promise of marrying her to his son *Shelah*. He pretended, however, to be highly provok'd at her incontinency, and condemn'd her accordingly to the flames (R); but,

*Condemn-
upon ed to be
burnt,*

(O) Though *Onan's* sin was in itself great enough, yet it is very probable, that it was aggravated with a worse circumstance; viz. his having an eye to the suppressing of the MESSIAH's coming, since he should not have the honour to be numbered among his ancestors (204), which might provoke GOD to cut him off.

(R) Some think that *Judah*, as head of his own family, had power of life and death over all that belonged to it; but it is hardly probable, that the *Canaanites*, in whose country they dwelt, would give a stranger such a power. 'Tis more likely therefore, that he meant only, that she should be brought before a court of judicature, and sentenced according to the laws of the country. But, whether judge or prosecutor, it was an

(204) *Vid. Alix. in pentat.*

But ab-
solved.

A strange
birth.

upon her producing the above-mentioned pledges, and declaring that the owner of them was the father of the child, *Judah*, in the greatest confusion and surprize, owned, that she was the more innocent of the two, and that he had wronged her in with-holding *Shelah* from her. He afterwards conducted her home, but never touched her from that time. When her full time came she brought forth twins; but the manner of their birth was very surprising; for one of them putting forth his hand, the midwife tied a scarlet thread round it as a token of his being the first-born: but he withdrew his hand, and, his brother shewing him the way into the world, he was called by his mother *Phares*, or breach, by reason of the breach he had made between his brother and him; the other was called *Zarah* †.

Joseph. JOSEPH in the mean while was got into such favour with the keeper of the prison, that he intrusted him with the care of all the prisoners. To two of them, men of some distinction, *viz.* *Pharaoh's* chief butler and baker, *Joseph* not only interpreted the dreams they had had, but told them also the precise time when they should see them fulfilled. Accordingly three days after the butler was restored to his place, and the baker hanged (S). *Joseph* took

Year of
flood
632.
Bef. Chr.
1717.
Dreams of
two prison-
ers ex-
plained.

† Gen. xxxviii. p. tot,

inhuman thing to put a woman to death before she was delivered; and the *Romans*, bad as they were with respect to children, whom they used to expose when they thought fit, had yet a law to prevent a pregnant woman being put to death before her delivery (209). But it is probable, that his eagerness to be rid of her, made him speak more unadvisedly than he would have done, had she been a more indifferent person. And it is plain, that *Josephus* looked upon all the transactions mentioned in this chapter to be so little for the credit of *Judah*,

and his sons, that he has suppressed them all. This is one, though far from the only instance of his suppressing any thing that casts a reflection on his nation: the rest will occur in the sequel.

(S) Our translation has rendered the expression which *Joseph* uses to the butler and the baker, *shall lift up thy head*, too literally, since that would imply the same fate to them both, contrary to the event. The words in the original mean, that in three days *Pharaoh* would have them brought to their trial, in which cases the prisoner was set upon high

took this opportunity of addressing himself to the former, and to beg his assistance and interest to get him out of prison, telling him at the same time how he had been sold out of his country, and falsely accused by his mistress, and what else he thought proper to move him to comply with his request ^u.

THE former, being set at liberty, and restored to his place, never remembered his fellow prisoner till two years after, when the two famous dreams of *Pharaoh* forced him, in a manner, to call him to mind, and to recommend him to the king, as one who had a much greater talent at interpreting dreams, than any he had yet consulted. Upon his recommendation, *Joseph* was sent for out of prison; and he no sooner appeared than *Pharaoh* told him his dreams; and promised him a considerable reward, if he could give him an interpretation of them. *Pharaoh* had dreamed, that he had seen seven lusty fat cows feeding on the banks of the *Nile*; soon after which seven others, lean and ill-favoured, came and devoured them; and yet looked neither the fatter or bigger for it. His second dream was much of the same kind; viz. seven full ears of corn devoured by seven blasted ones. *Joseph* answered the king, with his usual modesty, that the seven cows and seven ears signified the same thing; that the dream being repeated, was only a sign, that the thing was to happen immediately after: that the seven fat cows and full ears signified seven years of excessive plenty, which would nevertheless be quite forgotten in the seven succeeding years of famine, signified by the seven lean cows and blasted ears ^x. He thereupon advised the king to appoint a wise and expert man over his whole kingdom, who should take care to build granaries, and send officers into every province, to lay up a fifth part of all the corn of the seven plentiful years, against the succeeding years of famine.

THE king and all that heard him were surpris'd at the wisdom of this young stranger, who was then but thirty years old; and concluded that he was the fittest person to be set over the kingdom, and to put his proposal in execution.

^u Ibid. xxxix.

^x Ibid. xl. per tot.

to be easily seen by the judges and court (210). The sequel shews this to have been the true meaning, since, after such examination, the one was hanged, and the other reinstated.

(210) See 1 Kings xxi. 9.

tion,

His marriage.

tion. He was thereupon made master and overseer of *Pharaoh's* house; and orders were given, that he should be obeyed in all things, as if he had been *Pharaoh* himself. The king took his signet off his finger, and gave it to him, caused him to be cloathed in fine linen, and put a gold chain about his neck; telling him, that he appointed him superintendant over the whole kingdom, and the next to himself in authority: he gave him moreover the name of *Zaphnaph-paaneah*, which signifies a revealer of secrets (T); bestowed on him in marriage the daughter of *Potipherah*, priest or prince of *On* (U); and made

(T) These are not *Hebrew* words, as some rabbies dream (210), who render it by פתח וסוד; for though the first word may be derived from חַפְּזָן *xaphan*, to hide; yet the original of *paaneah* is not to be found in the *Hebrew*. St. *Jerom* and others think it signifies a SAVIOUR of the world in the *Egyptian* tongue (211); but it is most probable, that it signifies the revealer of secrets, and is accordingly so rendered by most *Jewish* and *Christian* expositors (212).

(U) As it is not likely, that *Joseph* should so soon have forgotten his religion (213), as to have married the daughter of an uncircumcised person, whether prince or priest, on the one hand; and, on the other, *Potipherah* could not but be desirous to purchase so advantageous an alliance at any rate; this might have given the former a fair opportunity of introducing circumcision into the

latter's family, and thence by degrees, among all the *Egyptian* priests and laity. However that be, we must not mistake the city of *On* for that of *No*, threatened with destruction by *Ezekiel* (214), which was *Alexandria*. *On* therefore was *Heliopolis*, the chief city of the canton of that name, called by *Ptolemy*, *Onium* (215), distant, about twenty miles from *Memphis*, the metropolis of the kingdom (216). Nor must we confound this *Potipherah* with that to whom *Joseph* had been sold, as St. *Jerom* has done. 'Tis much more probable, that they were two distinct persons: 1. Because the names are differently written; the first *Potiphar*, and the other *Potipherangh*, ending with the letter *Y* (*ain*). 2. The one is called captain of the guards, the other priest or prince of *On*. 3. The former therefore must have his residence in the capital, to be al-

(210) *Maimon.*

(211) *Hieron. in loc. Eugubin, &c.*

(212) *Targ. Onkel. in loc. Jof. Ant. l. ii. c. 6. LXX. Grot. Jun. in loc. & al.*

(213) *Gen. xlii. 18.*

(214) *Ezek. xxx. 16.*

(215) *Vid. Hieron. loc. Hebr.*

(216) *Vid. sup. vol. i. p. 411.*

made him ride in his second chariot, while the men that ran before it cried, *Bow the knee* (W). *Joseph*, being raised to this height of power, took a progress through the whole kingdom, built his granaries, appointed proper officers in every place, and ordered all things with such prudence and application, that, before the seven years of plenty were over, he found his stores filled above numbering. During this time he had two sons born of his wife *Asenath*: the first of whom he called *Manasseh*; intimating, that GOD had made him forget all his toils; and the next he called *Ephraim*, because GOD had made him fruitful in the land of his affliction.

Years of plenty.
Year of flood 633.
Bef. Chr. 1715.

Manasseh and Ephraim born.

THESE seven plentiful years were succeeded immediately by the other seven of famine; nor was the scarcity confined to the land of *Egypt*, but was felt all over the land of *Canaan*, and all the nations round about it. As soon, therefore, as the *Egyptians* came to be pinched for want of bread, they applied to *Pharaoh*, who commanded them to repair to *Joseph*; upon which he immediately ordered his stores to be opened, and corn to be sold to the people who flocked to him, not only from all parts of *Egypt*, but from all the neighbouring countries^u.

The years of famine.
Year of flood 640.
Bef. Chr. 1708.

By this time *Jacob*, who was not exempt from the common calamity, hearing that there was corn to be bought in *Egypt*, sent ten of his sons thither to buy some, and kept only *Benjamin* with him. These, upon their arrival

^u Gen. xli. p. tot.

ways about the king; the other lived at *On*, or *Heliopolis*: and lastly, it is not likely, that *Joseph* would have married his master's daughter, lest she should have proved like her mother, whose incontinency he had so severely smarted for (216).

(W) The *Jews*, *Kimchi* excepted, unwilling to suppose, that so religious a man as *Joseph* would suffer the ceremony of bowing the knee to be performed to him, have

divided the word אברך *abrek*, and read it אב רך *ab rak*, which in *Hebrew* signifies tender-father; by which they understand, that he was a father in respect of his consummate wisdom, and tender in respect of his years (217); the *Hebrew* being capable of both senses, tho' *Josephus*, probably for want of understanding the *Hebrew*, was forced to follow the *Septuagint*, which renders it, *Bow the knee*.

(216) *August. quæst. in Gen. l. 36. Chrysost. homil. 63. in Gen. Mercer. Jun. Muscul. & al.*

(217) *Targ. Onkel. R. Jabud. & al.*

Joseph's
brethren
come to
him for
corn.

Joseph's
rough be-
haviour to
them.

Simeon
kept bound.

Their mo-
ney re-
turned.

in *Egypt*, were directed to *Joseph*, for an order ; and, as soon as they saw him, they prostrated themselves before him, and begged they might be supplied with some corn. *Joseph* knew them immediately ; though he was so altered, that they could not call him to mind : he put on a severe look, and, in an angry tone, asked them, whence they came ? and, upon their answering, from the land of *Canaan*, he charged them with being spies, who were come to discover the weakness of the land. Such an unexpected accusation forced them to justify themselves, by assuring him, in the most submissive terms, that they were all one man's sons ; that they had left another, a younger brother, with their father, besides another who was now no more. This was what *Joseph* wanted, who, in a surly commanding tone, told them, that unless one of them fetched this youngest son, whilst the rest were kept in safe custody, he would not be persuaded but that they were spies, and would punish them accordingly. To shew that he was in earnest, he sent them all to prison, and kept them there three days ; at the end of which he sent for them ; and, in a milder tone, said to them, *This do, and live ; for I fear GOD* : let one of you remain a prisoner with me, whilst the rest go home with provision for your family ; and, when you bring your youngest brother hither, he shall be delivered up safe, and you justified. He then commanded *Simeon*, who had been perhaps one of his most zealous enemies, to be bound before their eyes, and sent to prison, whilst he had the pleasure to hear them confess their inhumanity towards their brother, whose bitter cries had not been able to soften them into pity ; acknowledging that this misfortune had befallen them as a just punishment for it. Here *Reuben* had an opportunity of justifying himself, by reminding them of the pains he took to dissuade them from the horrid fact, not imagining, any more than his brethren, who heard them ; for *Joseph* spoke by an interpreter to them. At length, having learned all that he wanted to know, he dismissed them, not without contriving a fresh occasion of surprize to them after they were gone ; having bid the officer, who was to fill their sacks with corn, to return their money in the mouth of the sacks. Accordingly, when they came to bate, and to give some provender to their beasts, they were not a little frightened to find all their money in their sacks, and failed not to make all the dismal reflections upon it that their fear could suggest to them ; concluding, that the haughty *Egyptian* lord had done

done it, that he might have a pretence to enslave them at their next coming. As soon as they were got home, they acquainted their father with all these adventures, who, though he was grieved at the detention of his son *Simeon*, was much more so, when he found, that *Benjamin* must go down to redeem him. He withstood all their persuasions as long as he could ^w; till at length, the famine increasing, and the provision being almost spent, *Judah* prevailed with him to part with his favourite son for a time, promising to bring him safe back, or else to be answerable for him at the hazard of his life (X). As it was not without the utmost reluctance

^w Gen. xliii. p. tot.

(X) The whole conduct of *Joseph*, from his being first brought into *Egypt* to his discovering himself to his brethren, having been very much canvassed and disapproved, it will not be amiss to inquire how far it deserves it, and how far it may be justified, even abstracting from the hand of providence being concerned in it. First, then, he is blamed for not having sent word to his father of his condition, who would have redeemed him at any rate, the city of *Memphis*, where he was sold, not being above eighty miles at most from *Hebron*, where *Jacob* dwelt. To this it may be answered, 1. That if he had returned home, his brethren would, in all likelihood, have taken a more effectual way to be rid of him, and, upon the first opportunity, have put their former bloody project in execution. And, secondly, that *Egypt* being the place where he expected the preferment which his dreams had fore-signified to him, it was by no

means adviseable for him to leave it, but to wait patiently there for the event. Again, he is blamed for his rough and unjust usage towards his brethren, which, it is pretended, favours of the rankest revenge. But, if revenge had been the chief motive of his behaviour, he could have indulged it in a more effectual way, without any danger of being called to an account for it: whereas it is plain, he had a much better design in it; namely, either to bring their heinous cruelty towards him into their remembrance, as it actually did (218); or, 2. in order to inform himself of the state of his family, especially of his father, and of his brother *Benjamin*; or lastly, to make them relish his future kindness the better, by the rough usage they had met with before. The last, and indeed the most considerable thing he is blamed for, is, his sending for his brother *Benjamin*, which he knew, his former behaviour considered, would cause an in-

(218) Gen. xlii. 21, & seqq.

Jacob's
presents to
Joseph.

stancy that *Jacob* consented to this separation, so he failed not to give his sons the strictest charge about him, to take all the proper measures for their safe return, and to gain the favour of the proud *Egyptian* lord. He bid them carry double their money, and make ready such presents as they thought would be acceptable to him (Y); and, having

finite deal of grief to his aged father, if not break his heart: and if he refused to send him, the whole family must starve at home, and *Simeon* remain in bonds. As for the latter part of the charge, *Joseph* had it still in his power to have remedied it, since, if he had found, that his other brethren stayed longer than ordinary, he could but have sent *Simeon* home with what message and supply he pleased. But, as for the other part of his behaviour, his causing *Jacob* to pass so many days, if not weeks, in all the fear and anxiety that so dear a son's absence and danger could cause; it cannot easily be justified any other way, than by supposing, that *Joseph* did certainly foresee what would happen, and that his father's grieving some time for *Benjamin*, would be so far from endangering his health, that it would only increase his joy when he saw him again, and give a greater relish to the news of his own advancement and success in *Egypt*. Without this supposition, 'tis plain, such a sudden transition from an excess of sorrow to one of joy, was of itself sufficient to have endangered his life, or his senses.

(Y) It is to be feared, the generality of our expositors have not been very happy in their translation of some of the presents which *Jacob* sent into *Egypt*; which has induced some learned critics of a later date (217), to endeavour to give us a more rational account of them; such were the honey, nuts and almonds, which could be no great rarities in *Egypt*, nor indeed any of the others, except the balm, which was that of *Gilead*, and of great price all the world over, a small quantity of which was a present worth accepting; but as for resin and wax, as many of our interpreters have rendered it, it could not be worth sending.

Bochart indeed, in the place above quoted, thinks, that it was either resin or turpentine, rather than balm of *Gilead*; because *Gilead* was on one side *Jordan*, and *Jacob* was then at some small distance from it on the other: but that doth not prove, that there was none to be bought there, or to be sent for upon such an occasion. He adds indeed, that *Josephus* affirms balm to have been unknown in *Judea*, till the queen of *Sheba* brought some of it to *Solomon* from *Arabia*

(217) *Bochart. pass. Le Scene's essay towards a new translation of the Bible, and others.*

having intreated heaven for their good success, dismissed them; little dreaming what glorious news he should hear at their return, to make him amends for his son's absence. They no sooner appeared before *Joseph*, with their brother *Benjamin*, but he commanded his steward to conduct them to his house, where he designed they should dine with him. But they, who had abandoned themselves to fear, began to suspect that some ill design was hatching to enslave them upon account of the money which they had found in their sacks; to prevent which they, assured the steward, that they had brought it back with a new supply to buy some fresh provisions; who, seeing their concern, bid them not be under any apprehensions about it, and brought them into the house, and soon after their brother *Simeon* unbound to them. He afterwards acquainted

Felix: but *Josephus* may be mistaken. Besides, how came *Gilead* to be so famous for it afterwards? The queen hardly brought the trees thither; and, if *Solomon* had sent for them afterwards, he would have planted them in all likelihood nearer to him: but, whatever it was, 'tis plain that resin and turpentine could not be a present worth *Joseph's* acceptance. The next is honey, which was indeed very much admired by the antients, as well *Jews* as *Gentiles*, for a delicious food (218); but, unless that of *Canaan* was better than ordinary, it was hardly worth sending to an *Egyptian* prime minister, since 'tis hardly possible that country should be without it. It is most likely therefore, that they were dates, which are called by the same name (שׁדך *debesb*), as the *Jewish* doctors

observe, and which, when full ripe, yield a sort of honey, not inferior to the other. The *Arabic* calls dates *duboos*, and the honey of them *dibo* or *dibis*, to this day; and it is plain, that *Judea* abounded in palm-trees of all sorts, more especially about *Jericho*, if we may believe *Josephus* and *Pliny* (219). The next is what we translate spices; but the *Hebrew* word נֶחֱוֹת *nekoth* doth rather signify storax than spices, being a noble aromatic gum, that was put into all precious spicy ointments (220). *Myr*, or as it is in the original שׁלֹל *lot*, is rather the stacte or ladanum of the *Chaldee* and *Septuagint*, the last name coming nearer the *Hebrew* word. It is thought to be the gum of the cypress-tree, and was one of the aromatics in the perfume prescribed by God to *Moses* (221).

(289) 1 *Sam.* xiv. 27. 2 *Sam.* xvii. 29. *Cant.* v. 1. *Homer. Iliad.* 2. ver. 630. *Odyss.* 4. ver. 69. *Sueton. de Neron.* c. 27, & al. (219) See before, vol. ii. p. 388, & seqq.
(220) *Vide Bochart. hierozoic. lib. iv. col. 531, 532.*
(221) *Exod.* xxx. 34.

them,

Benjamin
and his
brethren
dine with
Joseph.

them, that they were to dine with his lord, who would be back by noon; upon which they set themselves about making ready their presents, which they accordingly laid before him with the utmost reverence, as soon as he came home. *Joseph*, having saluted them round, began to inquire after their father's health, and whether that was their youngest brother that stood before him. *Benjamin* bowed his head to the ground, and *Joseph*, having blessed him, ordered the victuals to be brought in, and made them sit down by themselves, and to be served according to their rank and seniority, whilst he sat at a table by himself, and his *Egyptian* guests at another by themselves; it being an abomination to the *Egyptians* to eat with the *Hebrews* (Z). *Joseph*, according to the custom of the country, and of those times*, sent dishes from his own table to all his brethren, and they were not a little surprised to see how exactly he served them according to their seniority; but much more so, when they saw *Benjamin's* portion five times larger than any of the rest, which was an usual mark of honour to the person to whom it was sent. After they had eat and drank plentifully, they began to think of taking their leave, and of going

* Vid. ZENOPH. in vit. CYR. lib. viii.

(Z) This extreme aversion of the *Egyptians* to eat with the *Hebrews* has been variously accounted for. Some attribute it to the excessive pride of that nation, which despised all but themselves; others, to the *Hebrews* being shepherds, and so eating of the sheep and other cattle which the *Egyptians* worshipped (222). Accordingly we read in another chapter (223), that shepherds were also an abomination to the *Egyptians*, whether *Hebrews* or otherwise; and *Moses* tells *Pharaoh*, that they could not sacrifice in *Egypt* what was an abomi-

nation to them (224); that is, to kill and eat part of those beasts which they worshipped (225); others think the reason of this aversion to shepherds, and to the *Hebrews*, as such, was the great oppression and tyranny under which they had groaned, when the *Hyksos*, or king-shepherds, as the word signifies, poured in upon them; enslaved, and held them in subjection some hundred years; of which an account has been given in a former chapter (226). But we think it improbable, that it began so soon (227).

(222) *Muscul. Munst. Tremel. & al. in loc.*
(224) *Exod. viii. 26.*
vol. ii. p. 39. Vid. *Maneth. apud Joseph. cent. Apion.*
Shuckford, vol. ii. l. viii.

(223) *Gen. xxxvi. 34.*
(226) *Vid. sup.*
(227) *See*

about

about their other affairs^y: but *Joseph* had yet one fright more in reserve for them before he discovered himself. He bid his steward put his drinking-cup into *Benjamin's* ^{Joseph's} sack, and to overtake them at some distance off the city, ^{cup found} and, after a thorough search, to bring the pretended thief ⁱⁿ *Benjamin's* sack back to him. The thing was punctually executed, and we may easily imagine their surprize and concern, when the silver cup was produced out of the sack of their younger brother. They made all possible haste to load their asses again, and returned to *Joseph*, who received them with a warm reprimand for thus requiting his kindness and civility to them; which he concluded however with assuring them, that though he might justly punish them all, yet the person only upon whom the cup was found should remain a slave, whilst the rest might go home in peace. After they had expressed their grief and shame in the humblest manner, *Judah*, who had taken *Benjamin* under his care, addressing himself to *Joseph* in the ^{speech to} most submissive and pathetic terms, acquainted him with his father's extreme fondness for the lad, the great difficulty they had to persuade him to part with one he so tenderly loved, and the danger of his grieving to death for the loss of him. He likewise offered himself at the same time as an equivalent for his brother, with such zeal and concern, that *Joseph* was no longer able to contain himself. His ^{Joseph did} bowels began to yearn, and his tears to flow so fast, ^{covers} that he was forced to send all the by-standers away, ^{himself.} whilst he made himself known to his brothers. He no sooner had told them, that he was *Joseph* their brother, which was all that his full heart would let him utter, but they were all struck with such mixture of joy and surprize for a considerable time, that they could make him no answer; neither did they dare even to look towards him, to convince themselves whether it was really he. By this time *Joseph* having recovered himself, desired them to draw nearer to him; he embraced them all round with surprising tenderness; and, to dispel all their further apprehensions, told them, that their selling him into *Egypt* having been directed by an unseen providence, and proved the means of so much good both to himself, to them, and to all *Egypt*, he would be so far from resenting it, that they should never hear it so much as mentioned by him from that day. Whilst this was doing, some of the *Egyptians*, one of whom might be the interpreter,

^y Gen. xliii. p. tot.^z Gen. xliv. p. tot.

went and acquainted the king, and the whole court, that *Joseph's* brethren were come to buy corn. *Joseph*, who only sent the *Egyptians* out of the room, that he might be without witnesses whilst he discovered himself to them, went himself with the news of it to *Pharaoh*, who is supposed to have been *Thufimares* king of *Lower-Egypt*²; *Pharaoh's* who told *Joseph*, that since his father had such a numerous orders to family, and the famine not half over, he might send for Joseph. them, and place them in what part of the country he thought fit; promising him that they should never want provisions, nor any other favour he could shew them. He likewise ordered him to send them a fresh supply of grain, and such other things as he thought they might want for their journey, and chariots to bring their wives, children, and best moveables; telling them that they needed not regard the ordinary stuff, since the good of the land was before them. *Joseph* gladly obeyed the king's orders, and besides the chariots and provisions, sent to his father ten asses loaden with the choicest commodities of *Egypt*; he likewise presented his brethren with changes of garments, and distinguished *Benjamin* by the addition of a large sum of money; after which he dismissed them with a strict charge, that they should not fall out by the way. It is not to be doubted but their journey was performed more briskly this time than the last. They found their father alive and well, whose first care was to look out for his favourite son, whom having joyfully received, he thought himself at the height of his happiness. But when they acquainted him with *Joseph's* grandeur, and told him, that he was the very man who had caused them such mortal frights, the good old man, not being able to bear so much good news at once, fainted away in their arms; and, being come to himself, doubted whether it was not a dream. At length, when they shewed him *Joseph's* presents, and the *Egyptian* chariots, his doubts and fears vanished, and he cried out in an excess of joy, *It is enough for me, that my son Joseph lives; I have now nothing more to wish, but to go down and see him once more before I die*².

Joseph sends for his father, &c.

THIS great desire of seeing so dear a son, whom he had so long mourned for, in all his *Egyptian* glory, spurred him up to hasten his departure, and to overcome all the difficulties which the number of his children, cattle, and

² Sir ROBERT MARSH. SHUCKFORD, & al. xlv. 16, & seqq.

² Gen.

all the other lumber of household-stuff, laid in his way (A).

JOSEPH was no sooner informed of it, than he got up into his chariot, and went to meet his father; and their mutual joy upon this occasion was such, as is better imagined than expressed. As soon as this tender greeting was over, *Joseph* told them, that he would go out of hand to give *Pharaoh* notice of their arrival, who would no doubt have the curiosity to send for them, and to inquire *quaints* after their occupation; in which case he charged them to *Pharaoh* tell him, that they, as well as their forefathers, were *with it*. *shepherds* from their youth. This was indeed an occupation, which the *Egyptians* abominated, as we have seen in a former note; but *Joseph* had his ends in it, being afraid, lest *Pharaoh* should detain them in his service, instead of sending them into the land of *Goshen*, where he was desirous to place them. Accordingly, when five of

(A) However, as his gratitude to God for all the mercies he saw himself blessed with, and his further want of the divine protection to accompany him safe into *Egypt*, demanded some fresh act of religion from him, he chose to go to *Beer-sheba*, to offer some sacrifices there; both because it was the place where *Abraham* and *Isaac* had lived so long and so happily, and because it was in his way to *Egypt*, being the utmost boundary of *Canaan* towards the south. Here God appeared again to him, and bid him not fear to go down, since he would be with him, and protect him, and in due time bring his posterity out of it to enter into the possession of the promised land; adding, that as for him, he should have the comfort to live near his son *Joseph*, to die in his arms, and to have his eyes

closed by him. *Jacob*, thus comforted and encouraged, hastened his way to the metropolis of *Egypt*; and, when he came within some small distance from it, he sent *Judab* before, to acquaint *Joseph* with his arrival, and to desire him to come to him in the land of *Goshen*; where he had promised to settle them (227).

This *Goshen* was situate between the *Red Sea* and the *Nile*, upon the borders of *Canaan*, not far from *On* or *Hieropolis* (228), where his chief habitation was. It was a fruitful spot of ground, and fit for cattle; and therefore, *Josephus* tells us, that *Pharaoh* kept his own there (229): it was separate from *Egypt*, and therefore fittest for *Jacob* and his family, which would be out of all danger of interfering with the *Egyptians* (230).

(227) *Gen.* xlv. 1—8.

(229) *Id.* *ibid.*

(228) *Joseph. ant.* l. ii. c. 7.

(230) *Vid.* *Jun. Merc. & al.*

Jacob
stands be-
fore Pha-
raoh.

Year of
flood
642.

Bef. Christ
1706.



his brethren were brought before the king, and asked what their profession was; they answered him as *Joseph* had bid them, adding, that the famine which raged in *Canaan*, had forced them to come with all their cattle into *Egypt*, and begging that he would be pleased to appoint them the land of *Goshen* to dwell in; which *Pharaoh* readily granted. *Joseph* likewise presented his father to him, who wished the king abundance of happiness; and, being asked how old he was, answered an hundred and thirty. Here the king expressing, perhaps, some wonder to see a man so old, and in so good a case, *Jacob* added, that his life had been so full of trouble, that he came vastly short of the years of his ancestors. After this *Joseph* conducted him, and the whole family, to the land of *Goshen*; where he took care to supply them with all the necessaries of life during the whole time of the famine. *Pharaoh* likewise ordered *Joseph* to choose some of the ablest of them, and to commit the care of his cattle to them, which he accordingly did^b. It will not be amiss to give here the names of *Jacob's* children and grandchildren, which came down with him into *Egypt*. As to the difficulties in adjusting the account of them, and reconciling it with some other places of Scripture, we choose to give them to our readers in a note, rather than interrupt the thread of the history (B).

A list

^b Gen. xlv. p. tot.

(B) *Moses* makes mention of two numbers of souls in *Jacob's* family, exclusive of his daughters-in-law, viz. sixty-six (231) and seventy (232): he likewise reckons thirty-three souls to *Leah*, including *Dinah* (233); and to *Zilpah* her handmaid sixteen souls, including *Serah*, *Asher's* daughter, and *Beriab's* two sons (234). To make which reckonings agree with the fourteen of *Rachel* (235), and the two first sums of sixty-six and seventy, it is to be observed first, that, in the number sixty-six, *Jacob* is not reckoned, but only the souls that came out of his loins; but, in the number of thirty-three, he seems included; else we shall find but thirty-two, viz. *Leah's* twenty-nine sons, two grandsons by *Phares*, and *Dinah*, in all thirty-two; but that *Jacob* is reckoned in this number, seems intimated by the eighth verse of the chapter, in the words *Jacob and his sons*, viz. by *Leah*. Accordingly *Josephus* gives us a list of them, to the number of thirty-two, in-

(231) Gen. xlv. ver. 26.
15. (234) Ver. 18.

(232) Ver. 27.
(235) Ver. 22.

(233) Ver.

cluding

	A list of <i>Jacob's</i> sons and grandsons.	A list of <i>Jacob's</i>	
The sons of <i>Jacob</i> , and their sons,	By <i>Leah</i> ,	<i>Reuben</i> ; <i>Hanoch</i> , <i>Phallu</i> , <i>Hezron</i> , family. <i>Carmi</i> .	
		<i>Simeon</i> ; <i>Jemuel</i> , <i>Jamin</i> , <i>Obad</i> , <i>Jachin</i> , <i>Zohar</i> , <i>Shaul</i> .	
		<i>Levi</i> ; <i>Gershon</i> , <i>Kobath</i> , <i>Merari</i> .	
		<i>Judab</i> ; <i>Er</i> , <i>Onan</i> , <i>Shelab</i> , <i>Phares</i> , <i>Zerab</i> . The two first died in <i>Canaan</i> .	
		<i>Iffachar</i> ; <i>Tola</i> , <i>Phuvah</i> , <i>Job</i> , <i>Shimron</i> .	
		<i>Zebulun</i> ; <i>Sered</i> , <i>Elon</i> , <i>Jableel</i> .	
		By <i>Zilpah</i> ,	<i>Gad</i> ; <i>Ziphion</i> ; <i>Higgai</i> , <i>Shuni</i> , <i>Esbon</i> , <i>Eri</i> , <i>Arodi</i> , <i>Areli</i> .
			<i>Asher</i> ; <i>Jinnah</i> , <i>Ishuab</i> , <i>Isui</i> , <i>Beriab</i> , <i>Serab</i> , a daughter.
		By <i>Bilhab</i> ,	<i>Dan</i> ; <i>Hushim</i> .
			<i>Naphtali</i> ; <i>Jabzeel</i> , <i>Guni</i> , <i>Jezer</i> , <i>Shillem</i> .

The

cluding *Dinah*; yet sums them up thirty-three, without acquainting us that he includes *Jacob*; though it is plain, by the amount, that he does. This being premised, the whole account will stand thus:

<i>Leah</i>	33	including <i>Jacob</i> .
<i>Zilpah</i>	16	
<i>Rachel</i>	11	} exclus. of <i>Joseph</i> and his 2 sons.
<i>Bilhab</i>	7	
	67	

Out of which deduct *Jacob*, because *Moses* reckons here only those that came out of his loins, and there will remain sixty-six.

To which add *Jacob*, *Joseph*, *Ephraim*, and *Manasseh*; because this second reckoning is of all the souls of *Jacob's* family, in which case he may be included, and the whole amount will be seventy souls (236): but, if we reckon *Serab*, *Asher's* daughter, as *Josephus* has done (237), and in all probability *Moses* too, since he mentions her in his list, we need not include *Jacob* in the number; for it will be seventy complete without him.

It is true, that *St. Stephen* (238) reckons the whole number of them seventy-five, which disagrees with that of *Moses*; but it must be remembered, that the apostles, and first preachers, made use of the Sep-

(236) *Villet*, cap. 36. vii. 14.

(237) *Jof. ant.* l. ii. c. 7.

(238) *Act.*

The sons of *Phares*, *Judab's* son; *Hezron*, *Hamul*.
The sons of *Beriab*, *Asher's* son; *Heber*, *Malchiel*.

By

tuagint version, as being the only one then universally understood by the *Jews*; which version adds five more to *Mannasseh* and *Ephraim*, namely, *Machir* and *Gilead* sons of *Mannasseh*, *Sutalam* and *Tuban* sons of *Ephraim*, and *Eden*, *Sutalan's* son. But, besides that they differ from the *Hebrew*, by reading eighteen instead of fourteen souls to *Rachel* (239), they likewise differ from themselves; for fourteen, and the five, which they add, will make nineteen, and not eighteen. Some antient fathers, thinking this knot insoluble, have endeavoured to pick some mysteries out of it (240); but we need not be at any trouble to free the *Septuagint* version from error, which doth in so many instances differ from the original. However, there is still another rational way to account for this difference between *St. Stephen's* reckoning, and that of *Moses*, which is as follows: That *St. Stephen* follows the first number of *Moses*, *viz.* sixty-six; out of which he excludes *Jacob* and *Joseph*, and his two sons, to which he adds nine of their wives; for *Judab's* wife was already dead, and *Benjamin* is supposed to be still unmarried, and *Joseph's* wife out of the case; so that, if we add these nine wives, which, though not of *Jacob's*

blood, yet belonged to his family, and to *Joseph's* kindred (which is the expression *St. Stephen* makes use of), to the number of sixty-six, it will amount to seventy-five (241).

Some antient and modern writers have supposed, that all these grandsons were not born when *Jacob* went down into *Egypt*, but either soon after, or at least during his life; for which reason they think *Moses* made no scruple to set them down with the rest (242). So far are they from thinking, for instance, that *Benjamin* had ten sons by that time, being but a little turned of thirty, that they think he was hardly married. The same thing they suppose of *Phares's* two sons, alleging, though falsely, that *Phares* was but one year old at *Jacob's* departure (243). But all these suppositions are point-blank contrary to the text; and, if *Moses* must have reckoned all those that were born in *Egypt* before *Jacob's* death, we don't know why he might not almost as well have reckoned seven hundred as seventy; since they must have increased very fast there, and married very young, else they could hardly from seventy have increased to upwards of six hundred thousand, in the space of two hundred and fifteen years, which was all the time

(239) *Gen.* xlv. 22. (240) *August. quæst. in Gen.* clii. *Euebar. & al.* (241) *Berruyer. hist. du. peup. de Dieu*, p. 373, 374. 4to edit. *Kidder. in pentat.* (242) *Calmet comm. in Gen. in loc. & histoire des Juifs*, p. 245. *Berruyer. loc. citat.* *St. Aug. quæst.* (243) *Perrerr.*

C. VII. *to the Babylonish Captivity.*

311

By *Rachel, Benjamin; Belah, Becher, Ashbel, Gera, Naaman, Ehi, Rosb, Muppim, Huppim, Ard.*

IN all threescore and six, exclusive of *Dinah*, *Jacob's* daughter by *Leah*, and of *Joseph*, and his two sons, which being added to the number, will amount to seventy souls.

THREE things are to be observed in the list which *Moses* has given us in this chapter; namely, 1. That the wives are not set down; because they were not descended from him, any more than his servants and slaves. 2. That he doth not set them down according to the order of their birth, as in other places ^c; but mentions those that were born of *Leah* and her maid, and then those of *Rachel* and her maid. And, 3dly, That the number sixty-six, in one part of the list, is only of the souls which *came out of Jacob's loins*, and the second number of seventy is that of *all the souls* which belonged to the *house of Jacob*: to which

^c Gen. xxxv. 23, & seqq. & alib.

of their abode in *Egypt*. It will therefore be more reasonable to say, according to *Moses's* account, that *Phares's* two sons were then born, though very young; for *Phares*, being begotten of *Judab* in the thirtieth year of his age, might take a wife at fourteen or fifteen, and so have two sons before *Jacob* left *Canaan* (245). The same may be likewise said of *Benjamin*, who might have a number of children, and two grandchildren, at the age of thirty-one. We shall in the sequel give some instances of men, if they may be called so, who have had children when they were some years younger than we suppose these; so that there is no reason to depart from the plain text of

Moses, to fall into more difficult suppositions, than any that are in his narrative.

Another difficulty that is raised against this genealogical list, is the difference of the names here mentioned, and in other places of Scripture, where the same genealogy is rehearsed, as in 1 *Chronicles* and *Numbers* (246); but we have lately observed, that it is very common for men to have two names in the Scriptures, and to be called sometimes by one, and sometimes by the other. Concerning which, the reader may consult our commentators at their leisure; as well as about some of these persons mentioned in *Moses's* list, which are omitted by the author of the book of *Chronicles* (247).

(245) *Mercer. Villet.* (246) 1 *Chron.* iv. 24. *Numb.* xxvi. *pass.*
(247) *Vid. Villet. in loc.* See also *Shuckford's connect.* vol. ii. p. 186,
& seqq. 196, & seqq. & al.

therefore *Joseph* and his two sons, and a grand-daughter named *Serah*, *Asher's* daughter, must be added, in order to make the number of seventy complete, as the reader may see by the last note.

The Egyptians sell their lands and themselves for corn. WHILST *Jacob* and his family were kept in peace and plenty by the provident care of his son, the *Egyptians* felt the dismal effects of the famine, which, increasing daily upon them, and *Joseph* holding up his corn at an high rate, soon drained them of all their money. After this they were reduced to sell their cattle, houses, land, and at length their very selves for subsistence. By this means he bought all their lands and persons for the king's use, and from that time they all became slaves to the crown, except the priests, who had a sufficient quantity of provisions allotted to them out of the royal stores, without being at any expence for it. One

Year of the flood 644. Bef. Christ 1704. would be apt to think, that *Joseph's* zeal for the king's interest carried him beyond the bounds of common prudence; and that he did not consider, that whilst he took such an advantage over a starving people, he raised the king's power to the degree of an absolute tyranny, under which his family, or their posterity, would one time or other severely groan, as they effectually did. The text, as well as *Josephus*^d, tell us, that he transplanted the

And are transplanted from one end of the kingdom to the other. people from one end of the kingdom to the other; and that the miserable multitude went some one way, and some another^e, submitting to any misery rather than starving. However, when the seventh and last year of scarcity was come, *Joseph* acquainted them, that they might now expect a crop against the next year; that the *Nile* would overflow, and the earth produce again as usual; that he would distribute fresh lands, cattle, and corn to them, that they might return to their usual tillage; upon this condition nevertheless, that from thenceforth the fifth part of all the product of their lands should go to the king, and the rest be theirs. The poor people were glad to submit to these conditions, which were much better than they probably expected. They all set about cultivating the ground that was allotted to them; and from that time it past into a law, that the fifth part of the pro-

The fifth part of the product of their lands assigned to the crown. duct of the whole land of *Egypt* should belong to the crown; which law continued in force for several centuries after, till a new regulation and division was made^f. As

^d Gen. xlvii. ver. 22. Antiq. lib. ii. c. 7. ^e Vid. Heb. Chald. & Arab. vers. ^f Vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 459. & seqq.

for the lands of the priests, we have already observed, that they were unalienable (C).

WHILST he was enjoying the fruits of his great success and policy, his family at *Goshen*, whom he failed not to visit frequently, did wonderfully increase, both in children and wealth. At length *Jacob*, by that time he had lived there seventeen years, finding himself grow old and feeble, and that his end could not be far off, sent for his son *Joseph*, and spoke to him to this purpose: Though the desire of seeing a son, so dear to me as you are, raised to the height of *Egyptian* glory, joined to the raging famine with which our land was visited, made me willing to come down into this strange country; yet *Canaan* being the inheritance which GOD promised to

(C) A late right honourable writer hath from this circumstance taken occasion to observe, in his usual way, "to what height of power the established priesthood was arrived even at this time, since the crown offered not to meddle with the church-lands, and that, in this great revolution, nothing was attempted so much as by way of purchase or exchange, in prejudice of this landed clergy; the prime minister himself having joined his interest with theirs, and entered by marriage into this alliance (1)." But his lordship seems to have forgot, 1. That the priesthood in those days, was confined to the heads of families, who were persons of the highest rank and power, almost equal to the king, consulted upon all matters of consequence, and, who, upon a vacancy, were often raised to the throne. 2. That in consequence of their birth and dignity, and not of their

priesthood, this great privilege was founded long before *Joseph's* time, and not by his indulgence or partiality to them (2). 3. That out of their estates they defrayed all the charges of the sacrifices, ornaments, utensils, and other religious ceremonies, which were here performed with the highest and most costly splendor (3). And 4thly, that they were the king's chief assistant counsellors, ministers, recorders, &c. as well as the professors and teachers of all arts and sciences, and the judges, chief magistrates and officers of the kingdom; whose estates therefore, how great soever we suppose them, could hardly exceed the expence necessary to support them in all those dignities. So that it could not but have been unjust, as well as imprudent and dangerous, for the king, or his prime minister, to have made any such attempt to have alienated them (4).

(1) *Lord Shaftsbury's character. vol. iii. miscel. i. 22, & seqq.*

(2) *Gen. xlvii.*

(3) *Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 66. Vid. & vol. i. p. 467, &*

(4) *Vid. Shuckford's conn. vol. ii. p. 182, & seqq.*

Abraham and his posterity, and where he lies interred with my father *Isaac*, and some others of our family, in the ground which he purchased of the inhabitants; my last and dying request to you is, that you will not suffer me to be buried here, but that you will swear to me to see me carried to *Machpelah*, and there deposited with my ancestors: your great power with the king of *Egypt* will easily obtain you and me that favour, which is the last I have to ask of you. *Joseph* did not make his father wait long for that satisfaction; he promised and swore to him, that he would fulfil his desire; and *Jacob*, who in all probability had sat up upon his bed whilst this ceremony lasted, bowed down his head towards his bed's tester, in token of adoration and gratitude for the satisfaction which his son had now given him ^f.

Year of
flood
659.
Bef. Chr.
1689.

NOT long after, word being brought to *Joseph*, that his father was dying, he took his two sons *Manasseh* and *Ephraim*, and went to present them to him, begging him that he would give them his blessing before he died. *Jacob*, at the sight of them, found his strength, as it were, renewed. He sat up upon his bed, and, addressing himself to *Joseph*, spoke with such cheerfulness, and in such strong and lively terms, as shewed nothing less than the dotage or weakness of a dying old man. He began with recapitulating all the glorious promises which GOD had formerly made to him, concerning his numerous posterity's inheriting the land of *Canaan*, and concluded with the death of his dear *Rachel*; for whose sake, added he, I will now give you a further proof of my affection: you have two sons born in this strange land, which, according to the usual order of inheritance, should have only the portion of grandchildren in the division of the promised land; but I will do more for them, and they shall from this day be called by my name, be esteemed my sons, and as heads of two distinct tribes, receive a double lot: thus, instead of the tribe of *Joseph*, they shall be called the two tribes of *Manasseh* and *Ephraim*. But if you have any more sons after them, they shall only be allotted the portion of grandchildren. He then desired his two grandsons to be brought to him, which *Joseph* accordingly did, placing the eldest at *Jacob's* right-hand, and the youngest at his left: but *Jacob*, crossing his arms, laid his right upon the younger, and his left on the elder; which *Joseph* ascribing to a mistake, was going to rectify it; but his father told him,

Ephraim
and *Ma-*
nasseh are
made two
tribes in
Israel.

Jacob
blesseth the
younger
before the
elder.

‡ Gen. xlvii. per tot.

that

that he acted by divine direction; and in blessing the lads, which he did with great fervency and tenderness, he not only preferred *Ephraim* to *Manasseh*, but gave him much the larger and nobler blessing. The sequel of this history will shew how exactly this prophecy of *Jacob* was verified in those two tribes, as well as the next grand one, which he pronounced concerning all the twelve §.

By this time *Jacob*, finding himself grow faint, and his death approaching, resolved to consecrate his few remaining hours in foretelling to his sons, whom he had gathered about him, what should happen to them in the latter days; and as no prophecy was ever more punctually fulfilled than this, we shall endeavour to give it to our readers in a more modern and intelligible style, than we have it in our version, without departing from the sense of the original; and, where any difficulty occurs, we shall acquaint them with it in a marginal note, and endeavour to make it as plain as we can. However, we beg leave to premise here, that what *Jacob* pronounces, or rather prophesies, concerning his sons, is not so much to be understood as foretold of them, as of their tribes; nor of what shall immediately happen to them, but of what was not to have its completion till some time, at least, after their entrance into the promised land. Thus, for instance, when he says that *Zebulun* shall dwell along the sea-coasts, or that *Naphtali* is a well-spread tree, yielding grafts and fair branches; it is plain that he means by the first, that the lot of the tribe of *Zebulun* should be by the sea-side; and by the last, that the *Naphtalites* should prove in time very powerful and numerous. This is what the event has fully verified, and what shall be further proved in the following notes. The good old patriarch, after a most pathetic preface to draw their deepest attention, began with the first-born in these words:

“ REUBEN, thou art my first-born, and wast once the *Jacob's*
 “ first-fruits of my might and my strength; and, as such, *last blessing*
 “ thou wast intitled to the right of primogeniture, the *to his 12*
 “ best portion in thy inheritance, to the dignity of the *sons.*
 “ priesthood, and the supreme authority over thy bre-*Reuben.*
 “ thren: but all these prerogatives, like the unstable wa-
 “ ters, that pass by, and return no more, are gone from
 “ thee; because thou, little regarding the sacredness of
 “ thy father's bed, didst defile it, and alienate it from

§ Gen. xlviii. p. tot.

Simeon
and Levi.

“ me ^h. For which crime, though thou continue still
“ to be a tribe in *Israel*, yet thou shalt ever be far in-
“ ferior to the rest of thy brethren, in number, wealth,
“ or strength (E).

“ SIMEON or *Levi* might have succeeded to the right of
“ primogeniture, which their brother's incest has justly
“ deprived him of, had they not proved such instruments
“ of treacherous cruelty. May my soul be for ever pre-
“ served from such bloody counsels, and my honour un-
“ stained from their horrid guilt! for the fierceness of
“ their anger hurried them to commit murder, and the
“ impetuosity of their fury made them break through
“ all obstacles that opposed them. Cursed be their fury,
“ for it was violent; and their malice, for it was inhuman!
“ This cruel disposition of theirs forces me to divide their
“ tribes, that they may never be rejoined in *Israel*.ⁱ”
Thus far the good old patriarch performed a severe and
ungrateful task, and his prophecy against those tribes was
exactly verified in due time (F). Then casting his eyes
on *Judah*, he addressed himself to him thus :

“ JUDAH,

^h Gen. xxxv. 22. Vid. MUNST. in loc.
ver. 5, 6, 7.

ⁱ Gen. xlix.

(E) The sequel of the *Jewish* history shews, that the tribe of *Reuben* still remained in obscurity, and without any of the marks of distinction, which used to be annexed to the right of primogeniture, such as a double portion, supreme authority, and the priesthood. Accordingly the *Jewish* expositors, especially the *Beresbith Rabbah*, or large comment on *Genesis*, tell us (260), that he fell from a threefold dignity, viz. primogeniture, priesthood, and royal dignity. But because thou art fallen, continues that commentator, thy primogeni-

ture is given to *Joseph* (who accordingly had two portions allotted to him), the priesthood to *Levi*, and the sceptre to *Judah*. And where it is said of this last (261), *thy brethren shall praise thee*, he paraphrases it thus: והיו כל אחיך נקראים על שמך, Thy brethren shall be called by thy name, i. e. they will not say I am a *Reubenite*, or a *Simeonite*, but a יהודי *Jehudi*, a *Jew*.

(F) *Jacob*'s words imply a double dispersion, viz. of the two tribes from one another, and their being interspersed among the rest. And accord-

(260) *Beresb. rab. sect. 98.*
p. 382, (B). See before, *ibid.* p. 484.

(261) *Gen. xlix. 8. Vid. vol. ii.*

ingly,

“ JUDAH, thy name signifies praise^k, and accordingly Judah.
 “ thou shalt have the praise of all thy brethren. They
 “ shall fall prostrate before thee, as before their king and
 “ sovereign, and thine enemies shall be forced to submit
 “ their necks to thy yoke. Like a young lion shall my
 “ son fall upon his prey, and like an old lion, or a fierce
 “ lions ready to rush upon it: who shall dare to rouse
 “ him up? The sceptre shall not depart from Judah,
 “ nor the lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh
 “ be come, and the people be gathered unto him (G);
 “ his

^k Vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 476, & seqq.

ingly, *Levi* had no inheritance among his brethren in the land of *Canaan*, but had a certain number of cities assigned to it in every tribe. As for that of *Simeon*, it had properly but a portion of *Judah's* inheritance (262), if we except some few places which they got upon mount *Seir*, and in the wilds of the valley of *Gedor* (263).

(G) The sense, as well as completion of this noble prophecy, being very much disputed between the *Jews* and us, we have endeavoured to render the latter part of the verse more agreeably to the original, which in its plain and obvious sense affirms, that the sceptre shall not depart from *Judah*—till both *Shiloh* was come, and the nations gathered unto, or brought to his obedience. This version is further proved by the event; for the *Jews* did not lose their sceptre, or *Sanhedrim*, which was their בית דין *beth din*, or highest court of judicature, and supreme legislative power,

as will be fully shewn in the 2d part of this *Jewish* history, till the heathen became converts to christianity, of whom *Cornelius* was the first (264): and the *Jews* themselves own, that this supreme court did still subsist from the time of *Moses* the founder of it, to the destruction of *Jerusalem* by the *Romans*. They likewise own, that the word שבט *shewet*, which we translate *sceptre*, doth not always signify the royal power or dignity, but sometimes only the legislative; and this has been further proved by two eminent divines (265). The later *Jews* therefore, finding themselves pinched by this prophecy, rather than allow the received interpretations of the antients, which is agreeable to ours, have fallen into various absurd notions, which they are not ashamed to defend with a zeal peculiar to them. Thus some will have the meaning of this passage to be, that the *MESSIAH* shall not come, till

(262) *Josb.* xix. 1, & seqq. before, vol. ii. p. 484.

(263) *1 Chron.* iv. 39 & 40. See

(264) *Acts* x. pass.

(265) Vid. in

Mede's works, a sermon on that text, and *Saurin's discours historiques*, &c. disc. xli.

Shiloh,

“ his portion shall abound with such fertile vineyards,
 “ fruitful trees, and pasture-grounds, that he shall tie his
 “ afs

Shilob, the place so called, be destroyed, or the *Jewish* monarchy be at an end (266). Others by *shevet* understand a tribe, which that word also signifies; and think the meaning to be, that *Judah* should not cease to be a tribe till the coming of *MESSIAH* (267): in which they have been also followed by some Christians (268); because that tribe did visibly subsist as such till the destruction of *Jerusalem*; but so did that of *Levi*. However, many of our modern *Jews* stand stiffly to this sense; and scruple not to affirm, that it has subsisted not only to that time, but even to this very day, pure and unmixed. Others add, that it retains still a kind of sceptre, or royal power, beyond the river *Euphrates*; and that the *nassi*, or head of it, is a prince, lineally descended from *Judah*, whose splendor, dignity, and power over his own tribe, is little inferior to that of a king (269): but *credat Judæus*. 'Tis certain we have only their bare word for this imaginary kingdom. They likewise disagree not only with us, but even among themselves, about the meaning of the word מְחֹכֵק *mechokek*, lawgiver. Concerning which, we shall

refer our readers to the two last-mentioned divines for further satisfaction (270).

As to the word שְׁלֹו *Shilob*, though it be almost universally owned to mean the *MESSIAH*; yet, as to its original signification, there is no small disagreement. St. *Jerom* reads it *Sbaloach*, from שְׁלַח *shalach* to send, reading ח for ה (271). Others from שְׁלֹו *shalab* to be peaceable (272), and understand by *Shilob* a peacemaker.

A modern critic takes the word *Shilob* to signify the *end*, and the sense of the words to be, that from the time the sceptre comes into the tribe of *Judah*, it will continue in it, till that tribe be at an end (273); but his opinion has been lately confuted, among many others, by the above-mentioned *Monf. Saurin*, in an elaborate discourse on that subject (274). Another modern author tells us, that it ought to be derived from שְׁלַב *shulab*, to fatigue, be tired, suffer, and to be applied to the sufferings of the *MESSIAH* (275): but, without fatiguing our readers any further, the most probable sense of the word, if the change of a letter be allowed, will be that of the *Septuagint*, *Onkelos*, and some others (276), who read it שְׁלֹו *shelo*, that is,

(266) *Abenezra in loc. & al.* (267) *Vid. Munst. in loc.* (268) *Ole-*
ast. Jun. Villet. & al. in loc. (269) *Benj. de Tudel. itiner. & al.*
 (270) *Mede & Saurin. loc. citat.* (271) *Hieron. quæst. Hebr.* (272)
Mercer. & al. (273) *Le Clerc in comm. pentat. in loc.* (274) *Saurin.*
loc. citat. (275) *Gouffet onom. ling. Hebr. sub voce שְׁלֹו fatigare.*
Vid. Calm. sub voce Shilb. (276) *LXX. Targ. Onkel. in loc. Mornay*
cont. Jud. Oleast. & al.

“ as to the vine and palm-tree, and wash his garments
 “ in the juice of the grape, and his teeth with the milk
 “ of his kine ^k (H).

“ ZEBULUN’s (I) dwellings shall spread themselves **Zebulun.**
 “ along the borders of the sea, and he shall stretch the
 “ number of his commodious havens as far as the city of
 “ *Zidon* ^l.

^k Gen. xlix. 8, & seqq.

^l Ibid. 13.

be to whom it belongs, 1 and 7 being often interchanged in the sacred book (277). The sense will be plainly this, that the sceptre, or legislative power, shall not depart from *Judab*, until the right owner, or he, *shelo*, to whom it of right belongs, has made his appearance in the world. This sense seems the most easy, natural, and agreeable to the original, as well as the most applicable to CHRIST the King of Kings.

(H) *Judab*’s lot did exactly answer this prediction: it was a fertile land, full of vineyards, fruit-trees, and noble pasture-ground for cattle. It was in this tribe that the valley of *Eshcol*, or the brook of the grape, was; a bunch of which was brought by two of the spies whom *Moses* sent to search the land, as a specimen of the richness of that soil: here was likewise the brook or torrent of that name, along whose banks were the most delicious pasture-grounds (278): and some travellers assure us, that there are still very large

grapes to be met with in the valley of *Hebron*, which may be probably that, along which that torrent runs (279).

(I) *Zebulun* is mentioned next, though *Issachar* was elder than he; for which no certain reason can be assign’d, unless we suppose, that the patriarch had a prophetic eye to the lot which was to fall to *Zebulun*, which was in time to become famous for being the chief dwelling of the *Messiah*; for *Nazareth* and *Caper-naum* were in that tribe, and himself was denominated a *Nazarene*, from the first of these cities (280); but this is only a conjecture. Certain it is, however, that if *Jacob* had been present at the division of the promised land, he could hardly have given a more exact description of *Zebulun*’s lot, than he did then, above two hundred and fifty years before it happened: for it extended from the *Mediterranean* on the west, to the lake of *Genezareth* on the east side.

(277) *Vid.* 2 Sam. xvi. 10. & 18. ap. *Munst. in loc.* (278) *Num.* xiii. *pass.* *Calvin. Mercer. Jun. Grot. & al.* (279) *Vid. Calmet comm. in Numb. xiii. ver. 24, 25. See also before, vol. ii, p. 458, & (W).*
 (280) *Matth. ii. ult. & cap. iv. 13, & seqq. See also before, ibid. p. 476, & seqq. & notes.*

Issachar.

“ ISSACHAR, like a strong, but indolent ass, shall choose to carry burdens in the midst of his brethren, rather than be deprived of his beloved ease, in the pleasant land of his inheritance, and prefer servitude and tribute before the fatigues of war and conquest^m (K).”

Dan.

FROM the six sons of *Leah*, *Jacob* passes to those of *Bilhab*, *Rachel's* maid. He begins with intimating, that the sons of the handmaids should have the same privilege with those of the mistresses, and be heads and judges of their own tribes. Then, alluding to the name of *Dan*, a judge, he declares, “ that he should judge his people” (that is, his own tribe, like the rest of the twelve) : and then adds, “ that like a serpent hid in the high-way, or a viper in the sand, which doth not openly assault its enemy, but bites him by the heel ; so *Dan* should overcome more by policy and stratagem, than by valour and open forceⁿ (L).” Here the prophetic patriarch
breaks

^m Gen. xlix. 14.ⁿ Ibid. 16, & seqq.

(K) No less wonderful and exact was he in the description of *Issachar's* tribe, and the lot that fell to it. The *Chaldee* paraphrast, who is also followed by the generality of *Jewish* rabbies, gives a quite different turn to this prophecy: they read it thus, “ *Issachar*, finding that his lot is fallen in a fertile land, shall subdue the inhabitants of it, and bring them under tribute ;” but the first sense is more agreeable to the original, and verified by the event ; for that tribe had one of the richest and most fertile spot in all the land of *Canaan*, but was often infested and subjected by strangers, especially in the time of the judges (280).

(L) The שרף *nachash*, in

the original, signifies a serpent in general ; which having no such qualities as are here described, the *Septuagint* have translated it by the word *cerastes*, which is a kind of serpent, so called from its having two fleshy horns: its instinct is to hide itself in the sand, and by fastening on the horses heel, to make him overthrow his rider (281). The *Jews* think, that this prophecy was more particularly fulfilled, when *Samson*, who was of that tribe, pulled down the large building, which crushed him and the *Philistines* to death (282). Others, both *Jews* and *Christians*, suppose that *Jacob* designed to intimate by it, that, though *Dan's* tribe was but small, he having

(280) See vol. ii. p. 460, & notes. lib. i. col. 28.

(282) Vid. *Munst. in loc.* Villet. c. 49.

(281) Vid. *Bochart. hierozoic.*

breaks out into an ejaculation, *I wait for thy salvation,*
O LORD (L).

“GAD,” continued he, “shall be often infested by Gad.
“bands of robbers and plunderers; but he shall conquer
“them at last” (M).

“ASHER’S

Gen. xlix. 19.

had but one son, yet it should produce one of the most famous judges of all *Israel* (283). As for those who apply this prophecy to Antichrist, as if he was to come out of that tribe; because he is omitted in the Apocalypse, in the list of the tribes that were sealed (284); they are scarce worth confuting, since they may as well fetch him out of that of *Simeon*, which *Moses* omits, when he blesses the rest (285). Besides, *Jacob* pronounces these words as a blessing, not as a curse, to *Dan*, whose tribe moreover was dispersed, if not extinguished, a thousand years before Antichrist appeared in the world, if he has yet at all.

(L) The meaning of which seems to be this, that whether his posterity were preserved by their valour or policy, whether they owed their success to the drawn sword of *Judab*, or the hidden snares of *Dan*; yet their safety and happiness did chiefly depend on the gracious promises of GOD, on whom he did rely. Others think, however, that *Jacob* foreseeing either the grievous oppressions which that tribe was to labour

under, as it actually did from the *Amorites* (286), from which nothing but a miracle could save them, or their defection from the true worship of GOD, that tribe being the first that set up the public worship of idols (287), did breathe out this short prayer for their deliverance. However, it is not improbable, that *Jacob* might have a much higher view than any of these; and that his comparing *Dan* to a viper, might bring into his mind that universal salvation, which was to be wrought by the seed of the woman, which was to bruise the serpent’s head, and to have his heel bruised by it (288).

(M) What was prophesied of *Gad*, was likewise exactly verified. His lot happened on the other side *Jordan*, where he was continually exposed to the excursions of the plundering *Arabs*; but, by the continual watchfulness and bravery of that tribe, they were not only prevented, but sometimes also caught and plundered in their turn by the *Gadites*. So that the prophecy seems to refer chiefly to the continual

(283) *Chald. paraph. Jun. in loc. Calmet. hist. O. T.* (284) *Per-*
rer. contr. 1. (285) *Deut. xxxiii.* (286) *Jud. i. 34.*
Vid. Tremel. in. loc. (287) *Ibid. cap. xvii. & xviii. pass.*
(288) *Gen. iii. 15.*

Asher. " ASHER'S portion shall make him happy ; it shall
 " abound with excellent corn and oil ; the bread and
 " dainty meats that shall be made of them, shall be fit
 " for a king's table (N) ^s".

Naphtali. " NAPHTALI is like a large tree, well-spread, or
 " having grafts, which shoot out pleasant branches." Or,
 according to our *English* version, *Naphtali*, like a hind
 newly escaped, or let loose, shall excel his brethren in
 swiftness, and be remarkable for the sweetness of his elo-
 quence † (O).

THESE

* Ibid. ver. 20.

† Ibid. ver. 21.

conflicts they had with the *Hagarenes*, that is, with *Nephtali*,
Jetur, and *Nodab*, whom they
 at length overcame, and took
 from them in one battle fifty
 thousand camels, two hundred
 and fifty thousand sheep, and
 an hundred thousand men pri-
 soners (286). This sense is
 likewise more agreeable to the
 character which *Moses* gives
 of that tribe, who compares
 it to a lion that leapeth upon
 his prey (287).

(N) The blessing spoken to
Asher is capable of a double
 sense, and both verified by the
 event ; namely, either that his
 country should be the most
 fertile, and produce the no-
 blest corn in the whole land of
Palestine, which it actually
 did ; or else, that it should
 abound with the finest and
 most delicious oil, fit to be
 mixed in all kinds of pastry-
 work, which his portion was
 also remarkable for, insomuch
 that its oil was the most famed
 of all *Canann's*, as we have
 shewn elsewhere † ; for which

reason we have chosen to word
 it in such terms as should ex-
 press the two excellencies of
 that noble soil, rather than to
 confine the sense to either par-
 ticular : though *Moses*, in his
 blessing of that tribe, seems
 to intimate the latter, when
 he says, that *Asher* should dip
 his foot in oil (288).

(O) We have also given this
 prophecy in both the senses
 which the original will bear ;
 but as that which our *English*
 version gives us, is somewhat
 uncouth and unintelligible, we
 have endeavoured to make it
 plainer. Though that reading
 be the most generally received,
 both by antient and modern
 expositors ; and the first part
 applied to *Barach's* overcoming
Sisera, and the latter, to the
 sweet words which *Deborah*
 and he sang in the noble can-
 ticle which was made on that
 occasion (289) ; yet as we have
 observed, that *Jacob's* bles-
 sings have a more general scope,
 we prefer the first reading,
 which compares him to a well-

(286) 1 *Chron.* v. 19—21. Vid. *Munst. Mercer. Villet. Jun. & al.*
 (287) *Deut.* xxxiii. 22, & seqq. † See vol. ii. p. 456, & seqq.
 (288) *Deut.* ubi sup. vers. 24. (289) *Judg.* c. iv. & v. p. tot.

THESE four last were the sons of the two hand-maids, from whom he passes with a seeming joy to those of his beloved *Rachel*; and *Joseph*, whose turn came next, heard his blessing pronounced in the most pompous and endearing terms.

JOSEPH, said the good old father, shall increase daily *Joseph*. more and more, as his name doth emphatically imply. His beauty attracted the eyes of the fair sex, the damsels ran upon the walls to see him (P). Or, according to our version, he shall multiply like a fruitful bough planted by a well-side, whose branches run up and spread against the wall. Men armed with the poisoned darts of rancour and envy, meaning *his brethren*, have caused him a world of woe; his ruin would have been unavoidable, had not the Almighty, in whom he trusted, proved his strong shield and defence, broken his bonds from off his arms (Q), and brought him out of prison, to be a father and protector

spread oak; which is agreeable to the original, and more exactly verified by the event; for no tribe multiplied so wonderfully as this of *Naphtali*, who had but four sons when he came into *Egypt*; yet could muster up more than fifty-three thousand men, fit to bear arms (290) when they came out of it; *i. e.* in less than 220 years. The reader may see our version proved by some learned men (291), which is agreeable to the *Septuagint*, *Chaldee*, and *Arabic* versions.

(P) The original has בן פרת *ben porath*; which if derived from the root פרה *para*, he has fructified, as some do, the sense will be, *Joseph is a fruitful son*; and then the word בנות *banoth* (daughters) must be understood figuratively of the branches that run along the wall; but we rather chuse

to derive the word from פאר *paar*, to make, or be, beautiful, the נ being quiescent in *holeim*, as the grammarians speak; and then the literal sense will be, *Joseph is a son of beauty*; the daughters ran upon the walls to see him; and this reading has by far the most votes.

(Q) Our *English* version, and some others, render this verse thus; *but his bow abode in strength, and the arms of his hands were made strong*: but this interpretation is something forced. The literal sense runs thus; *but he continued in the strength of his bow; and the bands of his arms (not weapons, but the arms of his body) יפיו japhusu, were (not strengthened, as it is there rendered, but, according to the literal Hebrew) broken, scattered; which therefore may be more*

(290) *Numb. i. 43. new transl. & al.*

(291) *Bochart. hieroz. Le Scen. essay on a*

protector to the house of *Israel*; for this the LORD, even the GOD of thy father, shall bless thee with the dew of heaven, and with the fatness of the earth, with the fruit of the womb, a numerous posterity, and the fruit of the breast, and plenty of all sorts of cattle. May all the blessings promised to me, and to my forefathers, be doubled upon *Joseph's* head, even upon his crowned head (R)! may they out-top and out-stretch the everlasting mountains, and prove to him more fruitful and lasting than they^u!

Benjamin. BENJAMIN, the last of all *Jacob's* sons, who had been so great a favourite of his father, did probably expect a suitable blessing from him; but whether it were that *Jacob* foresaw no extraordinary merit or happiness attending his tribe, or that its being afterwards blended with that of *Judah*, would make it share in all its blessings, he contented himself with describing him by his fierce and warlike disposition, who, wolf-like, should shed the blood of his enemies, and in the evening divide their spoil (S). Having thus

^u Gen. xlix. ver. 22, & seq.

applicable to his fetters, in which sense the *Septuagint*, *Vulgate*, *Chaldee*, &c. have taken it.

(R) We have here likewise ventured to depart from the *English* version, which renders the words נזיר נזיר *nazir achais*, him that was separate from his brothers: for though the verb נזר *nazar* signifies to separate, whence the word *Nazarite* comes; and *Joseph* was really separated from his brethren when he was sold into *Egypt*; yet it is not probable, that *Jacob* would have couched so barbarous and unnatural an action in such soft terms, when the original abounds with more expressive: besides, *Nazar* doth rather signify a separating upon a re-

ligious account: it is therefore more probable, that he used the word *nazir*, which signifies *crowned*, in allusion to the superintendents of the king's household, in all the eastern empires, who were called *nazirs*, and probably wore some kind of diadem about their heads, by way of distinction and grandeur (293). This sense will be more agreeable likewise to the solemn and pompous style, which the patriarch uses throughout all *Joseph's* blessing.

(S) The warlike and untameable disposition of this tribe was sufficiently verified afterwards in many instances, but more particularly the two following ones; namely, first, by the fierce battles which they

(293) Vid. Calmet hist. Old Test. in loc. & auet. ab eo citat.

fought

thus pronounced his prophetic blessing to every tribe, he reminded them, especially *Joseph*, that they should bury him with his ancestors in the cave of *Machpelah*; and they having renewed their promise to him, he laid himself again in his bed, and soon after expired^w, being 147 years of age, seventeen of which he spent in *Egypt*, in the land of *Goshen* (T).

HERE

^w Gen xlix. p. tot.

fought against the united force of all the other tribes, though for a very bad cause, the *Levite's* abused concubine (294), wherein they came off conquerors twice, tho' vastly inferior in numbers (295); and secondly, by the war, which the house of *Saul*, who was of that tribe, had with *Dawid* and the house of *Judab*, for the kingdom (296); on which account they are described in Scripture, as the fiercest warriors, and expertest archers in *Israel*.

(T) Besides these prophecies of *Jacob*, which *Moses* has preserved to us, and which have been sufficiently verified by their events, the *Jews* attribute some other works to him, such as the treatise, intitled, *The ladder to heaven*; in which there is an explanation of that which he saw in a dream at *Bethel*; and which the *Ebionites* adopted as canonical; and a testament called by his name, *The Testament of Jacob*, reckoned by pope *Gelasius* among the *Apocrypha*. The *Jews* do likewise use some prayers every night, which they pretend to have

been composed by him: they affirm, that he wrote the 14 gradual psalms, and some others, whilst he lived with *Laban*; all which are only fit for a *Jewish* creed. However, as to the great praises which they give him, no one can blame them for it; all which the author of *Ecclesiasticus* has summed up in few words (1); but *Eusebius* gives us a much larger account of him from profane authors, particularly from *Demetrius*, who took it from the annals of *Alex. Polyhistor* (2).

The *Mohammedans* allow him to have been not only a prophet, but also the father of all the prophets, who were all descended from him, except *Job*, *Jethro*, and *Mohammed*. They likewise believe, that the royal dignity did not depart from his posterity till the times of *John the Baptist* and *JESUS CHRIST*; and that the twelve tribes of the *Jews* did spring from him, as their own twelve tribes did spring from *Ismael*. *Jacob* gave name to two places, *viz.* the well and the ford of *Jacob*: the former was still known by that

(294) *Judg.* xix. p. tot. (295) *Ibid.* c. xx. (296) 1 *Sam.* pass. (1) *Ch.* xlv. vers. ult. (2) *Præp. evang.* l. ix. c. 21.
See also *Shuckford conn.* vol. ii. book vii. p. 190.

Year of 1689. **HERE** *Joseph*, who had hitherto suppressed his grief, began to give it full vent; he fell upon his dead father, bathed his face with his tears, and expressed all the filial sorrow that such a loss could inspire; at length, remembering his dying charge, he went to get his body embalmed, and to make all other preparations for his funeral. The *Egyptians*, on their part, mourned for him as long as the days of his embalming lasted, *viz.* seventy days; the ceremony of which was performed in the manner we have described in a former chapter ^x.

His being in deep mourning making him unfit to appear at court, he begged some of *Pharaoh's* officers to acquaint him with his father's death, and with his last commands; who made no difficulty to grant his favourite's just request, and ordered moreover the chief officers of his household, and the grandees of the kingdom, to accompany the funeral pomp. All *Jacob's* family likewise attended it, none staying behind but their wives and little ones. The cavalcade consisted of a great number of chariots, and a vast multitude of men on horseback. As soon as they had crossed the river *Jordan*, and were entered into the land of *Canaan*, they made a halt of seven days at the threshing-floor of *Atad*, and there performed a funeral ceremony, which made the *Canaanites* call the place *Abel Mizraim*, or the mourning of the *Egyptians*. They then continued their march till they arrived at *Machpelah*, where *Israel's* sons deposited him in the cave, and then returned to *Egypt* with the rest of their company ^y. It was then that *Joseph's* brethren, fearing his resentments, sent an humble message to him, to acquaint him, that it was their father's earnest request to him, that he would forget all past injuries, and take them still under his protection: the result of which was, that *Joseph*, who could not refrain his tears, whilst the messenger was acquainting him with the concern and dread his brethren were in, sent immediately for them, and received them with the same

^x Vol. i. p. 489, & seqq.

^y Gen. I. 14, & seq.

name in our SAVIOUR's time; and we read of a famous church formerly built there, in the form of a cross, and dedicated to St. *John the Baptist*; and that the well was just before the rails of the communion-

table, to which sick folks resorted in great numbers, to drink some of its water for the recovery of their health. As for the ford, the situation is too uncertain for us to say more about it.

affection

affection as when *Jacob* was alive; excused and comforted them; and gave them such fresh assurances of his future love and protection, that they went joyfully home to their families, though probably very much amazed at the greatness of his soul, a virtue to which they seem to have been utter strangers.

HE outlived his father about sixty years; and when he found his death approaching, sent for his brethren, and told them, with the same prophetic spirit that *Jacob* had done before, that GOD would, according to his promise, bring their posterity out of *Egypt* into the land of *Canaan*: he charged them therefore not to bury him there, but to lay his body in a coffin, to deposit it in some secure place, and to carry it away with them, and bury it in the spot of ground which *Jacob* had given to him by his last will. He gave up the ghost soon after, and his brethren took care to fulfil his last request, having first caused his body to be embalmed, after the manner of the *Egyptians*. The sequel of the story shews how punctually their posterity fulfilled the latter part of his will, taking his body with them, and burying it in the place which he had appointed (X). He was 110 years old, when he died, an age

² Ibid. ad fin.

(X) The *Talmudists*, and other rabbies, have added a great number of fabulous and absurd stories to this great patriarch's life, which we shall not trouble our readers with; but only add, upon the testimony of *St. Jerom* (308), that the *Israelites* raised a most noble monument to *Joseph's* memory, which was still to be seen in his days. It stood in *Shechem*, in the field which *Jacob* bought of *Hamor*, and which he afterwards gave to him; in which *Joseph* was actually buried (309).

Mohammed, in his *Koran*, *Sarat* xii. gives us a long history of *Joseph*, which he has

stuffed with many fabulous circumstances, and which the eastern people have still more enlarged upon (310). The *Mohammedans* pretend to have several books of his amours with *Zeleikah*, *Pharaoh's* daughter, his master *Potiphar's* wife, which they make use of to kindle the love of GOD in their hearts, it being among them, what the *Canticles* are with the *Jews* and *Christians*, that is, an allegory of the love of GOD, and a pious soul. As for *Mohammed's* history, tho' it differs much from that of *Moses*, yet the reader may not think it amiss to have a sketch of it. It is to this purpose:

(308) *Hieron. qu. Hebr. in Genes.* (309) *Josb. xxiv. 32.* (310) *Vid. Marac. notes on the Alcoran, Herbel, diction. in the word Jousouph.*

age which came very short of that of his ancestors, and might probably be owing to his being forced to a different way

Joseph (311) having acquainted his father with his dream, of the sun, moon, and twelve stars falling down before him, *Jacob* forbid him to tell it to his brethren, lest the devil should put it into their heads to conspire against him, adding, that *Joseph* would be the chosen one of God, &c. but his brethren seeing that he was better beloved than they, resolved to murder him; to which end they persuaded their father to send him into the fields with them, under pretence that it would be a diversion to him, promising at the same time, that they would take great care of him. *Jacob* answered, that he was afraid lest they should be careless of him: to which they replied, Are you afraid the wolves should come and eat him in our presence; or that we shall not have strength enough to defend him? The father being thus prevailed upon, they took him next morning along with them, and flung him into a well: they came home that same night, and told him, that whilst they were playing and running a race, and *Joseph* was watching over their garments, a wolf had come and devoured him; and, finding that *Jacob* was hard to credit their story, they shewed him *Joseph's* bloody shirt: upon which *Jacob* told them, that they had done the deed, and would cer-

tainly answer for it before God; after which he endeavoured to bear his loss patiently.

A caravan, which chanced to go by that very day, and wanted water, let down their bucket into the well; and *Joseph*, laying hold on it, was drawn out: they cloathed him forthwith, and carried him into *Egypt*, where they sold him for a little ready money. The person who bought him, gave him in charge to his wife, telling her, that he would one day prove useful, and be instead of a son to them. By that time he had attained the twentieth year of his age, his mistress *Zeleikah* became so excessively in love with him, that she shut him up one day in her chamber, and declared her passion to him: *Joseph* rebuked her for it, and ran towards the door; but before he could open it, she caught hold on his shirt, and tore it off his back: her husband happened to be behind the door, and she no sooner saw him, but she began to make a loud complaint of an attempt made by *Joseph* against her chastity, whom she therefore desired to be severely punished, appealing to a child that was there in its cradle, for the truth of what she said: the child readily answered, that if the shirt was torn before, he was guilty, and she innocent; but if it was torn behind, he was innocent, and she accused

(311) *Bibliot. orient. Jousouph ben Jacob.*

way of living from theirs, having continued 80 years in that pinnacle of grandeur, to which *Pharaoh*, or rather his great wisdom and merit, had raised him. However, he had the pleasure to see of his offspring to the third generation; which none of his fathers did, *viz.* *Shuttelah* and *Tachan*, the sons of *Ephraim*, and *Hadan* the son of *Shuttelah*; as likewise *Machir* the son of *Manasseh*, and

him falsely. The shirt, upon examination, proving to be rent behind, acquitted *Joseph*, and discovered the ill intention of his mistress.

The whole city was soon filled with the noise of this adventure; and *Zeleikah*, being informed, that the ladies spoke of it much to her disadvantage, resolved to invite them to a feast, and, whilst they were eating, to introduce *Joseph* to them. She did so, and he no sooner appeared, but his beauty astonished them beyond measure; insomuch that, not knowing any longer what they did, they cut their fingers instead of their meat, and whispered to one another, that he must be an angel, and no man! By this means she put a stop to their reflections; but it was not long before she made another push at her servant, though with as little success; which so enraged her, that she got him sent into prison, where he expounded the butler and the baker's dream. Here he continued confined nine whole years, after which he was fetched out to interpret *Pharaoh's* dream, which he did so much to his satisfaction, that he was made superintendent of all his finances.

Mohammed goes on afterwards with the story of his brethren coming to buy corn, &c. which he hath no less embellished with fables after his manner. We shall say nothing of them, and only add what *Ebn Batrick*, otherwise called *Euty-chius*, patriarch of *Alexandria* writes of him, *viz.* that he married *Azimah*, the daughter of the *Kahen* of *Aen Shem*, that is, the priest, or diviner of the fountain of the sun, which was the name of the city of *On*, called also by the *Greeks*, *Heliopolis*. He assures us likewise, that the *Nilometer*, which is in the city of *Memphis*, the description of which has been given in a former chapter (1), &c. and the canal in the city of *Cairo*, for the discharge of the waters of that river, were *Joseph's* own works. In a word, they attribute to him all the curious wells, cisterns, aqueducts, and public granaries, as well as some obelisks, pyramids, and other antient monuments, all which are still called by his name; and pretend, that he had something shining like a star upon one of his shoulders, which was an indeleble character of the gift of prophecy, and a sure token of his future grandeur (2).

(1) *Vol. i. p. 414, & seqq.*(2) *D'Herbelot biblioth. or. ubi sup.*

Gilead, Machir's son. These five are those whom the *Septuagint* version adds to the number of the seventy that came down into *Egypt*, though 'tis plain they were not born till some time after, as we have lately shewn.

How the *Israelites*, after the death of their great patron and protector, became by degrees as dreadful and odious to the *Egyptians*, as they grew numerous and powerful, till they were at length brought under most cruel slavery, will be seen in the next section. In the mean time we hope our readers will not be displeas'd, if we make a short retrospection to their forefathers, and add some few observations on the simplicity of their religion, and manner of living, which were neither so obvious, nor could be interspers'd in their history, without too frequently interrupting the thread of it. Sure it is, that if we examine them impartially, compare them with those of the most polite and celebrated nations of antiquity, such as were the *Egyptians, Greeks, Romans*, and many others, and make a candid allowance for the distances of time, place, and other obvious circumstances, they will appear to be the most natural and perfect pattern of civil society, and of an happy life. If therefore their posterity, after they became possessors of the promised land, did so strangely deviate from them, it can be attributed to nothing but to that unavoidable degeneracy which their long and horrid thralldom had caused in them, and which took such deep root, that neither their forty years wandering in the wilderness, nor the wholesome laws which Providence had calculated for their welfare, nor the example of their forefathers, which *Moses* had set before them in such lively colours, nor, lastly, all the heavy judgments which their invincible obstinacy brought upon them, could effectually cure.

*Simplicity
of life of
the old pa-
triarchs.*

It must be own'd, however, that, unless we can divest ourselves of that partial fondness which we have for the customs of our own times and country, we shall be apt to condemn, not only those of the antient patriarchs, and of the many nations who have closely followed them, but likewise all those who have commended them for it: that part of their religion, which consisted in the butchering of a number of living creatures; their plainness and simplicity; their wandering and laborious life; their seeming contempt of arts and sciences; their real one of ease, luxury, and high titles; all these, and many more, will be apt to be censur'd by the lump, and every deviation from

from them will be looked upon as an improvement in society, and a refinement on their dull insipid taste. But it is not to such partial judges that we appeal, for the justness of these remarks, but to the more thinking and unprejudiced sort, whose judgment is not warped by emulation, custom, and example.

AND here we need remount no higher than where we Abraham began our history, that is, to *Abraham*. He had conversed *learns it* with some of the antediluvian patriarchs, and was well *from the* acquainted with their way of living; or rather, he had antediluvian been educated in it, and was so great an admirer of it, *vians.* that he preferred it to that of those nations he lived amongst, and brought up his children in the same way. For here we must remember, that in those days every *Their high* family did, as it were, compose a kingdom or free state, *power.* of which the chief was, in all respects, if we except the name and ceremony, supreme and absolute monarch; and, as such, made either war or peace, and alliances offensive or defensive, with his neighbouring kings, as he thought fit: if there was any difference between them, it was only this, that the latter began betimes to live in walled and fortified towns; whereas the former chose to live more at large, and after the primitive way. In other respects, it is plain, they were inferior to none of the contemporary princes, though they despised those pompous titles, and other marks of royal grandeur, which their neighbours so much affected.

THEIR riches consisting chiefly in a prodigious quantity *Pastoral* of cattle ^b, such as sheep, oxen, camels, and asses (*horses life.* we read not of), they were obliged to have a proportionable number of servants and slaves to look after them. Accordingly we find, that *Abraham* was able to arm up- *Number of* wards of three hundred of his men-servants to *Lot's* rescue, *servants* besides those he left behind to guard his substance, and his *and cattle.* old men, women, and children ^c. As for gold, silver, jewels, and such-like valuable things, we do not find, that he was possessed of any till after his return from *Egypt*, where *Pharaoh* had heaped those rich presents on him; though they might probably barter some of the wool of their flocks for bullion, which was already current in those days; but neither did this, nor his other kinds of riches, exempt him or his posterity from a laborious life; to which their choosing to live in tents, for the benefit of often

^a Gen. xiv. 13, *ibid.* xxvi. 26, & seq. ^b Gen. xiii. 6.
& seq. *ibid.* xxxii. 16, & seq. ^c Gen. xiv. 14, &c.

Imitated
by Homer's
heroes.

shifting their habitations for the sake of their numerous herds, unavoidably obliged them. To this pastoral life they likewise joined agriculture, as often as the fruitfulness of the country, the time of their sojourning in it, and other concurring circumstances, permitted (A). And, how distasteful soever this primitive simplicity may appear to our present age, yet *Homer*^f will tell us how much and how long it was imitated by the *Greeks*, whose politeness is to this day so admired; insomuch that the chief employment of the seven sons of *Eetion*, king of the *Sicilians*, was the keeping of their father's flocks^g: and we find that kind of life extolled, not only in *Sicily* and *Greece*, but likewise in *Syria*, and other countries, above 1500 years after *Abraham*, in some of the most beautiful pastorals of antiquity.

THIS laborious life seldom failed to keep both men and women in a good state of health; and as they never wanted a good appetite, nor a good digestion, so they were the more simple in their way of living: the milk of their kine, the fruits of the earth, were their common diet; a kid, a fatted calf, or a dish of venison, were reckoned a rich feast; and one would think, that *Homer* had drawn the pictures of his heroes in his *Odysséis*, after that of the pa-

^f HOMER. *Iliad*. Δ.

^g Idem, *Iliad*. Σ.

(A) Thus we find *Isaac* sowing his land in the country of *Gerar*, where the situation, and the king's friendship, invited him to make a considerable stay (3); but it is plain, they always gave the preference to the former, whenever the two kinds proved incompatible; and how laborious that was in those hot countries where water was scarce, and where it rains so seldom, may be gathered from the complaint which *Jacob* made to his father-in-law (4). Nor were the fair sex exempt from bearing their share in it: and though *Abraham's* posterity doth not afford

us any instance of it in his own family, where we meet but with one female; viz. *Dinah*, *Jacob's* daughter, and she only mentioned for her fatal curiosity; yet if we look back into those of his kindred, whom he left in *Padanbaran*, we shall find, that neither their birth, youth, or beauty, exempted them from going to the well with their pitchers, and watering their flocks, at proper seasons. This we find to have been the case of *Rebecca*, *Rachel*, and other fair damsels of that country, and of *Jethro's* daughters some hundred years after them.

(3) *Gen.* xxvi. 11, 12, & seq.

(4) *Gen.* xxxi.—40, & seq.

triarchs;

triarchs; so far was he from thinking such a life unworthy of the greatest men (B).

THIS laborious life did not only contribute very much *Laborious* to their health and vigour, but was likewise an effectual *and* means to lengthen their days, and to make their deaths *healthy* sweet and easy. If we except *Isaac*, who is described *lives.* rather as a contemplative than a laborious man^k, and began to fail in his strength much sooner than the rest; we read of no diseases they were subject to, nor of any physicians they needed, except to embalm their dead bodies. All those whose age is set down by *Moses*, lived to above 150 years, except *Joseph*, whose courtly way of living may probably have shortened his days^l.

THEIR conjugal temperance was in no ways inferior to their other virtues, how far otherwise soever it may appear at first sight: *Abraham* lived in a country where polygamy was allowed, and a numerous offspring esteemed one of the greatest earthly blessings; he saw himself unfortunately yoked to a barren woman, and, though master of vast possessions, yet chose to make his servant his heir, rather than to marry another; neither did he take *Hagar* to his bed, till he was promised an heir that should come out of his loins, and was persuaded to it by his wife^m. The

^k Gen. xxiv. 63. xxvii. 1, & seqq.

^l Ibid. l. 26.

^m Gen. xv. 3. *ibid.* xvi. 2.

(B) Whoever considers that *Jacob* had been his mother's favourite, and consequently more tenderly brought up than his brother *Esau*, will no doubt wonder at his being suffered, at the age of forty, to take a journey of above 500 miles (for so far it was at least from *Beersheba* to *Padan-haran*) without a servant, or any other conveniency for traveling, than his bare staff; but yet it appears, that he had been so well inured to that laborious life, that he made no difficulty of laying himself down in the open field, as soon as night

came upon him, and taking the first stone that came to hand to serve him for a pillow (5). That he took care to breed up his sons in the same hardy way, is plain, by his sending his favourite *Joseph*, at the age of 16, as far as *Hebron*, to inquire after his brethren, which was above 80 miles from *Mamre*, where he dwelt. Neither did *Joseph's* hearing, that they were removed about 30 miles further, discourage him from continuing his journey till he had met with them (6).

(5) *Gen.* xxviii. 11.

(6) *Ibid.* xxxvii. 17.

children that he had by *Keturah*, after *Sarah's* death, shew that his continence was far from being the effect of old age and impotency. *Isaac*, and his promised posterity, had the noblest title to all the blessings that were denounced to *Abraham*; *Rebecca* proves barren for a considerable time, and had but two sons at last; and yet we do not find, that ever he express'd a desire of taking another wife ⁿ (C).

ⁿ Gen. xxv. 21, & seq.

(C) It must indeed be owned, that *Jacob* was unwarily drawn in to marry two sisters, and afterwards to take their maids to be concubines; but whoever considers how contented he would have been with *Rachel* alone; that *Leah* was, as it were, forced upon him; that *Rachel's* barrenness, and desire of children, and his fondness for her, made him accept of her handmaid; that, when he had once done it for one sister, he could not decently refuse it to the other (7); that it was the custom of the country for the wives to adopt their handmaids children, and that it was looked upon as consistent with the laws of conjugal fidelity; whoever, I say, considers all these, will not lightly tax him with incontinency upon that account: however, it is plain, that the jealousies and discords between the two sisters, and probably between the mistresses and their handmaids, gave but little encouragement to his sons to follow his example, since we do not read of any that did not rest contented with one wife. *Judah* indeed is justly taxed with incontinency; but it must be remembered, that his adventure with *Tamar* was wholly accidental, and

(7) *Ibid.* xxix. & xxx. *passim.*

unsought for by him; and that he did not give himself that liberty, till after his wife's death (8). However, we are far from undertaking to vindicate all their actions, much less do we intend to write panegyrics upon them; for which reason we shall forbear expatiating upon their extraordinary hospitality to strangers, their faithfulness to their allies, and many other eminent virtues they were conspicuous for; and shall content ourselves with adding a few words concerning their religion; and shewing, that that, joined to their primitive simplicity, afforded an excellent pattern for a civil and an happy life; and that every deviation of theirs from it doth indeed give us a lively instance of the early depravity of mankind, but casts no reflection on their excellent and admirable rule of life, which gave every head a full and absolute sway over his whole family, obliged him to train them up in the knowledge and fear of the true God, and a strict observance to his laws, which was the most effectual means to make them live in that peace and plenty, that ease and tranquillity, for which they are so justly admired.

(8) *Ibid.* xxxviii. 12, & seq.

As for their religion, it was not only the freest from idolatry and superstition, but the simplest and purest in the world, or, at least, that the world was then capable of. It consisted chiefly in a ready obedience to GOD's commands, under whose immediate guidance they continually were, in a firm reliance on his promises under all dangers and difficulties, and in a thankful remembrance and acknowledgement for all his blessings and deliverance. This last part seems to have introduced the religious custom of tythes, if they were not of a much older date (D).

THEIR sacrifices had indeed something shocking and unnatural, as we observed before; and when we consider how soon they began, and how universally they spread themselves, reason will be at a loss how to account for their introduction and progress, any other way than by supposing them to be of GOD's own instituting, as types of that grand sacrifice which CHRIST was to offer up for the sins of the world: but this is rather a point of divinity than history, and so out of our sphere. In all other cases, it is plain, their religion was pure, simple, and uniform, and might have continued such after their deliverance out of *Egypt*, had not their degeneracy and stubbornness obliged the Divine Lawgiver to clog it with a numerous train of rites and ceremonies, in order to prevent their intermixing those of other nations with their own, as the sequel of their history will shew. We shall only add, that as other nations seem to have received from the ancient patriarchs the ceremony of sacrificing beasts to their gods, that is, of substituting an innocent lamb, sheep, &c. in their guilty stead, without retaining the notion of the design, or typical institution of them; so it is very probable, that the intended sacrifice of *Isaac* by the father

(D) This seems to be the most probable, since we read of *Abraham's* giving the tenths of all the spoils of his late-gotten victory to *Melchisedek* (9); and that *Jacob* vowed the like portion of all his possessions to GOD, if he would bless him, and bring him back safe to his father's house (10). How these were at first paid, or to whom, is not easy to guess; whether to *Shem* or *Eber*, or any of their descendants, who still held the high-priesthood; or, as is most likely, by consecrating a tenth part to religious uses, such as building of altars, rearing of pillars and monuments, and offering of sacrifices to GOD; since such things as are consecrated to GOD's worship, are, in the language of Scripture, said to be given to GOD.

(9) *Gen. xiv. 20.*(10) *Ibid. xxviii. ult.*

of the faithful, by which he gave such a glorious testimony of his faith, and reliance on God's promises, may have given birth to the bloody custom of sacrificing of children, which became afterwards so universal, not only among all other nations, but even among the *Israelites* themselves. The notion of its being enjoined to that patriarch only, as a trial of his faith, might wear off by degrees, and nothing more be remembered of it, than the great applause and blessings he received upon that account; from which they might conclude, as it were, *a fortiori*, that if his bare intention proved so meritorious, much more would the real sacrificing of their own children be: and when they had once imbibed the notion, that the main merit of such a bloody ceremony consisted chiefly in the stifling all sense of humanity and natural affection, it was easy for them to infer, that the more they did so by the deaths they put the poor infants to, the more it would enhance the value of the sacrifice: but this we submit to the reader's judgment.

S E C T. VI.

The history of the Jews from their Egyptian bondage, to their entrance into the land of Canaan.

The great increase of the Israelites in Egypt. WE return now to the *Israelites* in *Egypt*, who did so prodigiously increase, both in number and strength, during the 215 years of their abode there^a, that the jealous *Egyptians* had long ago looked upon them as a dangerous, if not a formidable people. And indeed, if we consider, that the seventy souls, which came down with *Jacob*, were increased, as *Moses* tells us, to 600,000 men, from twenty years and upwards^b, all able to bear arms; besides those under twenty years of age, old men from sixty to an hundred and upwards, for they lived even much longer; and women, which may be reasonably supposed to have been at least as numerous as the men; I say, if we consider this wonderful increase (which, in a proportionate and moderate computation, allowing them to have brought seventy wives with them, which is the utmost that can be supposed, will be as 140 to 280,000, that is, as 200,000 to one), we shall not wonder at *Egypt's* fearing lest they should in a short time cover the whole face of the country. Nor need we have recourse to miracles,

^a Exod. i. 7.^b Numb. i. 46.

as the *Jews* do ^b, for this prodigious increase (A). We have already given, in a former chapter, a table ^c of the probable increase of mankind in any number of years; and, if this seems to outdo that calculation, it must be remembered, that they had a peculiar promise for it, and a peculiar blessing from GOD attending them. Neither was their courage or strength less to be feared than their number. The sons of *Ephraim* had already given a proof *The sons of* of it to the *Egyptians*, when they made that bold, though *Ephraim's* unsuccessful attempt upon the *Gathites*, in one of the *incursion on* cantons of the land of *Canaan*, even before their father's *the Gath-* death, who, as we hinted before, lived upwards of 90 ^{ites.} years in *Egypt* ^d. This adventure might easily let the *Egyptians* see what the united force of twelve such fructifying tribes might do in process of time, when a single one, of so short a standing, could venture upon such an

^b Vid. ABEN EZR. & MUNSTER. in loc. ^c Vid. vol. i. p. 232, sub not. ^d I Chron. vii. 21. OSIAND. in loc.

(A) St. *Austin* (2) thinks, that this prodigious increase of the *Israelites* was altogether miraculous, in which many of the *Jews* agree with him. *Aben Ezra* tells us, that they brought forth 3 or 4 at every birth; and affirms, that a woman may bring forth as far as seven children at once (3). This he seems to have taken from *Aristotle* (4), or from *Trogus*, who says, that in *Egypt* the women were sometimes delivered of 7 children at once: but, without having recourse to such prodigious births, which happen but seldom, we need but suppose, that the *Israelites*, both men and women, were very fruitful; that they began soon, and continued long in begetting, which has been shewn, in the former section, to have been the fact. We see no impossibility for 70

males, in the compass of 215 years, to have multiplied to this degree, even at the rate of one child every year; for, according to *Simler's* computation, 70 persons, if they beget a child every year, will, in 30 years time, have above 2000 children; of which, admit that one third-part only did come to procreate, in 30 years more, they will amount to 9000; the third-part of it will, in 30 years more, be multiplied to 45000: according to which moderate calculation, in 210 years, the whole amount will be, at least, 2,760,000. If, therefore, there was any thing miraculous or extraordinary in all this, it was that they should be able to multiply at that rate, notwithstanding their hard labours, and cruel bondage.

(2) *Aug. de civit. lib. xviii. c. 7. loc. Peltan. & al.*

(3) *Aben Ezr. ap. Munst.*

(4) *Histor. animal. l. vii. c. 4.*

They are
hated by
the EGYPTIANS.

Year of
flood 775.
Bef. Chr.
1573.

hazardous enterprize. However, it is not easy to fix the time when their bondage began, nor how long they had groaned under it, when *Moses* was born: sure it is, that from, or even before that time, they began to be more and more cruelly oppressed by the *Egyptians*, whose unheard of treatment of that oppressed people might be owing to more causes than one (B). But the main, and indeed sufficient motive mentioned in the text, was their being grown more mighty than the *Egyptians*, and the danger there was, lest upon any war they should join their enemies, and drive them out of the land^e. This last made such an impression upon them, that though they were resolved to crush them as much as possible, if not totally to destroy them; yet they did not dare to come to an open rupture with them, but made it their chief endeavours to weaken them by degrees, by hard labours, taxes (C), and all kind of oppression, as the sequel of this history will soon shew.

THIS

^e Exod. i. 9, 10.

(B) Such as their contempt of all nations but their own; their hatred of the *Israelites* both as shepherds, and as *Hebrews*, who killed and lived upon those beasts that were worshiped in *Egypt*; the great difference of religion; envy to see them so successful; and the like.

(C) It is to be observed, that the original words שרי מסים *sare massim*, which we translate task-masters, properly signify tax-gatherers; the burdens are mentioned afterwards under another name; so that they laid heavy tributes upon them, to impoverish, and heavy burdens, to weaken them. *Philo* tells us (5), that they were made to carry burdens above their strength, and to work night and day; that they

were forced to be workers and servers; that they were employed in brickmaking, digging, and building; that, if any of them dropped dead under their burdens, they were not suffered to bury them. *Josephus* tells us moreover (6), that they were made to dig trenches and ditches; to drain rivers into chanel; to wall whole towns, casting up dykes and banks to keep off inundations; nay, to erect fantastical pyramids; that they obliged them to learn several laborious trades, and confined them to perpetual restless labour. Another author tells us (7), that, in order to render them more odious to the *Egyptians*, they made them go differently apparelled. But, without troubling ourselves further than with what *Moses* tells

(5) *Philo in vit. Mosi.*
Euscb. præp.

(6) *Antiq. l. ii. c. 9.*

(7) *Eupolem. ap.*

THIS terrible persecution, if we may be allowed to call *Their cruel* it by that name, began under the reign of a new king ^f, *bondage*, who knew not *Joseph* (D), or had forgot the great services which

^f *Ibid.* ver. 8.

us, we shall find their work hard enough (8). They were forced to work in clay and brick, and compelled at length to go and seek for stubble instead of straw, without the least diminution of their tasks, of which if they chanced to come short, which could not possibly be avoided, their overseers were severely beaten for it (9). Thus they tried by these three ways to bring them under; *viz.* by exacting a tribute to lessen their wealth, laying heavy burdens on them to weaken their bodies, and thereby to prevent their generating and increasing.

(D) There was nothing extraordinary in this forgetfulness, taking the words of *Moses* in their literal sense; if we consider, that kings were then only elective, and all the subjects looked upon as their slaves (10). Archbishop *Usher* mentions seven kings between *Joseph's* death, and this who knew not *Joseph*, i. e. in about 60 years, which was more than sufficient to obliterate all his signal services. Who this new king was, is not so easily agreed. *Cajetan* thinks him to have been an *Assyrian* born, from the words of the prophet (11), *My people went down into Egypt to sojourn, and an Assyrian op-*

pressed them. But we don't find, in the *Egyptian* chronicles, any *Assyrian* kings, either before *Moses*, or for above 1000 years after. Neither could it be *Mephres*, in whose ninth year *Joseph* is supposed to have died, and the bondage to have begun (12); because *Levi* outlived *Joseph* above 23 years (13); whereas the thralldom did not commence till all the patriarchs were dead. Some, therefore, suppose, that it was *Amenophis*; because *Eusebius* thinks, that *Moses* was born in the eighteenth year of his reign; and so does *St. Jerom* (14). Archbishop *Usher*, after *Mercator*, thinks it was *Rameses Miamun*. This king the above-mentioned primate affirms to have reigned 62 years and 2 months; during which, being frightened at the number and strength of the *Israelites*, he began to oppress them with a cruel bondage, laying upon them, besides their continual labour and tillage of the ground, the building also of royal magazines, storehouses, and the whole cities of *Ramasis* or *Ramesis*, and *Pithom*; the former of which took its name from the king, and the latter probably from the queen (15): but we shall find a great difficulty here, *viz.* how to recon-

(8) *Exod.* i. 14.

(9) *Ibid.* c. v. *passim.*

(10) *Diod. Sicul.* l.

ii. c. i. *Gen.* xlviii. 19, 20.

(11) *Isai.* lii. 4.

(12) *Vincent. in loc.*

(13) *Exod.* vi. 16.

(14) *Euseb. Hieron. in Chronic.*

(15) *Usher*

sub A. M. 2427.

which that glorious minister had done both the crown and nation of *Egypt* (E); and who, when he found by the experience

cile that learned prelate with what *Pliny* says (16), that this *Rameses* reigned in the time of the *Trojan* war, that is, about 300 years after the death of *Moses*. A late author (17) hath taken a great deal of pains to prove, that this persecution happened soon after the invasion of the shepherds mentioned formerly, and probably under one of their first kings; and these being utter strangers both to *Joseph* and his people, will account still better for the cruel treatment which their jealousy made them inflict upon the latter. But, upon the whole, the reader is desired to remember what we said in the history of *Egypt*, concerning the difficulty of adjusting their chronology; and, particularly, who those kings were, under whom the *Israelites* suffered this slavery (18). As for those who pretend, that the *Israelites* continued above 400 years in *Egypt*, as *Genebrard* (19); or that they groaned under that slavery all that time, as *Josephus* (20); they will send us still farther to seek for a king that will fit them; but we hope we have sufficiently proved their error, in our notes in the former section, p. 253, 254, not. (K); and made it more than probable, that they did not continue there above 215 years.

(E) This we need not won-

der at, after so many years, when *Abasbuerus* could so soon forget *Mordecai*, who had so lately saved his life (21): tho' it must be owned, that, had *Joseph's* merit been ever so fresh in their memory, yet that prince's conduct, if politically considered, had nothing strange or uncommon, since it would rather have been a prodigy, if his gratitude to a man that had been dead above 50 years, had prevented his taking all the cautious measures to secure his own kingdom against the danger it seemed threatened with from a people, who, from an indigent family, were become such a numerous and formidable host. The religion of the *Israelites*, so opposite to *Egyptian* idolatry; their strict union among themselves; the great riches they had heaped up during *Joseph's* life; their indefatigable industry in feeding their numberless herds, in trade and agriculture; their bodily strength, and warlike temper; in all which, and many other respects, they seem to have been far superior to the *Egyptians*; all these, we say, did sufficiently justify *Pharaoh's* fears, if not in some degree authorize those violent measures which he took against them. We have seen, in our days, christian princes take as cruel and inhuman precautions a-

(16) *Plin. lib. xxxvi. c. 8.*

(17) *Shuckford connect. vol. ii. p. 206.*

(18) *Vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 37, & seqq. sub an. m. 2660.*

(19) *Genebrard chronogr. p. 11.*

(20) *Antiq. l. ii. c. 9.*

(21) *Esther vi. 23.*

experience of at least ten years, that neither the hardships he laid upon them, nor all the cruelties which his officers and people used towards them, could prevent their multiplying as fast as everⁱ, sent for the two chief *Hebrew* midwives, *Shiphrah* and *Puah* (F), and strictly charged

Pharaoh's
cruel order
to the He-
brew mid-
wives.

ⁱ Exod. c. i. pass.

gainst their own natural subjects, of whose fidelity and loyal attachment they had much greater proofs than ever the kings of *Egypt* had from the children of *Israel*; and yet these persecutions have been justified, nay, canonized, whilst *Pharaoh's* have been branded with the worst of epithets, and are not mentioned without horror.

Had indeed the *Egyptian* court been less a stranger to the *Israelites*, they would have had little cause to fear being driven out of their own country; against which these were so far from designing any attempt of that nature, that they never looked upon themselves but as sojourners in it for a while, still waiting for the happy timewhen *God* should call them out of it, to go and conquer another land. But perhaps they wisely concealed this secret from the *Egyptians*, who would be too loth to lose the service of such a numerous people, not to prevent their going, by all possible means. Besides, had it been known, there was still some danger of their joining their enemies, upon any war or invasion, in order to facilitate their escape.

(F) Though *Moses* mentions but two midwives, yet we must not suppose, that they could suffice to such a vast number of women. Some therefore think, that these two only attended on the nobler sort of *Hebrew* women, whose children *Pharaoh* chiefly intended to cut off (23): whereas his charge was, to kill all the males, none excepted. Others think, that the *Hebrew* women, being strong, and easily delivered (24), might probably shift with two midwives; but it is to be considered, that this was not so much the real fact, as an excuse of the midwives for not obeying the king's orders. It is therefore more probable, that these two were the chief ones, who had the charge and direction of all the rest (25): and that there was such a precedency or superiority among midwives, whatever *Cajetan* says to the contrary, appears very probable at least from what *Plutarch* tells us; that, among the *Grecians*, there were some to whom the care of that business was committed; and that public schools were kept for that purpose (26).

(23) *Cajet. in loc. Outran, & al. Sect. vol. ii. l. vii.*

(24) *Exod. i. 9.*

(25) *Pelican. Vatabl.*

(26) *Vid. Jun. in analys. Villet, & al. Sbuckford con-*

Year of the flood 775. Bef. Chr. 1573. *They are reproved for their disobedience;*

them, that, when they performed their office to the *Hebrew* women, they should destroy all the males, and let the females take their chance. But these women, who feared GOD, and abhorred such a cruel office, neglected the king's commands, and saved all the children that were born, males as well as females. *Pharaoh*, extremely provoked at their disobedience, commanded them to be brought before him, and in a threatening tone asked them, how they dared to disobey his orders? The women had not their answer to seek; for they readily told him, that the *Hebrew* women did not, like the *Egyptian* ones, want a midwife to deliver them, being lusty and strong, and bringing forth more like the beasts of the forest than women (G); so that their children were born before they could come

(G) The word *חיות* *chaioth*, which we translate *lively*, doth likewise signify wild beasts; and may be taken in that sense in this place, seeing the midwives wanted to throw the fault upon the pregnant women, who, like the beasts of the field, needed no help to be delivered; and it is very probable, that the *Hebrew* women, who were kept more strictly than the loose and masterly *Egyptian* dames, might have much easier labours than they, and so have less need of midwives. Their answer might therefore be true in part, tho' not in the whole; and, as to their stretching the truth a little beyond its due bounds, upon a good design, they had the examples of *Abraham* and *Isaac*, who made their wives pass for their sisters, though they were only so in a far-fetched sense: accordingly we find their proceeding approved and rewarded by GOD, who blessed them, and multi-

plied them into considerable families; for that is the plain meaning of what our and other versions render *the LORD made them houses*. The verb *בנב* *banab*, from which that of *בן* *ben*, a son, is derived, signifies to build, in a most extensive sense, such as to build houses, families, estates, &c. some instances the reader may see in the places quoted in the margin (9). A learned modern doth indeed declare himself largely against this sense; and is rather of opinion, that it was the *Egyptians* who built those houses, to shut up the pregnant women in, that the king's decree might not be eluded by the midwives (10): this both he and others conclude from the pronoun *la-bem* being masculine, whereas it must have been *la-ben*, if it had related to the midwives; but, if that had been the case, he must rather have built large cities to have sufficed so vast a multitude of pregnant *Hebrew* women: be-

(9) See *D. Kimchi, Perrer. le Scene*, vol. ii. l. viii. p. 212, & seq.

(10) *Shuckford connect.*

come to them. *Moses* tells us, that their piety and mercy *and re-*
did not go unrewarded, and that GOD blessed them with *warded by*
a numerous posterity ^k, a reward best suited to the temper *GOD for*
of that carnal people. *their piety.*

HOWEVER, *Pharaoh*, finding that these underhand
stratagems proved ineffectual, resolved to act more openly
against the *Israelites*, and to make the parents become
the executioners of their own children. To this end he
issues out an order, under the severest penalties, that every
Hebrew male child that was born, should be cast into the *The Israel-*
Nile, and that none but the females should be suffered to *ites com-*
live; by which the people saw themselves obliged either *manded to*
to drown their own children, or to see them drowned by the *drown all*
Egyptians, as soon as they were discovered, and them- *their male*
selves severely punished for not obeying the king's edict. *children.*
Such a bloody command could not but cause the greatest
consternation in the afflicted *Israelites*, too prone natu-
rally to despond of GOD's promises. But the divine pro-
vidence, whose designs could not be frustrated either by
the private artifices, or open violence, of the king of
Egypt, made him the instrument of bringing up that very
child, whom he designed to be the deliverer of his people^l.

AMRAM, the son of *Kobath*, and grandson of *Levi*,
had married *Jocbebed*, the daughter of *Levi*, his own

^k Exod. c. i. ver. 21, & seqq. ^l GREGOR. lib. viii. moral.

sides, the very places quoted
out of *Genesis*, *Deuteronomy*,
and *Ruth*, but especially the
last verse of Psalm cxiii. plainly
confine the sense to fructifying,
or increase of family. Accord-
ingly others think, that it was
the *Israelites*, and not the mid-
wives, that were so multiplied:
because, say they, women can-
not be said to build families,
but men (40); but the contra-
ry of this is plain, by the bles-
sing which is given to *Ruth*
(41), that *she might prove like*

Rachel and Leah, which two
did build the house, or family,
of Israel. We therefore think
it more probable, that the mas-
culine is here put for the femi-
nine, as we find it in the next
chapter (42), where the mas-
culine relative is applied to *Je-*
thro's seven daughters, and ma-
ny other places besides (43),
and given to the midwives by
way of excellency, which is no
uncommon thing in the sacred
tongue.

(40) *Simler, Jun. Villet. in loc.*
ii, 17.

(41) *Ruth iv. 11.*

(42) *Exod.*

(43) *Vatabl. Piscat. Munst. & al. in loc.*

Moses is born. Year of flood 777. Bef. Chr. 1571.

aunt (I); by whom he had two children before the king's edict, viz. *Miriam* and *Aaron*¹ (K); but *Moses* not being born till some time after the promulgation of it, and he proving a lovely and beautiful child, God inspired them with a more than ordinary reluctance to obey it; so that they ventured to keep him privately during the space of three months (L), till at last fearing the extreme danger

and concealed three months.

¹ See Exod. vi. 20.

(I) We have ventured to call *Jocbed Amram's* aunt, tho' the Septuagint, Vulgate, and, after them, many learned expositors, both papists and protestants, have thought that she was no more than his uncle *Kobab's* daughter, and consequently his cousin-german, because the marriage of an aunt was afterwards forbidden in the *Levitical* law (1). For tho' the word דוד *dod*, in the original, sometimes signifies an uncle's son (2), and דודא *dodab* an uncle's daughter, or cousin-german; yet, seeing *Moses* tells us (3), that she was born unto *Levi*, and accordingly calls her *Amram's* aunt (4) in another place, we thought we might safely give her that name, after many learned men (5).

(K) Though *Moses* mentions nothing of the age of his sister, either when she was born, or when she died, yet it is plain she was the eldest of the three, because she was old enough to watch *Moses* when he was exposed; whereas *Aaron* was but three years older than he: but, that she should be so old as the *Jews* make her, viz. to have

been one of the two midwives mentioned in a former note, is both improbable, and contrary to the opinion of our chronologers and expositors, who make her but ten years old, at most, when *Moses* was born.

(L) This pious concealment is sufficiently justified by *St. Stephen*, and the epistle to the *Hebrews* (8), not only on the account of the child's beauty, which is also mentioned by *Justin* out of *Trogus*, but also upon the account of their faith, they looking upon him as the future deliverer of their nation. However, *Josephus* tells us, that *Amram*, finding his wife with child, and being solicitous about the king's edict, prayed earnestly to God to put an end to this dreadful persecution; and that God appeared to him, and told him, that he would shortly free his people from it; and that the son, who should soon be born to him, should prove the happy instrument of their glorious deliverance, and eternize his own name thereby—that this made them conceal him as long as they could; but, fearing a discovery, they

(1) *Nic. de Lyr. A. Montan. Cajetan. Perron. Castal. & al. in loc.* (2) *Jerem. xxxii. 12.* (3) *Numb. xxvi. 59.* (4) *Exod. vi. 20.*
 (5) *Cbald. paraphr. Jun. Munst. Pagnin. Simler. Usher, & al.* (6) *AE.*
 vii. 20. *Hebr. xi. 23.* (7) *Ant. l. ii. c. 9.*

resolved

danger of a discovery, which would have proved fatal both to the child and themselves, they were forced, though with the utmost regret, to expose him like the rest, and put him into a small ark of bulrushes, or rather of the flags of the tree of which the *Egyptians* made their paper^m, which was strong enough to hold out the water, and smooth enough to receive the pitch and tar with which it was besmeered, and by its lightness fittest to swim with the child's weight; and, committing him to the mercy of the waves, or rather to the care of Providence, they left *Miriam* his sister, who was then about 9 or 10 years of age, at a convenient distance to watch and see what would be-
*and expos-
ed to the
common
fate,*
 come of him. The reeds and flags, with which that river aboundsⁿ, soon stopped the cradle from being carried by the current; and here it was that God sent him an happy deliverer from all future dangers on account of the king's edict.

It was *Pharaoh's* daughter, who, being come to the river with a design to bathe herself, spied the ark as she was walking along the shore. Her curiosity made her send some of her retinue to fetch it; and it was not long before her surprize, at the sight of so beautiful a child, was
*and taken
up,*
 succeeded by an irresistible love and pity for him; and truly his cries and tears would have moved a heart less gentle and pitiful than hers. She immediately concluded, that it was the child of some of those unfortunate *Hebrews*, who groaned under her father's heavy thraldom: her pity told her, that so lovely a boy deserved a better fate, and that it was her duty, since chance had thus thrown him in her way, at any rate to save him from the common ruin.

^m JOSEPH. ant. l. ii. c. 9. ⁿ Isai. xviii. 2. HERODOT. lib. ii. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. i. & al.

resolved to trust him to the care of providence; which accordingly conducted *Pharaoh's* daughter to the river-side, and inspired her with such sentiments of pity, that she adopted him for her son. He calls that princess *Thermuthis*; and, after him, *Epiphanius* in *Panario*, and others; *Artapanes* (10) calls her *Meris*; and the *Alexandrian* chronicle, *Myrrina*. *Josephus* adds (11) some other circumstances, which, as they favour too much of the fabulous *Jewish* leaven to deserve farther notice, the reader may see in the place above-quoted.

(10) *Ap. Euseb. præp. lib. ix. c. 4.*

(11) *Ant. lœc. citat.*

PROVIDENCE, which conducted all this scene, put it into her heart to have him educated as her own son, and into young *Miriam's* thoughts, to approach the princess, and to offer herself to fetch her an *Hebrew* nurse to suckle him. She flew with all imaginable joy to call the mournful *Jocbebed*, who came and received the dear infant from the hands of the princess, and with him an express order, to take the same care of him, as if he were her own. At the same time she told her, that, as she did not know the boy's name, she would give him that of *Moses*, seeing she had drawn him out of the water (M); and, having promised her an ample reward for her care of him, the joyful mother went home, to impart to her husband the news of this happy accident P.

His education.

THIS signal care of Providence failed not to make them look upon *Moses* as a child designed for some glorious purpose, and to give him an education suitable to the idea they had conceived of him whilst he staid with them. They brought him in due time to *Pharaoh's* daughter, who adopted him for her son, and had him brought up in all the kinds of learning which that country was famous for Q (N). However, it is reasonable to suppose,

P Exod. ii. per tot.

Q Act. vii. 22.

(M) *Moses* is here thought to have hebraized his name, in order to express the sense of the *Egyptian* one, which had been given him by *Pharaoh's* daughter (12). The word *mo*, or *mou*, in the *Egyptian* tongue, according to *Josephus* (13), signifies *water*; and *yfes*, or *ises*, signifies *preserved*; and so *Mo-yfes* one preserved out of the water; but it is more likely, that the word *Moseb* is derived from the *Hebrew* מַסַּב *massab*, which signifies to draw out; and is taken in that sense by the psalmist, Ps. xviii. 17. יַחַשְׁנִי מִמַּיִם רַבִּים, *he shall draw me out of many waters*. Which verb might probably be

common to the *Hebrew* and *Egyptian* tongues, both in sound and signification (14).

(N) *Clemens Alexandrinus* tells us (15), that *Moses* was taught arithmetic, geometry, physic, music, and hieroglyphics, otherwise called enigmatical philosophy: to which *Philo* adds (16) astronomy, which he learned of the *Chaldeans*, and the *Assyrians* characters from the *Assyrians*; and that they sent for the best masters from *Greece*, to instruct him in all liberal arts and sciences; but that was not a time for the *Egyptians*, who excelled the rest of the world in all sorts

(12) *Ubi sup.* (13) *Vid. sup. vol. i. p. 349, (H).* (14) *Simler. Osander in loc. Villet in Exod. c. ii. quæst. 17.* (15) *Clem. Alex. lib. i.*
(16) *Philo in vit. Mosi.*

pose, that his parents had so well instructed him in their religion, and taken such care to let him know both what relation they bore to him, and what hopes they had conceived of his being designed by heaven to be the deliverer of his nation, that he made no other use of the education which the princess gave him, than to confirm himself more and more against the superstitions and idolatry of the *Egyptians*, and to make himself fit to answer those ends for which he seemed designed by Providence. It was this noble motive which made him sympathize with the oppressed *Hebrews*, and prefer the reproachful and despised name of *Israelite* to all the pomp and glory of *Pharaoh's* court †. It was this generous love to his people, which made him venture to visit and commiserate them; and, where it was in his power, to relieve them from their intolerable oppression, though at the hazard of his own life: for, having observed, one day, an *Egyptian* using an *Hebrew* with some uncommon barbarity, being perhaps one of those cruel task-masters whom *Pharaoh* had set over the *Jewish* ones, and who used to punish them upon the least default of those that were under their inspection; *Moses* was so exasperated at it, that he had only patience enough to look about, and, seeing nobody near, fell upon him, killed him, and buried his carcase in *He kills an* the sand. If what *Josephus* tells us * be true, that he had *Egyptian*. before this time been at the head of *Pharaoh's* troops, and made several successful campaigns against the *Ethiopians*, who had ravaged and plundered some provinces of *Egypt* (O), we need not wonder at his martial spirit shewing

† Hebr. xi. 24, &c.

* Ant. lib. ii. c. 10.

of learning, to send for masters from *Greece*, which rather stood in need of *Egyptian* teachers; so that, when *Moses* is said to have been instructed in all the learning of *Egypt*, it plainly implies, that he had the best and most learned education that the whole world could then give him. If it be asked, how the *Egyptians* came by all those sciences, we can only refer the

querist to what hath been said in a former chapter (17).

(O) *Josephus* has given us a long detail of several remarkable particulars of *Moses's* life, during the forty years he abode in *Egypt*; but, as they are neither mentioned, nor seem at all countenanced, in the text, and are besides fraught with *Jewish* legends, and surprising miracles, fit only for a *Jewish*

(17) *Eupolem ap. Clem. Alexandr. Strom. l. i. & ap. Euseb. præp. l. ix. c. 26.*

shewing itself upon such an occasion : but as we are not sure, that what this historian says is really fact, seeing *Philo*, who hath purposely wrote *Moses's* life, and had as great opportunities of being informed of all the particulars of it, as *Josephus* had, is altogether silent about it ; and *Moses* himself is so far from mentioning any such warlike prowess, that he rather describes himself as a man of the utmost meekness and patience ; we shall be forced to suppose, that he was stirred up to this deed by some divine impulse, as being the person chosen by heaven to be the deliverer of *Israel*. This seems to be hinted at by *St. Stephen*^t, and we may probably suppose, that the injury done to the *Hebrew* was of such a nature, that it either deserved death, or could not be prevented, but by killing of the *Egyptian*. However that be, *Moses* was not so safe as he thought ; for, endeavouring soon after to compose a difference between two *Hebrews*, whose cruel slavery could not hinder them from injuring one another, the most guilty of the two, upbraiding him with the murder, asked him, Whether he designed to kill him, as he had done the *Egyptian* (P) ? Finding therefore that the

^t Acts vii. 25.

creed, we shall refer our reader to the book itself, which is in every-body's hands (17). Only, from what he relates of *Moses's* vast success against the *Ethiopians*, his stratagem to destroy the fiery serpents, and to conduct *Pharaoh's* army through a long and wild desert, and other such surprising events, if they were really done by him, we may venture to infer, that there were three principal motives why *Pharaoh* and his people sought *Moses's* death ; namely,

1. Their envy at his great success, and consummate wisdom, in this warlike expedition.
2. Their jealousy, lest he should attempt to make some

dangerous insurrection in *Egypt*. And, lastly, the prophecies which that country was threatened with from an *Hebrew*. To which *Philo* (18) adds a fourth, namely, his being too great a friend and favourer of the *Hebrews*, whom *Pharaoh* already looked upon as his most dangerous enemies.

(P) A *Jesuit*, who has lately written the history of the people of *God*, thinks it highly probable, that these two quarrelling *Hebrews* were that *Jannes* and *Jambres*, mentioned by the apostle (19) to have withstood *Moses*, because they would not acknowledge him to have been a proper judge of their quarrel,

(17) See before, vol. ii. p. 494, & seqq.
(19) 2 Tim. iii. 8.

(18) *Philo in vit. Mosi.*

though

fact was known, and fearing the effects of *Pharaoh's* re-^{and is} sentment, he was forced to fly into the land of *Midian*; ^{forced to} not daring to rely too much upon the protection, of his ^{fly into} adoptive mother. It is supposed however, that he had ^{Midian.} made use of that princess's interest long before, to get ^{Year of} that bloody edict against the *Hebrew* male children re- ^{the flood} called, since the sequel of the history shews, that that ^{817.} order had not been put in force for some time. It was ^{Bef. Chr.} well for him, however, he left *Egypt* so soon; for the ^{1531.} news of the slain *Egyptian* was brought to the king, and in all likelihood aggravated with the blackest circumstances by the jealous courtiers; so that, had he not made all possible haste to get out of his reach, and already passed over those great deserts that lay between *Egypt* and *Midian* (Q), and safely got near hospitable *Jethro's* habitation, he would infallibly have been put to death. At his arrival in that country he met with much such another adventure as *Jacob* had in *Padan-haran's*, at the well whither the damsels used to come to water their flocks:

^s Gen. xxix. 9.

though **God** had made him the judge of all his people (20). What induces him to think so is, that their names are *Hebrew* ones; for which reason he thinks, that they could not be the *Egyptian* magicians, whom *Pharaoh* made use of in opposition to *Moses*: but, in order to make these names *Hebrew*, he must, with some *Jews*, call them *Jochanan* and *Mambri*, or *Jonab* and *Jambri* (21); but we shall shew, in the sequel of this history, that these two men, let their right names be what they will, were the magicians, who mimicked several of *Moses's* miracles, tho' they could

not follow him throughout.

(Q) We must take care to distinguish this land of *Midian*, of which an account has been already given (22), from another of that name, whose chief city was also called *Midian*, and might be a colony of the other, which was situate by *Arnon* and *Areopolis*, according to *St. Jerom*, who tells us, the ruins of it were still to be seen in his days (23); whereas this, which *Moses* went to, was in *Arabia Petraea*, whose metropolis was called *Petra*, not far from mount *Horeb*, where he kept *Jethro's* flocks (24).

(20) *Berruyer* *hisoir. du peuple de Dieu*, tom. ii. p. 25. (21) *Buxtorf*
lexic. talmudic. Fabric. de apocryph. Vet. Test. (22) *Vid. sup. vol. ii. p.*
 150, & *seqq.* See also *vol. ii. p. 501, & seqq.* (23) *Hieron. loc.*
Hebraic. (24) *Exod. iii. 1.*

an account of which, and of his forty years abode there, has been given in the history of the *Midianites* ^s.

How he spent his time in those forty years retirement, save that he kept *Jethro's* flocks, is what he has not thought fit to acquaint us with. Those who suppose, that he wrote the book of *Job* during this interval, have certainly this strong argument on their side, that it appears to have been written before the deliverance of the *Israelites* out of *Egypt*; otherwise it were absurd to suppose, that either *Job*, or his friends, considering what kindred and country they were of, could be either so ignorant of the wonders, which *GOD* had wrought in favour of that oppressed people, or so forgetful of them, as not to have urged them in the strongest terms, during their long and intricate controversy about the various dispensations of providence. And indeed, were not *Job* so often mentioned by *Ezekiel* ^t, with *Noah* and *Daniel*, much might be said for those who look upon this history as a parable, or rather a dramatic piece, written on purpose to comfort the afflicted *Israelites* under their heavy bondage. But the words of the prophet will not admit of such a supposition.

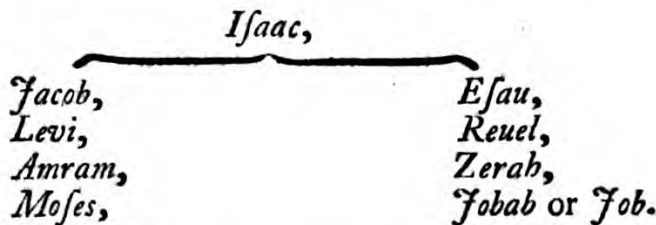
WE have formerly promised in the history of *Edom* ^v, to give some account of the genealogy of this holy man, and of the author of his history; and, as some of our readers have since expressed a desire to know all the probable particulars that can be gathered on that subject, we shall beg leave to subjoin them here in few words.

A digression concerning Job.

THE most antient monument we have concerning the genealogy of *Job*, and which has been received and allowed by *Aristeas*, *Philo*, *Polyhistor* ^w, and several antient fathers of the *Greek* and *Latin* church ^x, is an addition to that history, which is to be met with at the end of the *Greek*, *Arabic*, and *Vulgate* versions, and affirmed to have been taken from the antient *Syriac* one, to this purpose; That *Job* dwelt upon the confines of *Idumea* and *Arabia*; that his first name was *Jobab*; and that he married an *Arabian*, by whom he had a son named *Ennon*. As for *Job*, he was the son of *Zarah*, and the fifth in descent from *Abraham* by *Esau*, and reigned in *Idumea*. The

^s Exod. ii. pass. Vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 153, & seqq.
^t Ezek. xiv. pass. ^u Gen. xxxvi. p. tot. Vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 170. ^w Apud EUSEB. præp. l. ix. c. 25. ^x Vid. FRED. SPANHEIM. in vit. Job. c. iv. MERCER. PINEDA, DIEG. de STUNICA, & al. comm. in Job.

order of the kings that reigned before and after him, is as follows: *Balac* the son of *Beor* reigned in the city of *Denabab*; after him reigned *Job*, called also *Jobab*; who was succeeded by *Afom*, prince of *Teman*; his successor *Adad*, the son of *Barad*, was he who overthrew the *Midianites* in the plains of *Moab*; the name of his city was *Fethem*. *Job's* friends, who came to visit him, were *Eliphaz*, king of *Teman*, of *Efau's* posterity; *Bildad*, king of the *Zeuchans*; and *Zophaz*, king of the *Mineans*. Thus far the additions, which have been preserved by *Theodotion*, in his version of the book of *Job*. If this genealogy be admitted, and that *Job* is the same with *Jobab*, mentioned in *Genesis* 2 and *Chronicles* 2, it will follow, that he and *Moses* were cotemporary, being both but three generations removed from *Isaac*, thus;



It will likewise be plain, that he reigned in the city of *Denaba* or *Dinhabab*; for so the author of the first book of the *Chronicles* expressly affirms^b (A). Those who embrace the notion that *Job* is the *Jobab* mentioned in those

^y Vid. CALM. dissert. in Job.

^z Gen. xxxvi. 32.

^a I Chron. i. 43, 44.

^b Ibid.

(A) But how to find such a city in the land of *Uz*, seeing *Eusebius* and *St. Jerom* place *Dinabab* in the land of *Moab*, between *Areopolis* and *Heshbon* (1), whereas they affirm the land of *Uz*, or the place where *Job* dwelt, to have been, according to the antient tradition of the inhabitants of *Palestine*, the city of *Astaroth Kernaim*, on the other side *Jordan*, upon the brook *Jaabok*, between *Mahanaim* and *Edrai* (2), is

not easy to reconcile by any other way, but by supposing that tradition to have been ill-founded; which is far from improbable, considering the fondness people had for such eminent places, and the constant fluctuation, which the boundaries of those places were liable to, and of which we have given many signal instances in our geography of those countries.

(1) Loc. Hebr.

(2) Id. *ibid.*

two places of Scripture above quoted, and consequently, that he was cotemporary with *Moses*, have with much straining pumped out two passages in his history, which, they pretend, make exprefs mention of *Pharaoh's* pride and overthrow, and of the *Israelites* passing through the *Red Sea*. The first is, where *Eliphaz* says of the wicked, that *trouble and anguish shall make him afraid, and prevail against him, as a king ready to battle*^e: which words they apply to *Pharaoh's* pride, and hardness of heart; though 'tis plain, by what goes before and after those two verses, that *Job's* friend speaks only of the wicked in general, such as he supposed him to be from the afflictions which had befallen him. The other text is, where *Job* says, that *GOD divideth the sea with his power, and by his understanding smiteth through the proud*^f. And this they think to allude to the passing of the *Red Sea*, and to *Pharaoh's* overthrow in it. But here, besides that the word in the original doth more properly signify to *still* than to *divide*, it is plain from the tenor of the whole chapter, that *Job* speaks only of the wonderful power and providence of *GOD* in general, and not of this miracle in particular. Besides, it is hardly probable, as we observed a little before, that, had this conference between *Job* and his friends happened after so remarkable a deliverance as that of the *Israelites*, a more ample and exprefs mention should not have been made throughout the book, than we find in these two obscure passages; especially if we consider, that *Job's* desire of vindicating his own integrity did naturally lead him to it; and that the afflictions, as well as the deliverance of the *Israelites*, were a full confutation of what his friends alleged against him, that if he had not been guilty of some great crimes, *GOD* would never have inflicted such heavy punishments on him^g. Neither do we see any necessity for making *Job* to have lived since this miraculous deliverance of the *Israelites*, in order to adjust the genealogy above-mentioned; since it will be sufficient to suppose, that those four generations, on *Esau's* side; were, by some few years, shorter than those on *Jacob's*; which is not at all improbable, seeing the latter were remarkable for their long lives; and then it will be possible enough for *Job* to have seen an end of all his sufferings, before *Moses* left the land of *Midian*; in which case he, being justly supposed to be the

^e Job xv. 24, 25.

^f Ibid. xxvi. 12.

^g See particularly chap. xxii. 15, & alib. pass.

^h See par-

most antient writer, he has been likewise thought the author of his history, by the majority of learned men. That his poetic genius was equal to this excellent performance, those few canticles, which he has left us in the *Pentateuch*, will not permit us to doubt of^s. However, there is one main objection against this notion, which is, that if *Jobab* be the same with *Job*, and he cotemporary with *Moses*, it will be impossible for the latter to have outlived him by so many years, as to be able to give us an account of his death, and of his numerous posterity; for it is said that *Job* lived an hundred and forty years after his sufferings were ended, and that he saw his sons children to the fourth generation; whereas *Moses* lived but forty years in the land of *Midian*, and forty more after he was come out of it. This difficulty therefore cannot be removed, but by supposing, that the three or four last verses of the book were added afterwards by some inspired person, in order to make the history complete; in the same manner as *Joshua*, or some other, added the account of *Moses's* death and burial at the end of *Deuteronomy*: but how far this supposition may be allowed, we choose to submit to our reader's judgment (B).

WE

^s See before, p. 193.

(B) Before we close this digression, we shall beg leave to say something of the book itself. Though some learned men have thought it to have been written originally in *Syriac* or *Arabic*, either by *Job* himself, or by one of his friends (1); yet it is now universally allowed to have been written in *Hebrew*. What has given birth to the former notion, is its being so blended with *Syriac* and *Arabic* expressions and idioms, as makes it very difficult to be rightly understood (2). It is justly supposed to be written in verse, from the loftiness of the style, the sublimeness of the thoughts,

the liveliness and energy of expression, the grandeur of its imagery, and variety of characters; though the metre and cadence of it be altogether loose and unconfined. Those who have been most conversant in it, will readily allow, that antiquity cannot produce a more lofty and magnificent, a more florid, eloquent, pathetic, and learned performance, whoever the author of it was. A bold critic, indeed (3), has not scrupled to tax him with ostentation, and with making a vain shew of profane learning, and poetic fiction, and for putting such expressions in the mouth of that holy man, as

(1) *Vid. Calm. diff. in Job.* (2) *Hieron. præfat. in Job.* (3) *Theod. Mopsuest. Vid. Synod. V. Oecum. collat. iv. art. 63.*

WE return now to our *Jewish* lawgiver in the land of *Midian*, whom we may reasonably suppose to have had such convincing reasons to look upon himself as the deliverer of that afflicted people, that he could not but have many anxious thoughts about them during that long interval, and think the time long, till he saw that glorious promised deliverance happily fulfilled. But this long delay seems rather to have made him conceive quite other notions, as if GOD had either made choice of some other instrument to work out their deliverance, or had been provoked by their sins to suspend it for some longer time. For

GOD appears to him in the burning bush. when GOD was pleased to appear to him at the end of forty years, in a burning bush, upon mount *Horeb*, and by his own voice, as well as by the miracle of the bush not having one leaf consumed, tho' all over in a bright flame (R), to assure him that he was the GOD of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*,

are not only incompatible with his character, but even of a dangerous nature, being, in his opinion, more fitted to corrupt, than to edify, his readers. But it is certain, that that learned author was only acquainted with the *Greek* version of it, which abounds, it must be owned, with expressions that allude too much to the fables and fictions of the poets. Had he been acquainted with the original, he would easily have acquitted it of such an unjust imputation. Besides, it must be remembered, that the eastern nations had a much more lively, strong, and passionate way of expressing their thoughts than we; so, that it is impossible to come at their true meaning, or to make a right judgment of those hyperbolical expressions, without lowering them very much from their literal signification. The

Jews have added several particulars to the history of *Job*, such as that he was a king and high-priest in *Idumea*, and that he had married *Dinah*, *Jacob's* daughter (4); which latter can hardly be credited, unless we suppose him to have been of much older date than *Moses*. The easterns, especially the *Arabians*, have very much improved upon them, according to custom; but we need not trouble our readers with a further detail of them: those who are desirous to be informed in that particular, may consult *Herbelot's bibliotheca orientalis* (5).

(R) The time when this vision was seen by *Moses*, *St. Stephen* (6) tells us, was about forty years after his flight out of *Egypt*, that is, in the eightieth year of his age; for so old he was, when he came and stood before *Pha-*

(4) *Chald. Par. it. Maim. more newoch. & al. art. Ajub.*

(6) *Acts vii. 23.*

(5) *Bibl. orient. sub*

Jacob, that spoke to him, and commanded him to go into *Egypt*, and to execute his designs there; *Moses* did not leave one plea untried to be excused from the difficult task, whilst *GOD* was graciously pleased to dispel all his fears, to clear all his doubts, and to give him such promises of his miraculous assistance, as would have emboldened the most fearful, which was not *Moses's* case.

THE divine vision (S) began with telling him, that the afflictions, under which the *Israelites* groaned, were grown to

raab (40); and it was in the fortieth year of his age, that, going to visit his brethren, he committed the fact which obliged him to fly the kingdom, and to go *ab aula ad caulam*, from the court to the cart. It was in this retirement that he is supposed to have written the books of *Job* and *Genesis*, for a comfort to his afflicted brethren (41).

(S) We need not repeat here what has been said before, about these apparitions, whether they were angels speaking in the person of *GOD*, which we think we have sufficiently confuted, or *GOD* himself, or, as the most received opinion is, *CHRIST* the *SON* of *GOD*. All that need be added here is, that this, who appears now in the bush, is the same who was afterwards to be the captain and guide of the *Israelites* in the desert; that is, not an angel, or *GOD* the *FATHER*, but *CHRIST* himself, as *St. Paul* affirms (42); for neither the *FATHER* nor *HOLY GHOST* are ever called by

the name of angel, *i. e.* a messenger, or person sent; whereas the *SON* is called the *angel of the covenant* by the prophet *Malachi* (43), as a title of his office, though not of his nature (44). As for those who think, not only that it was an angel (45), but pretend to guess, that it was *Michael* that appeared here, as he did afterwards to *Joshua* (46), and to *Daniel* (47); it is plain, their conjecture is not only contrary to what we have quoted out of the apostle, but even absurd, if not impious. For can they prove, that *Michael* was a created angel, seeing that name signifies one like unto *GOD*, and can only be applicable to *CHRIST*? Can a created angel be stiled the captain of the *LORD's* hosts, as he is called in *Joshua*, or the prince of the people of *GOD*, as he is in *Daniel*; which office and title, the apostle tells us (48), belongs only to *CHRIST*, who is the Captain or Prince of our salvation? Did ever any angel suffer himself to be wor-

(40) *Exod.* vii. 7. (41) *Perrer. ex Pbilon. Villet. & al.* (42) *1 Cor.* x. 4. (43) *Malach.* iii. 1. (44) *Theodor. Osiand. Simler, & al.* (45) *Aug. de Trinit. lib. iii. c. 11. & tractat. 3. in Johan. n. 17. 18. Hieron. epist. ad Galat. iii. Greg. moral. lib. xxviii. c. 1.* (46) *Josh.* v. pass. (47) *Dan.* x. pass. (48) *Hebr.* ii. 10.

Commands to such an height, and the cruelties of their enemies so enormous, that the time was now come, both for their deliverance, and for their receiving that happy promised land, as a recompence for their long patience and sufferings; bidding him at the same time go to *Pharaoh*, and in his name demand their dismissal; and assuring him, that those who sought his life, were now all dead, and that he had nothing to fear from the *Egyptians*. *Moses* at first made several weak excuses, and at last objected, that he very much doubted whether the *Israelites* had not so far forgot the GOD of their fathers, that, when he came to acquaint them with his commission from him, they would be apt to ask what his name was; in which case he would be at a loss what answer to make to them (T). Here GOD was pleased to answer a question, which he

shipped, as that which appeared to *Joshua* did? Supposing, therefore, that it was the same that appeared to *Moses*, *Joshua*, and *Daniel*, as *Perrerus* thinks (49), yet it will be far from following, that he was a created angel, or ministring spirit; on the contrary, it will be plain, that it was CHRIST the King of men and angels, blessed for ever (50).

(T) The cabbalistical *Jews*, and, after them, *Josephus* (51), and some *Romanists* (52), think that *Moses* did not ask for the name of GOD, but for the true pronounciation of it, which they say had been lost through the wickedness of mankind: for which reason the former affirm, that the word חַלֹּם *holam*, used by GOD presently after (53), being written without a *vau*, should not be rendered *for ever*, but *hid*, from the root חַלֹּם *halam*, to

hide, not considering, that, if that was the case, it should be written חַלֹּלֵם *halum*, and not *gholam*. Upon this account the name יהוה is by all the *Jews* called *shem hamphorasb*, the unutterable name, which *Josephus*, in the place just now quoted, says, was never known or heard of, before GOD told it to *Moses*; and adds, that he dares not so much as mention it: for which reason they never pronounce it, but use the words *Adonai* or *Elohim*, or plainly the word *hasbem*, the name, to express it. Thus, in their letters and common discourse, instead of saying, The LORD bless or protect you, they say, *The Name bless you*, &c. Not but their high-priest did pronounce it *Jehovab* once a year, on the day of expiation, from the time of their return from the *Babylonish* captivity, to the last destruction of the

(49) *Perrerus*. & al. *Ant. lib. ii. c. 12.*
de Dieu, tom. ii. p. 36.

(50) *Villet. in cap. iii. Exod. quest. 36.*

(51) *Genebrard. Bellarmin. Berruyer hist. du peup.*

(53) *Exod. iii. 15.*

he had formerly refused to *Jacob*†, though in such terms as might easily make him sensible of the irregularity and unreasonableness of it; for, as *Justin Martyr* rightly observes,

† Gen: xxxii. 29.

temple; but they had but few disciples near them that could learn its pronunciation; and, during the time of the blessing, in which this name was repeated, the priests and levites sung louder than ordinary, that none else might hear it. But even then they were far from thinking it the right pronunciation of the *Tetragrammaton*; for they think, that any man that could once attain it, might shake heaven and earth with it, work the greatest miracles, and dive into the deepest secrets of the Deity; upon which account the *Talmud* has left a most horrid curse against those that shall dare to utter it, because they think the angels themselves are not allowed to pronounce it.

The truth is, those who think that *Jehovah* is the right pronunciation, are far enough from being sure of it. It is plain, that the antients wrote it very differently from them. *Sanctoniathon* spells it *Jervo* (1); *Diodorus Siculus* (2), *Macrobius* (3), *Clemens of Alexandria* (4), *St. Jerom* (5), and *Origen* (6), pronounced it *Jao*. The *Samaritans*, and, after them, *Epiphanius* (7), and *Theodoret* (8), *Jave* or *Jabe*. Others of the antients

write it *Jaboh*, *Javo*, *Jaon*, *Jabo*, and *Jaboæ*. Among the moderns, *Capellus* is for pronouncing it *Javo*; *Drusus*, *Jave*; *Hottinger*, *Jebva*; *Mercer*, *Jehovah*; *Castalio*, *Jovab*; and *Le Clerc*, *Javob* or *Javob*. Something like these the *Romans* had in their *Jovis*, to which *Varro* seems to allude, when he says, *Deum Judæorum esse Jovem*, that *Jove* was the God of the *Jews*, as *St. Austin* alleges out of him, in the first book of his defence of the gospel, c. 22. The *Moors* likewise call God *Juba*, or *Jubab*, and the *Mohammedans*, *Hou*, which, with them, signifies the same as *Jehovah*, i. e. he who is; which name they write at the beginning of all their patents, passes, and the like, and often repeat it in their prayers. Some of their devotees will sometimes repeat that word so often, and with such quickness and vehemence, that they drop down with giddiness. However, it is plain, that the four letters, of which that great name consists, may be pronounced in all the above-mentioned ways, and several others, according to the vowels that are joined with them. Thus much for the pronunciation of יהוה.

(1) *Sanctoniath. ap. Euseb. præp. lib. x. c. 9. lib. ii.* (2) *Diod. Sic. biblioth. lib. i. c. 18.* (3) *Macrob. Saturnal. lib. i. c. 18.* (4) *Clem. Alex. Stromat. lib. v.* (5) *Hieron. or some other under his name, in Psal viii.* (6) *Orig. contr. Cels. lib. vi. in Exod. quæst. 15.* (7) *Epiph. hæres. 40.* (8) *Theodoret. Herbelot biblioth. orient. p. 460, sub voc. Hou, & p. 326, sub Esma.* (9)

services, names are given only to shew the difference of things; whereas GOD being one, and there being none other

As to the uttering of it, besides what we have already observed out of the *Talmud* and *Josephus*, we have still another witness of the *Jewish* excessive and even superstitious respect for that word, *viz.* *Philo*; who affirms (10), that after the stoning of the blasphemer to death in the wilderness (11), GOD commanded *Moses* to publish a new law, that *whosoever should curse the LORD, should be guilty of sin; and whosoever should pronounce the name of GOD, should be put to death*; which is the version which the *Septuagint* and *Theodoret* have given us of the 15th and 16th verses of the above-quoted chapter; whereas in the original it is, *whosoever curseth אלהיו his GOD or gods, shall bear his own sin; and whosoever shall blaspheme the name of יהוה, the LORD, shall surely be put to death.* This law, continues *Philo*, is full of the profoundest wisdom, the first part of which forbids the cursing or blaspheming the false gods of the *Gentiles*; and the second, the uttering of the name of GOD in a vain or loose manner, or by way of ornament to our speech; which he thinks deserves the worst of punishments. But, as to the first part of this law, according to *Philo's* exposition, that author seems to have forgot, that *Jeremiah* commands the *Jews* (12), a

little before they were carried into the *Babylonish* captivity, that, when they came thither, they should not only speak against the gods of *Babylon*, but even denounce ruin and destruction against them all, as being no gods; and that not in their native *Hebrew*, which was not understood there, but in plain downright *Chaldee*, the language of that country. And it is observable, that this verse is the only one in that prophet, that is written in the *Chaldee*, all the rest being in *Hebrew*. But, to return from this digression, it is not easy to determine, whether the seventy had lost the right pronunciation of the name יהוה; whether they purposely concealed it under the name of *Kuei* LORD, or whether they did make use of that *Greek* word at all. For, first, they could not but be sensible, that the word יהוה was no relative word, as *Kuei* or LORD is; for though we can properly say *Kúpiós μς, Kuei* *υμῶν, &c.* *i. e. my LORD, our LORD, &c.* yet יהוה has never any pronoun affixed to it; whereas *Elohim* and *Adonai* have, as *Elohai, Elabeni, &c.* for which reason even *St. Jerom* chooses to render it by *Adonai*, in *Exodus* vi, ver. 3, *Et nomen meum Adonai non indicavi eis*, where it is in the *Hebrew* ובשמי יהוה לא נרעתי להם,

(10) *Philo in vit. Mosi.*

(12) *Jerem. x. 11.*

(11) *Levit. xxiv. 11, & seqq.*

other but he, there needs no name to distinguish him ^u.
 GOD therefore said to him, I AM THAT I AM; and
 bid

^u Dial. cont. Tryph.

but by my name Jehovah was I not known to them. Those versions, therefore, which have rendered that word by *Dominus*, as the *Vulgate*, or *LORD*, as our own, don't seem to have sufficiently attended to what we have just now observed; for יהוה, not being a relative one, ought not to have been rendered by one that is so. The *French Geneva* translation, probably after the apocryphal book of *Baruch*, which uses the term *everlasting* for it (12), hath made use of the word *Eternel*, the *Eternal Being*; which name, in the first place, is not relative (for we cannot properly say, *Mon Eternel*, *vôtre Eternel*, &c.); and, secondly, expresses the etymon of *Jehovah* far better than *Kύεις*, *Dominus*, or *LORD*, as we shall shew by-and-by. But, secondly, it is very probable, that the *Septuagint* left this, as well as some other names of God, such as *Jah*, *Sadai*, *Zabaoth*, &c. untranslated, till the second revisal of that version; and that they concealed the true reading of יהוה under the *Samaritan* characters (as being less understood by the rest of the world than the *Hebrew* or *Assyrian* ones were), or under the *Greek* capitals ΠΙΠΙ, which bore a

resemblance to the four letters of יהוה, and yet had a sound so different from it, that they would never lead the heathen reader to the true pronunciation of it. *St. Jerom* (13), *Origen* (14), and *Eusebius* (15), assure us that they had seen copies of the *Septuagint*, written in the two above-mentioned ways; and that, even in their time, the *Jews* strove to write that name, as often as it occurred, in the old *Samaritan* letters; their reason for which was, lest that venerable name should be abused by the heathen to ill purposes. Though *Origen* adds, that these precautions did not prove so effectual, but that they made use of it in their exorcisms, in their charms against diseases, and other superstitious rites (16). And *Clement of Alexandria* informs us (17), that those *Egyptians*, who were allowed to enter into the temple of the sun, did wear the name of *Jaou* about their middle. We find likewise, in some magic verses against the gout, mentioned by *Trallian*, the names *Jas* or *Jaath*. Something like this we meet with in *Pythagoras's* golden verses, where there is an oath by *Τετρακις*, i. e. by him whom whose name is spelt with four letters (18); as also

(12) *Vid. ch. iv. ver. 22. Es'atib. pass.* (13) *Hierom. præfat. in lib. Reg. & in Ezek. ix. c. i.* (14) *Orig. fragm. in palæograph. Græc. lib. ii. lib. i.* (15) *Euseb. in chronic. ad an. 4740.* (16) *Orig. cont. Celsum, lib. i.* (17) *Clem. Alex. Stromat. lib. v.* (18) *Vid. Selden de diis Syri syntagm. ii. c. i.*

bid him tell his brethren, that I AM had sent him to them; that he was the GOD of their fathers, of *Abraham, Isaac,* and

the inscription *Tu es*, in that famous frontispiece of the temple of *Delphos*, mentioned by *Eusebius* (19), which alludes to the *Hebrew* name of GOD. Such was also that of the *Egyptians*, I AM, written over one of theirs (20). *Cicero* gives an instance (21) of some names of the heathen gods, which they did not dare to pronounce; to which *Lucan* adds, that the very naming of them would have shaken the earth (22).

There remains, that we inquire into the signification of the name יהוה, in which we shall not find such a dissonancy among expositors, as we did about the pronunciation of it. For, first, they are all agreed, that it is derived from the root יהיה *hajah*, he has been, and denotes GOD's self-existence, and eternal nature. Accordingly, in this place we are annotating upon, he calls himself יהוה אלהים אלהים *Ehjeb asber ehjeb*, I am that I am; or rather, I am because I am: where the verb, though it be in the future, yet, according to the genius of the *Hebrew* tongue, is applicable to the present or perfect tense; and implies his immutability, as continuing the same that he has been, and is to all eternity

(23). It is likewise more than probable, that GOD chooses to express himself in the future tense, to shew that he is the only Being that can truly say, I shall or will be what I am, &c. (24). Neither was this name unknown to the wisest sort of heathens, as we have seen by some of their inscriptions, to which we shall add one more mentioned by *Egubinus*, written on the doors of the *Egyptian* temples, and exactly agreeing with this wonderful name of GOD; viz. *I am whatsoever was, is, and shall be.* According to which, *Thales* of *Milesum*, being asked what GOD was, replied, that which always is, and has neither beginning nor end. Thus *Plato* truly says (27), that nothing really exists but that which is immutable; for which, and some other of his wise sayings, he is supposed to have read *Moses's* books, or conversed with some of his disciples when he was in *Egypt*; which is not improbable, seeing *Aristobulus*, who flourished in the *Maccabees* time, writes to *Ptolemy Philometor*, that *Moses's* books having been translated into *Greek* in *Alexander's* time, *Pythagoras* and *Plato* had taken many things from them (28).

(19) *Euseb. præpar. lib. xi. c. 1. forib. temp. Delph. c. 2.* (20) *Platarch. tract. de inscrip. lib. iii.* (21) *Cic. de nat. deor. lib. iii.* (22) *Lucan. l. vi. v. 744, 745. ap. Calmet. sub voc. Jehowab. Villet. in Exod. c. vi. § al.* (23) *Greg. Nazianz. homil. in loc. S. August. in loc. Rev. i. § al.* (24) *Simler, Villet. & al.* (27) *Plato in Timæo.* (28) *Ap. Perru. Villet. & al.*

and *Jacob*; and that he would be remembered and acknowledged by that name throughout all generations, as their

Some divines, and in particular our learned *Ainsworth*, think, that *Jehovah* is the participle of *hajah* in *piel*; and that it doth not only signify to be, but to cause to be, or to give being; by which not only his omnipotence, but likewise his faithfulness and truth, are plainly intimated and implied, as being alone able and sure to make good his promises (29). Upon all these accounts, therefore, *Jehovah* is looked upon to be the incommunicable name of God, there being no created beings unto whom it can be properly, or indeed at all, applied in any of these senses; whereas those of *Elohim*, *Adonai*, *Gibbor*, &c. have been given to angels and men (30).

As for the reasons given both by *Jews* and *Christians* against pronouncing it; *viz.* that the right reading was lost either during the captivity, or at any other time or place, and that it is unlawful to substitute any other instead of it; it may be safely answered, that the design of words or names being to convey ideas into the mind, of those things of which they are but types, the differences will be very small, whether the pronounciation be right or wrong, provided the idea it conveys be right. And we are much mistaken, whatever these gentlemen say, if in this case the pronouncing the word *Je-*

hovah, which conveys the most perfect idea we can have of the Godhead, let the pronounciation be never so wrong, is not much safer than their pronouncing it *Adonai*, which, being a word of a vastly inferior signification, and applicable to every man that has any mastery or superiority over another, conveys a much more imperfect idea of the Godhead, and is therefore liable to be uttered with less awe and respect. This is so true in fact, that one may observe those scrupulous gentlemen, who would be ready to swoon at the hearing of the name *Jehovah*, make no scruple to stile their adversaries, *Jehovaiists*. The main text which terrifies the *Jews* against uttering this sacred name, is that of *Leviticus* (31), where it is said, *he that blasphemeth* (which they read *nameth*) *the name of God, shall be stoned*: where the word *נָקַבְתָּ* *nakab*, which in its primitive meaning signifies to pierce, and is therefore often used for writing, engraving, or enrolling, doth more properly forbid the writing than the speaking it: for *nakab* never signifies to utter, unless it be in a bad sense, as *curfing* or *blaspheming*; and therefore if the prohibition is to be stretched beyond that, it must be only against doing it irreverently or lightly, which is a lesser degree of profaning;

(29) *Simler, Outran, Burretius, Ainsworth, & al. Jun. Munst. &c.*

(31) *Levit. xxiv. 16.*

(30) *Perrier.*

but,

and to
bring his
people out
of bondage.

their great redeemer and deliverer : not, continued he, that *Pharaoh* will let you go at your first or second asking, nor indeed at all, till I have convinced him both of my justice and power, by the terrible punishment I shall send upon him and his land, for their oppression of my people : nor shall the *Hebrews* come away altogether unrewarded for their long and cruel servitude ; for I will inspire the *Egyptians* with such sentiments of pity and humanity towards them, that they shall part with their sumptuous raiments, and choicest jewels, to them, and make them thus far amends for their past labours and hardships * (X).

AFTER such ample assurances, one would hardly expect, that *Moses* would have started any new difficulties, at least without receiving some severe rebuke for it : nevertheless, he freely owns, that his doubts were far from being wholly dispelled ; he knew the temper of the *Israelites* too well, not to foresee, that they would most likely call his mission in question. He therefore begged to be

* Exod. iii. p. tot.

but, as they allow, that the name may be lawfully written, though the word *nakab* do signify also to write ; nay, since they allow, that the high-priest may and doth actually use it in that public blessing, which is prescribed by God himself (33), *Jehovah bless thee, and keep thee, &c.* it is plain the prohibition is not against naming, but against blaspheming, or using it with contempt or disdain, or to an ill purpose, as to curse our neighbours, and the like ; as the word *kallal* used in the foregoing part of this prohibition sufficiently shews (34).

(X) That some retaliation was due, in strict justice, from the *Egyptians* to the *Hebrews*, for the great services they had done to them, is what can hardly be denied :

however, we do not pretend to answer all the objections, which have been raised against this action. We think it sufficient to say, that the former were spoiled with the same justice for their unheard of oppression to the latter, as the *Canaanites*, and other nations, were destroyed for their abominable wickedness. God indeed could alone appoint those punishments, and make use of what instruments he pleased to inflict them ; but, since *Moses* gave sufficient proof of his being authorized by God, we cannot see where the injustice is in either case, nor the pretended ill tendency of such a precedent, since it is allowed on all hands, that it is in no case to be followed, unless it be evidently commanded by the same divine authority.

(33) *Numb.* vi. 24.

(34) *Simler, Villet, Munst. & al. in loc.*

informed what he must do in such a case ; and GOD was pleased to clear this doubt also by two miracles, which he wrought in his presence. The first was by turning his rod into a frightful serpent, and then into a rod again. The second was by smiting one of his hands with leprosy, upon his pulling it out of his bosom, and then healing it again by the same way ; adding moreover, that if the working of these two miracles before the *Israelites* did not give a sufficient sanction to his message, he should then have liberty to try the success of a third, by taking some water out of the *Nile*, which, upon its being spilt on the ground, would immediately turn the river into blood^t.

MOSES had still, as he thought, one material objection to make ; namely, an impediment in his speech, which he said rendered him unfit to speak either before *Pharaoh* and his court, or even to the *Israelites*. But this also the Divine Being was pleased to remove by telling him, that his brother *Aaron*, who was now by his appointment to meet him, should be his interpreter both to *Pharaoh*, and to the *Hebrews*^u. There was certainly something very surprising in this reluctance of *Moses*, as well as in the patience with which GOD heard him : yet when he found, that he had removed all the obstacles which his diffidence had suggested to him, he could not forbear having recourse to prayers, earnestly begging of GOD, who certainly knew *Moses* many among the *Hebrews* more fit for the work than him-*begs to be* self, to make choice of some other to execute his com-*excused.* mand. Had *Moses* been less sincere, he would hardly have recorded this extreme weakness of his, so little to his credit ; and which nothing could excuse or extenuate, but this free and ingenuous confession of it. Being therefore afraid, lest he should incur the divine displeasure by a further refusal, he made the best of his way towards *Obey at Midian*, in order to prepare himself for his journey, and *last, and* to meet his brother *Aaron*. *leaves*

WHETHER he acquainted *Jethro* with his commission, *Midian*. or, as he tells us^{*}, only expressed a desire to go and visit his brethren in *Egypt*, he easily obtained his dismissal ; and, taking his wife *Zipporah*, and his two sons, with him, the least of which, being too young to walk, he set upon

^t Exod. iv. 9. ^u Ibid. ver. 13. ad 17. ^{*} Ibid. ver. 18.

an afs; with this mean equipage, and the miraculous rod in his hand (Z), he marched directly for *Egypt*.

Aaron's children during his brother's absence.

DURING *Moses's* retreat in *Midian*, *Aaron* his brother had married *Elizabeth*, the sister of *Naasson*, both descended from *Judab* by their father *Aminadab*, the son of

(Z) Concerning this staff, from which *Zipporah* had her name, the *Jews* tell us a wonderful story; viz. that it grew in *Jethro's* garden, was called *saphir*, and had the *Tetragrammaton* written upon it: that it had been created in paradise on the sixth day, and brought away by *Adam*; and had passed from him to *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, and *Joseph*, and from him to *Pharaoh*: that *Jethro* had been one of his mildest counsellors, and daily advised him to lighten the burden of the *Israelites*, whilst *Balaam*, courtier-like, pestered him with contrary counsels: that, being forced to fly the court, and retire into the land of *Midian*, he had privately conveyed this miraculous rod away, and stuck it in his garden, where it took such deep root, that no force could pluck it up: that when *Moses* came first to him, and acquainted him with what happened to him in *Egypt*, *Jethro* caused him to be closely confined, intending to send him back to the king of *Egypt*. In the mean time *Zipporah* being fallen in love with him, and having acquainted her father with it, he consented that he should be set at liberty, and marry her, if he could pluck up the *saphir* rod which grew in his garden; and

at the same time issued out a proclamation, that the man that could pull up the plant, should have his daughter in marriage: that immediately a great number of lusty men came and tried their strength in vain; for *Moses* alone was the man that could perform the feat, which he did with wonderful ease, by virtue of the name of *God*, with the true pronounciation of which he was perfectly acquainted, and so obtained *Jethro's* daughter. They add, that he got the rod into the bargain, by which he afterwards wrought all his wonders in *Egypt* (14). These absurd fables would hardly be worth mentioning, were it not to shew into what monstrous extremes of credulity men are apt to fall, who have once denied the plainest truths. Were those reverend gentlemen's heads as long as their beards, they could never think, that such stories can be of any credit either to their great lawgiver, or to the inventors of them. Neither have the *Arabians* been more sparing of their fabulous conceits of *Jethro* and his rod: but, as they are still more absurd than the *Jewish* ones, we shall refer our readers for them to the author quoted in the margin (15).

(14) RR. *Taachum. M. chit. & Scip. Sgambat. l. ii. arch. Vet. Test.*
 (15) *Herbelot's bibl. orient. sub voc. Schobalib.*

Ezron. He had already had four sons by her, viz. *Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar*^y; the first of whom had likewise a son named *Phineas*, by a daughter of *Phutiel*^z. This was the state of *Aaron's* family, when GOD commanded him to go and meet his brother^a; but before he could reach the mount of GOD (*Horeb*), a dreadful accident was like to have happened to *Moses*, the particular occasion and circumstances of which we are left to guess at, he not having thought fit to commit them to writing. The account we have of it, being but darkly expressed in the original, and having been misunderstood, and mistranslated in most versions, and particularly our own, we shall venture to depart from it, where the original, and the authority of those, who, by their diligent application to it, have been able to give it a better light, will bear us out, not forgetting to make our explication good by proper marginal notes.

Year of
flood 857-
Bef. Chr.
1491.

MOSES was upon his first day's journey, as is probably supposed by the small distance between *Midian* and *Horeb*, where he afterwards met his brother; when GOD appeared again to him, and charged him to perform all those wonders which he had shewed him, before the king of *Egypt*, and to demand of him the dismissal of his people *Israel*, whom he calls here, by way of excellency, his first-born; assuring him that he would be with him, and that in case of an obstinate refusal, which he foresaw he would certainly meet with, he would slay all the first-born of *Egypt*. *Moses* was just arrived at the inn, when he was struck with a terrible disease (A): he doth not
Moses
tell smitten by
the angel
in the inn.

^y *Exod.* vi. 23. ^z *Ibid.* ver. 25. ^a *Ibid.* cap. iv. 27.

(A) The reader may remember, that we have already hinted something concerning this adventure, in the history of *Midian*(20); but reserved the examination of the particulars of it to this place, to which they more properly belong. The greatest part of commentators and expositors have supposed, that *Moses* was troubled with a turbulent wife, which is the case of many a meek man; and that she had conceived such an aversion to the ceremony of circumcision, that he had been forced, for peace and quietness, to neglect the performing it upon his youngest son, till the danger she saw her husband or the child in (for the text is not plain which of the two it was) obliged her, not without great reluctance

(20) *Vid. supr. vol. ii. p. 154.*

and

tell us, whether the divine anger was occasioned by his incumbering himself with a wife and two children, when he

and ill-language, to perform the operation. We shall therefore endeavour to set this matter in a clearer light, and shew, that they have quite mistaken the sense of the original, and that there was neither quarrel nor ill-language in the case; but that the ceremony was performed with all the decency and decorum that the solemnity of it, and their imminent danger, could possibly require.

First then, as to the words, *The LORD met him at the inn, and sought to slay him*, which the *Septuagint*, *Vulgate*, and some other versions, render (21), *The angel of the LORD, &c.* it is plain, that they relate to *Moses*, and not to the child; because, if it had been the latter, *Moses*, rather than his wife, would have performed the operation. This shews likewise, that the words import no more, than that *GOD* smote him with some grievous disease, which so disabled him from circumcising the child, that *Zipporah* was forced to do it herself, though otherwise unfit. Those who are acquainted with the genius of the *Hebrew* tongue, know that the phrase here used signifies no more. Some antient interpreters have indeed understood it in a different sense; some thinking, that the angel appeared with a drawn sword, ready to

kill *Moses* (22). Others, among the *Jews*, telling us (23), that the vision was a monstrous large serpent, which swallowed up *Moses's* body מרושו יער המולה from the head to (the place of) circumcision, where he stuck, by which she guessed at the cause of his danger, and, having forthwith circumcised the child with the usual form of הַתָּן דָּמַי לִי אֶתְהָה (which words we mistranslate, *A bloody husband thou art to me*), she observed her husband spewed up again unhurt; upon which she began to exclaim in praise of circumcision, which she saw accompanied with such virtue. All that is worth observing from this *Jewish* comment is, that *Zipporah* expressed no passion against her husband during the whole action, much less in the words she spoke, seeing they were part of a form used in circumcision, as will appear in its proper place.

Secondly, As for the cause of *GOD's* anger against *Moses*, whatever some antient fathers have thought of it (24); the true reason seems to be the neglect of circumcising the child, since *Moses* was delivered from the danger as soon as *Zipporah* had done it (25).

Thirdly, it is not easy to guess how long, or why, *Moses* deferred the circumcising of

(21) *Pelican. Jun. & al. Ieshermoth Rah. R. Sal. & al. D. Kimchi Rupert. Toftat. Ferrer. Munfi. Villet. & al.*

(22) *Theodoret. & al. in loc.*

(24) *August. serm. de temp.*

(23) *El-*
(25)

he was sent upon so glorious and important a message, or because he had deferred to circumcise his youngest son, either

the child. Those who follow the *Jerusalem Targum*, which says, that *Jethro* and *Zipporah* took offence at it (26), seem to forget, that *Jethro* was a *Midianite*, descended from *Abraham* by *Keturah*; and consequently, that circumcision was most probably adopted by them, as it was by the *Ismaelites*, and all other descendants of that patriarch. Besides, they are fallen into this notion by mistaking the words and action of *Zipporah*, and thinking that there was a sharp dispute between *Moses* and her about it; the contrary of which will appear presently. We omit several other conjectures equally obscure and uncertain, to come to inquire into her behaviour and words, after she had performed the ceremony; which have proved the main stumbling-block of most translations.

For, first, they have understood it, that she threw the child's foreskin at his (*Moses's*) feet, though the text doth not say, whether it was at his, the child's, or the angel's feet; and the words are so far from signifying flinging, especially in anger, that they rather imply a laying the prepuce down in a decent or humble manner: for the literal sense is, she made it touch his feet.

We come now to the words, *A bloody husband art thou to me, &c.* which one of our learn-

ed divines has fully proved not to have been spoken to *Moses*, but the child (27). He very judiciously observes, that the word *chatan*, which we translate husband, signifies only a bridegroom; and it is not likely that *Zipporah* should call him by that name, after having been married so long, and having had two children by him; that appellative ceasing immediately after the eight days of the nuptial solemnity were over. Another observation he makes is, that this word *chatan* doth properly signify a son-in-law; and so expresses not the relation the man has to his wife, but to her parents; for which reason it never has any affixed pronoun, unless it be with relation to the latter. The same may likewise be said of the word *calah*, bride, or rather daughter-in-law; it being used only with relation to the husband's parents, who alone can properly call the married woman *calathi*, my daughter-in-law; but the bridegroom never calls her by that name to signify his bride; it being certain, that the *Hebrew* language has no word to express a bridegroom or bride, with respect to the relation they bear to each other. It would therefore have been nonsense in *Zipporah* to have called him by the name of *chatan*, which neither expres-

(26) *Targ. Hieros. in loc. Jun. Simler, Pelican, Piscat. & ab Med. sermon on the words.* (27) *Jos.*

Zipporah
circumcises
her son,
and Moses
is restored.

either out of regard to his tender age, or in complaisance to his wife, who might fear, lest such an operation should make him unfit to travel for a while, if not endanger his life in that hot country. *Zipporah*, however, taking it in the latter sense, made what haste she could to get a sharp stone, with which she cut off the child's prepuce, and laid it at his feet, telling him at the same time, that he was now become a joyful bridegroom to her by the blood of this circumcision. The ceremony was no sooner over, but *Moses* was restored again, and able to pursue his journey towards mount *Horeb*, whilst his wife took the two children back to her father *Jethro*, resolved to wait there till a more favourable opportunity offered to rejoin her husband.

fed an old nor a new husband. The question then will be, how it could be applied to the child? and herein the *Hebrew* doctors are best able to help us out, who tells us, that it was the custom of the women to call the circumcised child *chatan*, הנשים לקרא לבן כאשר, ומול חתן (33). *Kimchi* says, that it signifies originally one that gives joy, and is therefore used to express the joy that attends a wedding, or the circumcision of a child (34). Accordingly we find, that the *Arabians* called the circumcised *machtun*, מחתון, or one that is made a *chatan*, in the same manner as we call a baptized child, christened. The words then used by *Zipporah* ought to have been translated, thou art (now) to me a joyful circumcised son. To which if we add the last observation of the same learned author, that the word *li*, which we translate to me, doth more properly fig-

nify here by me, as it doth in a great many other places of Scripture, the sense will be still more plainly this; Thou art now by me made a circumcised child: which was the form of words used in the circumcision, and might be more properly rendered, I do pronounce thee circumcised. Neither is it at all improbable, that this word חתן was originally used in this form, not only to express the usual joy of a child's circumcision, but likewise his admission into the alliance made by God with *Abraham*, and his posterity; in both which senses that word is very fitly applied: and this is so far from being a new or peculiar notion of Mr. *Mede*, that we find several ancient versions expounding it after the very same manner (35); from all which it plainly appears, that there neither was any squabble between *Moses* and his wife, nor any indecency or ill-language used by her.

(33) *Idem ibid.*
tuagmt. & al.

(34) *D. Kimchi in radic.*

(35) *Chald. Sept.*

IN the mean time *Moses* and *Aaron* met at the foot of *Joins his* mount *Horeb*, and after the first embraces of two brothers, *brother at* who had not seen one another during the space of forty *mount Ho-* years, *Moses* acquainted him with the commission he had *reb.* received from *God*. *Aaron* expressed a sensible joy at the news, and promised to be obedient in all things to the divine will; they continued their journey towards *Egypt*; and, being happily arrived at the land of *Goshen*, their first *Declares* care was to assemble the elders or heads of the *Israelites*, *his com-* and to impart to them the joyful news of their speedy *mission to* deliverance; and *Moses*, to confirm their hesitating be- *the Israel-* lief, wrought those miracles before them, by which *God* ites. had commanded him to establish his credit and authority among them. These first essays were received with incredible joy by the whole assembly, every one bowing themselves in token of gratitude and adoration to the divine goodness, which had at length taken pity of their miserable slavery ^b. But this docile disposition lasted no longer than they thought their deliverance would cost nothing but miracles, and that the care and danger of it would only fall upon *Moses* and *Aaron*; but when it came to touch them a little nearer, they became so resty and desponding, that *Moses* found them as hard to be persuaded to embrace their freedom, as *Pharaoh* was to grant it (B).

Year of
the flood
857.
Bef. Chr.
1491.

MOSES and *Aaron* did not delay to open their com- *Delivers* mission before the *Egyptian* king: but the preamble, *Thus his message* saith the *LORD GOD of the Hebrews*, sounded so strangely *to the king* in his ears, unused to such an expression, that he could *of Egypt*.

^b Exod. iv. p. tot.

(B) Some historians have ventured to give us the name of this *Pharaoh*, though *Josephus* doth only call him the new king (36). *Apion* calls him *Amosis* or *Amasis*; *Eusebius*, *Chencris*; but archbishop *Usher* thinks after *Manetho*, that it was *Amenophis* the son of *Rameses Miamun*, and father of *Sethosis*, called also after his grandfather *Ramesis*.

He is also of opinion, that this *Amenophis* is the same monarch whom the *Greeks* call *Belus* the father of *Aegyptus* and *Danaus*, though the fable-writers have confounded him with *Belus* the *Affyrian*, and father of *Ninus* (37): the truth is, that we have so little light from history as to this point, that it is very dangerous to affirm any thing about it (38).

(36) *Ant. l. ii. c. 9.* before, vol. ii. p. 41. & seqq.

(37) *Usher an. sub A. M. 2427.*

(38) See

The Israelites burdens increased.

not forbear wondering at their boldness, telling them that he knew no such God, and that as to the *Israelites*, they should not find him so easy to part with them. To this they answered, that this very God, whom he refused to acknowledge, had enjoined them to go three days journey to celebrate a festival to him; and that if they should omit complying with his command, he would soon punish their disobedience, either by pestilence, or by the sword. This more amazed the haughty monarch, who thereupon dismissed them with a severe reprimand, for putting such idle notions into their people's heads, and debauching them from their work, bidding them return to their own tasks, and they should soon know the success of this wise embassy. As this proved the beginning of that famous contest between *Moses*, or rather the God of *Israel*, and the king of *Egypt*, so it became the fatal source of new sorrows and complaints to the *Israelites*. For *Pharaoh*, fearing their excessive numbers, and thinking, or at least pretending, that idleness and wantonness were the cause of this rambling fit of religion, ordered their task-masters to harden their work still more, and instead of giving them straw to dry their bricks with, to make them wander over the land, since they had such an inclination for a change of air, and to gather themselves stubble instead of it, without diminishing one tittle of their work. This order was soon obeyed by their merciless task-masters, who failed not to punish their overseers, whenever they found them come short of their appointed task. These therefore came in a body to make their grievances known to the king, who, instead of minding their piteous complaints, only accused them of being grown idle and wanton for want of work, and dismissed them with the utmost unconcern. They were scarce got out of *Pharaoh's* palace before *Moses* and *Aaron* met them, against whom they began to inveigh in the bitterest terms, as the authors of this new addition of misery, which could terminate in nothing but death and despair. It would have been in vain for *Moses* to have offered any thing, either in his own defence, or by way of comfort to them at that time; he thought it more adviseable to apply himself to God, and in the humblest terms to expostulate with him for the ill success of this first message.

^c *Exod. v. p. tot.*

Moses

MOSES had no sooner made an end of his complaint, *Moses is* but God gave him fresh assurances of his love and com-*bid to go* passion for his groaning people, and bid him go to them, *again to* and assure them from him, that he would speedily let all *Pharaoh.* *Egypt* see that he was their GOD, and would be their deliverer and conductor into that land which he had promised to their fathers, to whom he had indeed appeared, and been known heretofore by the name of *El Saddai* (God Almighty or All-sufficient), though never till now by his great name *Jehovah* (C), promising them to signalize their deliverance, by such tokens of justice on that obstinate prince and people, as should force the proud monarch to dismiss them. All these divine promises, however, were so little regarded by the desponding *Israelites*, that, when God commanded *Moses* to go again to *Pharaoh*, and to renew his demand in his name, he was so disheartened at his ill success, that he could not forbear shewing an excessive reluctance to obey. Alas! said he, if my words can find so little credit with thy own people, how can I expect that they will be regarded by that unbelieving monarch, especially considering with what difficulty I am forced to utter them! To this GOD was pleased to reply, Behold, *Moses*, I give thee a miraculous

(C) Those who conclude from this passage, that the name (37), or the genuine meaning (38), or, lastly, the true pronunciation, of the word *Jehovah* (39), had been unknown to the patriarchs *Abraham*, *Isaac*, &c. and that *Moses* used it by way of anticipation, and spoke according to the time in which he wrote, when God had made it fully known to his people, seem to forget, that *Abraham* called the mountain, on which he was to have sacrificed his son, *Jehovah-jired*. However, it must be owned, that there is a great obscurity in the words of *Moses*, out of which many *He-*

brew and *Christian* commentators have endeavoured to bring some mysteries, which we should be loth to vent after them. The most natural exposition is that which renders the *Hebrew* word *shem* by character instead of name, and then the sense will be this: In my character of *El Shaddai*, or omnipotent, was I only known to them; that is, they only relied on my word and all-sufficient power for the fulfilling my promises to them; but now I will be known by the character of *Jehovah*, or performer of those promises (40). See our notes under the word *Jehovah*, p. 356, & seqq. not. (T).

(37) *Kimch. Abenezra, Oleaster, &c.* (38) *Paul. Burg. Rupert. Lyræ, Cajetan. Tostat.* (39) *Oleast. gloss. Berruyer, &c.* (40) *Simler, Junius, & al.*

power over *Pharaoh*, and thy brother shall be as thy prophet and interpreter to him; and though I suffer his heart to continue hardened (D), till thou hast wrought all

(D) We have ventured to depart from our own, and almost all other versions, which make God the chief hardener of *Pharaoh's* heart, that he might inflict the more severe punishments on him. A notion, which, however embraced by the predestinarians, seems so shocking to reason, that one would sooner choose to say with the fool, There is no God, than to believe him capable of such manifest injustice. We shall have occasion, in the sequel of this history to shew, that the *Jews* have been the first broachers of this monstrous doctrine; and, by their versions and paraphrases, have led the way for others to render these, and many other texts of the Old Testament, in a sense in which neither the original, nor the whole tenor of Scripture, nor the notion of a Deity, nor even the context, in this particular case, could bear them out. For who can deny, that what God did to *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians* was much more proper to soften than to harden his heart; especially when it is observable, that it was not till after seeing the miracles, and after the ceasing of the plagues, that his heart is said to have been hardened?

We think ourselves, therefore, obliged to do justice to those learned critics, who have been at the pains of clearing the Scriptures from charging the great Judge of heaven and earth with such foul injustice, by proving, even against the *Jews*, that the verbs here used are in the conjugations *piel* and *hiphil*, as they are called by the grammarians; and signify often a bare permission, of which they have given very many unquestionable instances, which we shall not here trouble our reader with, seeing he may consult the authors themselves, whose names he will find in the margin (41): From all these, and many more authorities, it is plain, that the words ought to have been translated, as we have, that God suffered the heart of *Pharaoh* to be hardened, as all those, who are ever so little versed in the *Hebrew*, will readily own. As for those places where it is said, For this cause have I set thee up, that I might shew my power, &c. it is plain, they ought to have been rendered, For this cause have I suffered thee to subsist, or to stand, &c. that is, I have forbore to cut thee off, or spared thee from the common ruin, &c. which

(41) *Arr. Montan. de idiom. Hebr. n. 42. fin. Can. theol. cent. 2. Gerbard. de Provid. Calov. & Rung. in Exod. Hunnin. qu. de Provid. 57, 91. Meitzer. disp. Giesl. tom. p. 745. Mesner anthropol. dec. 1. Pfeifer deus V. T. cent. 1. l. 87. Pelling & Whistby against predest. Dr. Clark, le Clerc & loc. Grot. le Scene essay, & al.*

all the miracles I have charged thee with ; yet be assured, that I will bring *Israel* out of their bondage like a triumphant army, and the *Egyptians* shall know, that I am the LORD. Go therefore, and let your mighty works convince that proud tyrant at least, that your message is from a greater and more powerful Monarch than he ^{d.} *Moses* and *Aaron* forthwith obeyed ; and, having presented themselves before *Pharaoh*, confirmed their message by the first miracle, and *Moses* threw down his rod, which turned immediately into a serpent. Here *Pharaoh* sent to try what his magicians could do, and these likewise turned their rods into serpents ; so that all the superiority which *Moses* shewed over them at this time was, that his rod swallowed up those of the *Egyptians* (E). However,

^d Exod. vi. p. tot.

this the same by theirs.

bear quite another sense, and only shew, that though he had long ago, deserved to be destroyed, yet God thought fit to let him subsist, till he had, by his many wonders, delivered his people, in spite of all his opposition.

(E) The *Talmud* has preserved us a tradition of a proverbial taunt, with which the *Egyptians* flouted *Moses*, when he began to work his miracles among them ; *Thou bringest straw to Affra*, a place in *Egypt* where straw abounded ; meaning, that he had chosen the wrong place to play his conjuring tricks in, a country that was so well stocked with conjurers. *Origen* says, that they (the *Egyptians*) did not absolutely deny the miracles of *Moses* ; but only pretended, that they were done by delusion, and not by a divine power (1). And *Philo* introduces the *Egy-*

ptian magicians speaking to *Pharaoh*, and his court, to this purpose ; *Why are you frightened ? We are not ignorant of such things, seeing we profess the same ourselves* (2).

And here, since we are entering into a long scene of *Moses's* miracles, the greatest part of which were imitated by the magicians of *Pharaoh*, it will not be amiss to inquire who the latter were, by what power they performed those wonders, and why they came short of some of those of *Moses*. As to the first, we promised in a former place to prove, that they were *Jannes* and *Jambres* (3) mentioned by *St. Paul* to have withstood *Moses* (4) ; *Pliny* calls them *Jannes* and *Jotapha* (5), when, speaking of the sect of the magicians, he says, that *Moses*, *Jannes*, and *Jotapha*, were the heads and founders of it. They are celebrat-

(1) *Orig. cont. Cels. lib. iii.* (2) *Phil. in vit. Mos. Vid. Warren cont. Burnet, p. 40.* (3) *Vid. sup. p. 348, 349, (P).* (4) *2 Tim. iii. 1.* (5) *Lib. xxx. c. 1.*

Second miracle, the waters turned into blood.

this advantage made no great impression on *Pharaoh*, who might attribute it only to his superior skill in magic. This miracle therefore was soon followed by another, which was turning all the running and standing waters of *Egypt* into blood; so that there was not a drop of water left

ed in the *Talmud* (4) under the names of יוחנן ונכרי *Jochani* and *Mamri*. The targum of *Jonathan* (5) affirms them to have been *Balaam's* sons; and that they went along with him to *Balak* king of *Moab*. Some *Jewish* authors call them *Janes* and *Jambres*; others, *Jochanan* and *Mamre*; and others, *Jonah* and *Jombres* (6); and pretend, that they were drowned in the *Red Sea* with the *Egyptians*; though others think that they were not destroyed till the war which *Phineas* waged against the *Midianites* (7).

The *Mohammedans* (8), after their usual manner, have added many ridiculous stories to this contest, particularly that they were ordered to be put to death by *Pharaoh*, who suspected them to hold a secret correspondence with *Moses*, because they suffered his serpent to swallow theirs; but, from the whole account they give of it, it is plain, they looked upon the wonders wrought by the *Egyptians* rather as hocus pocus tricks, than supernatural works.

However, though this opinion has been likewise maintained by several eminent persons, both *Jews* and *Christians* (9); yet that of *St. Austin* (10), that they were done by the power of the devil, has been more universally received, and that for the two following reasons; first, because the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament seem to attribute some such power to evil spirits; and, secondly, because *Moses* expresses himself in such terms as manifestly shew, that they really imitated him in all those wonders they wrought. For, in this case of their rods being turned into serpents, he doth not say, that they made them appear to be such by a *deceptio-visus*; but that ושלחו את מטהו ויהיו לחנני *they flung down every man his rod, and that they became serpents*. And in all the other cases, wherein they imitated him, he expresses himself thus: ויעשו כן חרטומים, or ויעשו הם, and the magicians did so likewise; or, and the magicians, even they, did so likewise. If it be asked, why

(4) *Traet. תורת*, cap. 9. (5) *Targ. in Num.* xxii. 22. (6) *Barzof. lexic. Talmud Fabric. de Apocr. Vet. Test.* (7) *Num.* xxv. 17, 18. (8) *Herbelot. biblioth. orient.* p. 648, & seq. *Monosab ap. Calmet*, sub *והי* *Jannes*. (9) *Jos. ant. lib. ii. c. 13.* *Justin. Mart. quest. orthodox. x.* *Tertul. lib. de anima.* *Greg. Nyssen, Ambros. Hieron. cont. Jovin. lib. ii. & al.* (10) *August. lib. xxxviii. quest. 79, 98, & lib. iii. de Trinitate, cap. 7.* *Theodoret. in Exod. lib. xviii.* *Aquin. Tostat. Lyra, Burg. Cajet. Uss. ann. & al. plurim.*

left in the whole land for the *Egyptians* to drink (F). This miracle was likewise imitated by the magicians, but whether upon sea-water brought on purpose, or some fresh water from the land of *Goshen*, or some of that which they had drawn out of their new-digged wells, is not easy to guess; though it is more probable, that they staid till the waters of the *Nile*, and other places, were restored to their former colour and taste. However that be, *Pharaoh* was not one jot the nearer being convinced^e: where-

^e Exod. vii. p. tot.

God suffered them to borrow this power from the devil, to invalidate, if possible, those miracles which his servant wrought by his divine power, the following reasons may be given for it; namely, first, it was necessary that these magicians should be suffered to exert the utmost of their power against *Moses*, in order to clear him from the imputation of magic or forcery: for, as the notion of such an extraordinary art was very rife, not only among the *Egyptians*, but all other nations, if they had not entered into this strenuous competition with him, and been at length overcome by him, both the *Hebrews* and *Egyptians* would have been apter to attribute all his miracles to his skill in magic, than to the divine power. Secondly, it was necessary, in order to confirm the faith of the wavering and desponding *Israelites*, by making them see the difference between *Moses's* acting by the power of God, and the forcerers by that of *Satan*. And, lastly, in order to preserve them afterwards from being seduced, by any false miracles,

from the true worship of God (11).

(F) How long they continued so *Moses* has not told us; for what is added afterwards in the last verse of this chapter, that seven days were completed after the turning of the waters into blood, is rather the space between this miracle and that of the frogs, which they are bid to perform in the beginning of the next chapter. For, as the division of the Bible into chapters was of later invention, and introduced for the better conveniency of reading it, if we join the last verse of the seventh with the beginning of the eighth, it will run thus; *And seven days were fulfilled after the turning the waters into blood, and the LORD spake, and so on,* which is the same as if he had said, *And seven days after the turning of the waters into blood, God spoke to Moses.* However, this change continued long enough to kill all the fish, and to oblige the *Egyptians* to dig round about the river for fresh water to drink, none of the rest being fit for that, or any other use.

(11) *Rupert, Ferrer, Simler, Fesus, Villet, Tremel, & al. in loc.*

Third miracle, of frogs.

fore *Moses* was again sent to threaten him, that, if he did not let *Israel* go, his whole kingdom should be so filled with frogs, that their ovens, their beds and tables, should swarm with them; as they accordingly did at the time appointed, whilst the magicians, indeed, went on to persuade him, that *Moses* was only such another miracle-monger as they were, by imitating also this miracle, and bringing a fresh swarm of frogs. They might indeed have shewed their skill to a better purpose, if they had tried to have removed those insects, of which the *Egyptians* did not want this fresh supply; but it seems they had not power enough to do that. Wherefore *Pharaoh* was reduced to send for *Moses*, and to promise him, that he would let *Israel* go, if he would but deliver him and his country from that odious vermin. *Moses* took him at his word, and, desiring him to name the time when he should rid the land of those creatures, did precisely perform his part; so that by the next day there was not one frog left alive in all the land. But whilst his subjects were gathering them up in heaps, in order to carry them off, their stench being like to have bred an infection, *Pharaoh* was thinking how to elude his promise, not considering that he only made way for another plague.

Fourth miracle, of the lice.

the dust with his rod, which was immediately turned into lice, or, as some think, into gnats; which small insect, they say, is more common, and the sting more tormenting, in *Egypt*, than any-where else. But our version seems to us more agreeable to the original, and to the generality of antient and modern translations and expositors. These infected man and beast in such quantities, that one would have imagined, that all the dust of *Egypt* had been turned into lice. *Pharaoh* sent for his magicians, and bid them try their skill, in vain; for either their power proved too short, or was curtailed by a superior hand; so that they were forced to acknowledge, that the finger of *God* did plainly display itself in this miracle (G).

However,

^f Chald. Targ. JOSEPH. ant. l. ii. c. 14. Rabbin. MONTAN. MUNSTER, VATABL. JUN. BOCHART, & al.

(G) What has been said under this head in the last note will easily lead us to an answer to the next question, why the magicians could not now bring forth lice, when they had been able to produce swarms of frogs, and other insects. For, without

However, *Pharaoh* not regarding their words, *Moses* and *Aaron* met him the next morning, as he was going down to the river, and told him, that his obstinacy would only bring more and worse plagues upon him, the next of which would be such mixed swarms of flies, as would ^{*Fifth mi-*}darken the air; that *God*, however, would put a ^{*dis-*}fracture, of difference between his people and the *Egyptians*, and that ^{*swarms of*}there should none be found in all the land of *Goshen*, tho' ^{*flies.*}the rest of the kingdom swarmed with them; adding, that the next day should bring this new plague upon him. Accordingly, by the next morning the air was filled with those insects, whose bite was so venomous and painful, that the mischief which they did to *Egypt* became intolerable, and forced the king to send for *Moses* and *Aaron*, and to tell them, that he would give them leave to sacrifice to their *God*, provided it was done within his dominions. To this they answered, they could not comply with his command, without imminent danger of their

* Vid. *Psal.* lxxviii. 45.

without having recourse to the common solution, that this was a creation of a new kind of vermin, which therefore could not be imitated by the devil, for which we have no warrant from the text, which expressly calls them *lice*, it will be sufficient to say, that herein *Moses* shewed his superior power in tying their hands from working a miracle in all respects as easy as any they had done till then. For this was more than sufficient to extort this confession from them, that he acted by a superior power, and that the finger of *God* was in it (15).

And accordingly we find, that *Pharaoh* was so fully convinced of the truth of it, that we do not read of his making any farther use of them: and this will lead us to another

just inference; which is, that that monarch had no other view in employing them, than to assure himself, whether *Moses's* miracles were really such, and done by a divine assistance, or only such jugglers tricks as his *Egyptian* magicians used to amuse the vulgar with; and not, as some have imagined, to try whether the *God* of the *Hebrews*, by whose power *Moses* acted, was a stronger Deity than that of the *Egyptians*, by which the magicians strove to imitate him; not but in either case there was sufficient proof of the superiority of the former, to make the king desist from any further trial of that of the latter; though his averfeness to part with the *Israelites*, he could not but plainly see, would only expose him to severer plagues.

(15) *Exod.* viii. 19. Vid. *Lesley's easy method with the deists.*

lives,

lives, seeing they should be obliged to sacrifice such creatures as the *Egyptians* worshiped, who would therefore be ready to stone them, as guilty of the most horrid and abominable sacrilege. They therefore insisted upon going three days journey out of the land, that they might safely perform their *GOD's* command. This answer, which gave him just reason to suspect that they had a mind to go away for good, put him to a terrible *nonplus*; but at length he consented that they should go, provided it was at no great distance from *Egypt*, and they promised him faithfully to return again in a little time. *Moses* assured him, that he would immediately go out, and intreat the *LORD* for him, and desired him to keep his word; but no sooner had his prayer obtained a reprieve, and delivered the kingdom from those venomous insects, than the king drew on another plague by his obstinacy and breach of promise.^h

Sixth miracle, the cattle of the Egyptians killed by murrain
Seventh miracle, boils upon men and beasts.

Eighth miracle, hail-storms and thunders.

THIS next judgment fell, according to *Moses's* word, on all the cattle of the *Egyptians*, the greatest part of which died by the next day, whilst that of the *Israelites* remained unhurt. But this not touching the king near enough, the next that followed was more effectually felt by him. It was a violent and painful boyl which broke out upon man and beast. *Pharaoh*, according to custom, had recourse to his magicians, who, being themselves smitten with the boils, dared not appear before *Moses*, and *Pharaoh* continuing still obstinate, it was not long before *Moses* was sent to threaten him with a more terrible one, in which the voice of the *GOD* of *Israel* should be heard in thunder, and his vengeance felt in such dreadful storms of hail, as had not been known since the foundation of *Egypt*. He gave him but one day to consider of it, assuring him, that the next day would prove a dismal one to the *Egyptians*, unless he consented to dismiss the *Israelites* before that time, between whom and the *Egyptians* *GOD* would put such a difference, that the land of *Goshen* should be intirely free from the terrible punishment with which *Egypt* would be half undone. *Moses* accordingly lifted up his rod towards heaven on the next morning: whereupon the thunders, lightnings and hail, followed one another so thick, that *Egypt* was half destroyed by them. The hail that then fell was of such prodigious bigness, that it killed man and beast, broke all the trees, and destroyed all the barley and flax it chanced to fall upon. The wheat only and the rye escaped, be-

^h Exod. viii. per tot,

cause they were not sufficiently grown ; for the barley-harvest in *Egypt* begins about the middle or latter end of *March* ; whereas that of the wheat and rye doth not begin till six or seven weeks after. As for the land of *Goshen*, it was found, upon inquiry, to have been as free from this, as it had been from all the former plagues.

THESE thunders, lightnings, and especially the hail, which were the more extraordinary, because it seldom or never rains in that part of *Egypt*, so frightened the proud king, that he sent immediately for *Moses* and *Aaron*, and expressed himself in such terms to them, as might have passed for sure tokens of a real conversion ; and only begged to be delivered from the noise of those dreadful thunders ; after which he promised not to detain them one moment longer. *Moses*, though he gave no credit to this promise, did yet engage to obtain a speedy cessation of them, which he accordingly did, and gave the *Egyptians* an opportunity to examine the mischief that had been done by the hail, which they found to be much greater than they had imagined. This inspired many of them with a real fear of the GOD of *Israel* ; but *Pharaoh* and his council no sooner perceived that the storm was over, but they returned to their old way ^{The great mischief done by it.} ¹. Whereupon *Moses* was sent to threaten them with a worse judgment ; viz. with such an infinite number of locusts as should cover the face of the earth, and eat up what the hail had left undestroyed. There were some about the king then, who took the liberty to represent to him the unconceivable damage which his kingdom had already received ; that *Egypt* was already destroyed, and that it was high time the *Hebrews* were sent away to serve their GOD. *Pharaoh* was now persuaded to let them go, but having sent for *Moses* and *Aaron* back, to inquire who of them were to go, and who to stay, he was so highly provoked at their insisting upon taking with them their wives, children, cattle, and all that they had, that he could not forbear upbraiding them with their ill intentions, which, though concealed with so much art, and cloaked with the specious pretence of religion, did yet but too plainly shew, that they had no mind ever to return into *Egypt* again. He warned them of the danger they ran themselves into, and advised them to content themselves with taking only the men with them, and leaving their wives and children behind ; and having threatened them severely, caused them to be thrust from his presence.

¹ *Exod. ix. p. tot.*

Ninth miracle, of locusts. MOSES was no sooner got out, than he lifted up his rod over the land of *Egypt*. This was quickly followed by an east wind, which blew all the night, and brought such a numerous swarm of locusts by the next morning, as had never been seen before; and these, spreading themselves all over the land, did in a little time eat up every blade of grass, and every thing that had escaped the storm of hail. *Pharaoh* did not fail to send for *Moses*, to own his fault, and beg for one reprieve more; but, having obtained it by means of a west wind, which blew all the locusts into the sea, he continued as inflexible as ever.

Tenth miracle, of great darkness during three days. *Egypt* was presently after smitten with such horrid darkness, that *Moses* chooses to express it by a darkness that may be felt. During the three days it lasted, the *Egyptians* did neither see one another, nor dare to stir out of their place, whilst the land of *Goshen* enjoyed its usual day-light. The horror of this obscurity, which could not be removed by the common methods then used to supply the absence of the sun, caused such dreadful apprehensions in the king and all his subjects, and was so heightened by the dismal outcries of men, women, and children, that their consternation may be much easier imagined than expressed. As soon therefore as the light was restored to them, *Moses* and *Aaron* were immediately sent for, and the king, according to custom, told them, that he was willing to grant their request, and that they might go with their wives and children, but insisted that their flocks should be left behind. *Moses* therefore, after many proper expostulations, observing *Pharaoh's* unwillingness to consent, told him in express terms, that they would take all their cattle with them, and that not a single hoof should remain in *Egypt*. We need not wonder, if so proud a king as *Pharaoh*, could not bear so bold a demand without the highest resentment. He caused him to be thrust from his presence with the utmost indignation, threatening him, that if he dared to come before him any more, it should certainly cost him his life. Such impotent threatenings had nothing in them that could frighten a man like *Moses*; only it is supposed, that it was at this last interview, that he signified to the king the finishing stroke of the divine vengeance upon all the first-born of men and cattle throughout *Egypt*, which should cause such a consternation among all his subjects, that they should come with bended knees to the *Israelites*, and beg of them, in the most submissive terms, to depart out

out of their country¹; whilst GOD would still shew such regard to the latter, that they should enjoy their usual calmness and tranquillity, not a dog daring to open his mouth against any of them. *Moses* had no sooner finished this last prediction, than he retired to his people into the land of *Goshen*, where the *Israelites* celebrated the pass-*The pass-*over that very night^m, according to GOD's command; *over cele-*and it was in this night also, that *Moses* bid them bor-*brated.*row what jewels, fine raiment, and other precious things they could from their *Egyptian* neighbours, assuring them from GOD, that they should find them very ready to accommodate them with the best things they hadⁿ (H).

How-

¹ Exod. xi. 8, & seq. Vid. USHER annal. sub A. M. 2513.
^m Id. ibid. VILLET. & al. ⁿ Exod. xi. & xii. p. tot.

(H) Before we enter into the institution of the passover, which was attended with the last and most dreadful plague, the death of all the first-born, it will not be amiss to inquire, how long a time *Moses* took in bringing all the plagues upon *Egypt*, especially because some chronologists have spun it out to ten (20), and others to twelve months (21); whereas it is most likely, that they happened all within the space of one month; which is the term in which the great archbishop *Usher* has included them all, from *Moses's* own account, as follows (22).

About the 18th day of the sixth month, which, in the year following, and after, was reckoned the twelfth month, was sent the plague of the waters turned into blood, which ended seven days after (23). About the twenty-fifth day

came on the second plague of the frogs, which was removed the day following (24); and, about the twenty-seventh day, came on the third plague of lice (25).

About the 28th day *Moses* threatened them with a fourth plague of flies, and other vermin, which came on the twenty-ninth day, and were all taken away on the 30th (26).

About the 1st or 2d day of the next month, which was afterwards made the first month of the year, *Moses* brought the murrain upon the cattle (27). About the 3d day the sixth plague brake out upon man and beast, and upon the magicians (28).

About the 4th day *Moses* foretold them a seventh plague, which he brought upon them on the 5th; which was of thunder, rain, and grievous

(20) *Booth. op. Villet.* (21) *Judei fore omnes. Vid. Usher. ann. sub A. M. 2513. Genebrard, & al.* (22) *Annal. ibid. Vid. etiam Ferrer. & Villet. in loc.* (23) *Exod. vii. 20.* (24) *Ib. viii. 10.* (25) *Ib. v. 17.*
 (26) *Ib. v. 24. & 29.* (27) *Exod. ix. 3, 5, 6.* (28) *Ib. v. 8, & seq.*
 hail

Its first institution.

HOWEVER, it must be observed, that this ceremony of eating the passover, as well as the method of doing it, had been prescribed by GOD to *Moses*, and by him communicated to the *Israelites*, during these transactions that passed between him and the king of *Egypt*, though they are postponed to the twelfth chapter, to prevent the breaking the series of those wonders which GOD had wrought by him. The account which he has given us of this institution, is prefaced with a command from GOD, that that month, which was then the sixth of the year, according to the common or civil computation, should from thenceforth be the first month in the year in the sacred

hail mixed with fire, with which their flax and barley were smitten (29), but their wheat and rice were not hurt, not being yet out of the ground. Whence *Nic. Fuller, lib. iii. miscel. 1.* rightly observes, p. 389, that this plague happened in the month *Abib*.

About the 7th day *Moses* threatened them with an 8th plague, and accordingly sent it the day following, *viz.* that of locusts to devour all; which plague he removed about the 9th day (30).

The month *Abib*, which hitherto was the seventh month, was from this time forward made the first month of the whole year (31), for a memorial of their departure out of *Egypt*; from the beginning of which month the epocha of the *Jewish* calendar is from thenceforward deduced (32), though the end of the former account fell on the middle of the

month.

Upon the 10th day of this now first month, which was the thirtieth of April, according to the Julian calendar, upon Thursday, was instituted the feast of the passover, and sweetbread; to wit, the paschal lamb was chosen and killed on the fourteenth day (33):

Moses now brings upon them the ninth plague of three days darkness (34); and, upon the 14th day, which was May the fourth, upon Monday with us, which was the last time he spoke with *Pharaoh*, *Moses* foretold him the tenth plague which should come upon him; namely, the destruction of all the first-born, which came to pass the night following; and then, turning himself away in great anger, departed from him (35). At the evening of this day was the passover celebrated (36).

(29) *Ibid. v. 18. ad 32.*

(32) *Num. ix. 1, 2. Conf. cum Exod. xl. 17.*

(33) *Exod. xii. 3. ad 21.*

(34) *Ibid. x. 21, & seq.*

(35) *Ibid. ver. 25 ad 29. & c. xi. 1, 4, 8.*

(36) *Ibid. xii. ad ver. 18.*

(31) *Exod.*

(32) *Exod. xl. 17.*

(33) *Ibid. ver.*

(34) *Ibid. ver. 25 ad 29.*

calendar;

calendar (K) ; and that all the other feasts of the year, which were afterwards to be instituted, should be regulated by that of the passover, the celebration of which *The order* reader may see in the place quoted in the margin^a. This *and man-* injunction was to be perpetual, but on this night they *ner of it.* were moreover to save the blood of the lamb in a bason, and sprinkle the two side-posts and cross-post of their doors with it, that the destroying angel might leave their houses untouched, when he passed by to destroy the first-born of *Egypt*, and to execute the divine vengeance on their gods, whether it were their princes, who, in the language of Scripture, are often called gods, or those animals which that superstitious nation worshiped. In memory of which great deliverance, they were to keep this feast of unleavened bread seven days, that is, from the fourteenth day at even, until the twenty-first day at even ; during which, whosoever was found among them eating of leavened bread, whether he was an *Israelite*, or a stranger, was to be cut off from *Israel*. The first and last of these seven days were to be kept holy, and free from all manner of work. Lastly, no stranger was to be admitted to eat of the passover, unless he consented to be circumcised. As for the *Israelites*, they were strictly to remember this great and glorious night, and to instruct their children in the meaning of this institution, that they might likewise perpetuate the memory of it to future ages.

THE people, whom so many dire judgments on the *The Israel-* *Egyptians* had rendered more tractable, received *Moses's* sites obey, orders with the utmost respect, and went to put them- *and kill* selves in readiness to execute them (L). *the pass-*

THE *ver.*

^a Exod. xii. 3, & seq.

(K) This month, which is called in the *Hebrew Abib*, and had been till then the seventh month, and continued so to be in the secular year, became from that day forward the first month of the sacred year, in memory of this wonderful departure out of the land of *Egypt* (37) ; and from the beginning of this month the epocha of the *Jewish* or sacred calendar was from thenceforward deduced, though the end of the former account fell on the middle of the month (38).

(L) These commands may be properly reduced to three heads ; *viz.* first, to gather themselves from all the corners of the kingdom into the land of *Goshen* ; it being unreasonable to suppose, that such a

(37) Exod. xii. 2. with xiii. 4.

xl. 17. Vid. *Ush. ann. sub A. M.* 1519.

(38) Numb. ix. 1, 2. with Exod.

THE night, which was to prove so joyful to them, and so fatal to their enemies, being come, and God's commands being punctually obeyed, whilst both sides were in the greatest tranquillity, the Egyptians thinking now all the plagues past, and Pharaoh flattering himself, that Moses's threatening against the first-born had proved abortive, because four days were elapsed since it was denounced, whereas he used to give him but one day's warning in the former plagues; and, on the other hand, the Israelites keeping themselves in the profoundest silence, knowing what horrid slaughter was to be made among the

The first-born of the Egyptians slain by the destroying angel.

Moses and Aaron sent for, and ordered to depart.

Egyptians; in the middle, we say, of that very night, God sent his destroying ministers, who suddenly dispersed themselves all over the kingdom, and smote all the first-born with immediate death, from the first-born who sat on Pharaoh's throne, to the first-born of the imprisoned captive, and even to that of the meanest animal in the land. The first expedient this affrighted monarch could think of, was to send immediately for Moses and Aaron; who, being settled at Rameses, not far from his capital city, were soon brought to him, who, instead of his usual threatening and upbraidings, was urgent and pressing for their departure with their children, cattle, and all they had. The Egyptians likewise were no less impatient to see their backs, fearing lest every minute of their stay should prove their last. The Israelites found them as ready to lend them the most valuable things they had, as

vast multitude, amounting (as we shall shew in the sequel) to upwards of two millions and an half of souls, could be all contained in that little spot of ground; so that it required no small dispatch to communicate the orders of their departure to them all. Secondly, To get all the rich things they could from the Egyptians; and this required secrecy, since it is not probable, that the Egyptians would have proved so generous, if they had suspected, that this journey was any

other than a religious one, that was to last but a few days. Thirdly, to eat the passover at the time, and with all the ceremonies, that had been prescribed; and this was to take up some time, four days at least. However, Providence so ordered it, that they were all ready on that night. And the Psalmist tells us (1), that, notwithstanding the great number of their old men, women and children, there was not one feeble person among all their tribes.

(1) Ps. cv. 37.

themselves

themselves were to borrow them; and *Moses*, who was too well acquainted with *Pharaoh's* changeable temper to stay till he relaxed, made all the haste he could to put it out of his power; and, having settled the best order he could among that vast multitude, and in the general confusion that then reigned, he gave the signal for their departure long before break of day. Leaving therefore the *Egyptians* to mourn for, and bury their dead, and laden with their spoils, they began their march under the conduct of Providence, and of *Moses*, being to the number of six hundred thousand men able to bear arms, besides old men, women and children, servants, and an innumerable multitude of strangers, who joined themselves to them, and followed them in their march (M.) As soon as they were arrived at *Succoth*, *Moses* made them encamp according to their tribes and families, which was likewise the order in which they had been directed to march. It is to be observed here, that the distance from *Rameses* to the utmost borders of *Egypt* on the side of the land of *Canaan*, was not much above threescore miles, so that *Moses* could, in a few days march, have brought them out of *Pharaoh's* territories; yet GOD so ordered it, that they

Year of
the flood
857.
Bef. Chr.
1491.

The number of the
Israelites
that went
out of
Egypt.

(M) They had continued in *Egypt* from the time of *Jacob's* first coming thither, to this very day, which was the same day of the same month and week, viz. Monday (1), the space of two hundred and fifteen years, though *Moses*, computing it from the first coming of *Abraham* into *Canaan*, reckons it four hundred and thirty years, as has been already shewn (2). There was yet one main thing wanting, viz. the securing of a sufficient quantity of provisions for all that multitude; and perhaps they expected to have had time enough to have got it before their march, but the *Egyptians* drove them away with such desperate eagerness, that the people

were forced to carry their paste with them unleavened, with which they baked themselves cakes upon the coals; and what other provision they could get, they took with them undressed, and marched from *Rameses*, *Moses's* dwelling-place, to their first encampment at *Succoth* (3). *Josephus* tells us (4), that their dough, and other provision, which they carried from *Egypt*, lasted them a whole month; but it is not likely, that they would load themselves with such luggage, which in all probability they knew not how to preserve so long, when they had so much better things to carry out of the spoils of the *Egyptians*.

(1) *Usher's Ann. sub A. M.* 2513. (2) *Vid. supra*, p. 253—255, (K).
 (3) *Exod.* xii. p. tot. (4) *Antiq.* l. ii. c. 15.

were full forty years before they set their foot upon the borders of the promised land.

The first-born of Israel consecrated. WHILST they continued at *Succoth*, which was their first encampment, *Moses* was commanded by GOD to consecrate the first-born of men and beasts to him; the first-born of men were to be redeemed at the price of five shekels, that is, of the sanctuary, which was worth double the common one, that is, about two shillings and six-pence; so that the whole sum amounted to about twelve shillings and six-pence; which money was afterwards to be given to the priests. This redemption was founded not only upon the right which GOD has over all his creatures, but more particularly upon the account of his having spared the first-born of the *Israelites*, when he smote those of the *Egyptians*, which was, as it were, the seal and finishing stroke of his wonderful judgments on that proud and cruel nation (N.)

MOSES had still another care, which was to settle the order of their march in so regular a method, that there

(N) This law, concerning the first-born of men, did not at all regard the women; for if the first-fruits of a marriage proved a female, no redemption was to be paid for her. Secondly, as to that of beasts, it extended only to the clean; the unclean ones were to be either redeemed by a clean one, as an ass by a lamb, or to be killed, and flung away. They were ordered to teach the reason of this law of redemption to their children and grandchildren, that their posterity might never be at a loss to account for it, nor the wonders which were wrought in favour of them be forgot. Among all the cares which *Moses* and *Aaron* had, they did not forget to bring *Joseph's* coffin and bones with them, pursuant to the oath which that patriarch had exacted from them. The *Jews*

tell us, they placed them in a new sumptuous cart, or open horse, which they made to march under the guard and conduct of the tribes of *Ephraim* and *Manasseh* his two children (5). They likewise affirm, that every tribe brought the bones of the heads of their family with them: but though they are not always to be credited in matters of this nature, and *Josephus* doth not seem to have dreamed of such an act of filial piety, or else he would in all probability have recorded it; yet *St. Stephen* seems to allude to some such tradition among them: when he said, that *Jacob* and the fathers went down into *Egypt*, and were carried over into *Sichem*, and laid in the sepulchre which *Abraham* bought of the sons of *Emmor* (6).

(5) Vid. *Elle Shemoth Rabbab. Sect. זאח הברכה* & *rabbim. mult.*
 (6) *Acts* vii. 15, 16.

might be no confusion or quarrel among that vast and mixed multitude, and that they might be ready to face about and stand in their own defence, in case of a pursuit, or of their meeting with any difficulty or obstruction from the nations through whose territories they were to pass. However, to prevent these, or any other accidents which might make the people think of returning to *Egypt*, GOD was pleased to forbid *Moses* to take the nearest way to the land of *Canaan*, that is, through that of the *Philistines*, and ordered him to wheel about along the coasts of the *Red Sea* towards *Arabia Petræa*. He likewise made them march, not like runaways in confusion and disorder, but like a regular army in battle-array; in which order they went from *Succoth* to *Etham*, towards *Arabia Deserta*, which is therefore called in the original the wilderness, near the borders of which *Etham* was situate, where they arrived on the second day after their departure out of *Egypt*. This route *Moses* made them take, designing probably to get to mount *Sinai* by the point of the *Red Sea* †; but GOD made him take another on the next day, and to turn towards *Pi-habiroth*, which lies between the *Red Sea*, and *Migdol* and *Baal-zephon* (O).
 Herein

† Exod. xiii. p. tot.

(O) We know but little of the geography of all these places. As for the *Succoth* here mentioned, we must not confound it with that which *Jacob* called by that name when he came out of *Mesopotamia* (47), though the former may have been so called in imitation of the latter, upon account of the booths or tents which the *Israelites* set up there. *Josephus* calls it *Letopolis*, where he says *Babylon* was afterwards built, when *Cambyfes* invaded *Egypt* (48): it is thought by many to be that region which was called *Troglodytis*, by the *Red Sea* (49). As for *Rameses*, though there seems to be men-

tion made of two, and them differently pointed in the *Hebrew*, yet if they differ, it is only that the one was a province, and the other the chief town of it (50). *Etham* is supposed to be *Buthee* of *Herodotus*; and *Pi-habiroth*, the city of *Heroum* on the extreme part of the *Arabic* gulph, or the *Phagroriopolis* placed by *Strabo* (51) near the same place. All that we know of *Migdol* is only that it signifies a tower. *Baalzephon* seems wholly unknown to the ancient geographers. The *Jewish* rabbies, and after them *Grotius*, believe it to have been an idol set up to guard the confines of

(47) *Gen.* xxxiii. 17. *Willet.*
 in loc. & *Willet* in loc.

(50) *Id.* *ibid.*

(48) *Ant.* l. ii. c. 15.

(49) *Vid.* *Simler.*
 (51) *Lib.* xiv. *ap.* *Calx.* *dissert.*

The mira-
culous pil-
lar of fire
and smoke.

They are
led by the
miraculous
pillar.

GOD
makesthem
wheel a-
bout to-
wards
Pi-hahi-
roth.

Pharaoh
pursues
after,

Herein GOD was pleased to shew his care for them in another miraculous manner: for though he might have notified to them when and whither to march, or where to halt and encamp, as he did his other commands, by the mouth of *Moses* and *Aaron*; yet, considering the untractableness of their temper, and how apt they would be to murmur against them at every supposed wrong step, he condescended to conduct them by a more visible way, namely, by a pillar of light in the night-season, and by a column of smoke in the day-time. These columns of fire and smoke never forsook them during their forty years wandering in the wilderness; but were their constant guide throughout their forty-two encampments, and directed them when and whither to march, according as they saw it before them, and when to halt when they perceived it to stop. But, whether it was given to them at their first, second, or third march, at *Succoth*, or *Etham*, is not easy to guess at by the text ^u.

IN the mean time GOD, who knew what was transacting at *Pharaoh's* court, and what measures that monarch, and his no less infatuated subjects, were taking to pursue them, commanded *Moses* to wheel about, and to march from *Etham* towards *Pi-hahiroth*; which is between the sea and *Migdol*, over-against *Baal-zephon*; and to encamp before it. For by this time the *Egyptians* began to repent of their parting with the *Israelites*, and losing the benefit of their servitude; and, thinking that they might easily catch them intangled between the mountains, and fatigued with their march, had prepared a considerable army, together with six hundred of the choicest chariots, besides all the chariots of war that could be found in *Egypt*, and a vast multitude of officers and soldiers, who were all in full march after them. *Moses* has not given us any further particulars concerning that army; but *Josephus*, who seldom fails to improve the text, whenever it serves for the honour of his nation, makes it

^u Exod. xiii. ver. ult.

Egypt. *Eusebius* takes it not for a statue, but a town; and places it (52) near *Clysm*, though *St. Jerom* has omitted it in his translation. It stands upon the most northern point

of the *Red Sea*, where the ancients, especially the *Jews*, think the *Israelites* passed it, and where stands to this day a Christian monastery (53).

^r (52) *Loc. Hebr.*

xiv. & dissert. on the passage of the Red Sea.

(53) *Vid. Calm, bist. V. T. comm. in Exed.*

amount

amount to six hundred chariots, fifty thousand horse, and two hundred thousand foot ^x; and *Ezechiel*, the poet quoted by *Eusebius*, hath increased it to a million of men. But whatever the army was, *Pharaoh* put himself at the head of it, and led it with such speed, that he overtook them at *Pi-bahiroth*, and encamped there in full sight of *and over* the *Israelites*; but, whether it were, that his army was *takes them.* too much fatigued with their march, or that he thought himself sure of them, there being no visible way for them to escape him, unless they flung themselves into the sea; or lastly, that Providence prevented his immediate falling upon them; nothing hostile was undertaken against them that night (O).

ON the other hand, the pusillanimous *Israelites*, inured to bondage, could not behold the *Egyptian* army, encamped so near, without the utmost consternation and dread; and, instead of having recourse to that mighty arm, that had so visibly stretched itself out in their favour, ran in a tumultuous manner to *Moses's* tent, complaining that he had brought them to be butchered in the wilderness; and that they had now nothing to expect, but the most cruel death in that dismal place. This ungrateful language, to which *Moses* had already been used, though nothing so much as he was afterwards, rather moved his pity than his anger; but he, looking upon it as the effect of their extreme danger, and cowardly temper, instead of upbraiding them with it, comforted them with the assurance, *Moses* that this would be last time of their seeing the *Egyptians* ^{u.} *comforts*

HE had no sooner dismissed them, than he went and *the de-* made his application to GOD; who was immediately *spairing* pleased to order the people to begin their march towards *Israelites.* the sea, directing him at the same time to stretch out his rod over it, and assuring him, that the waters of it would forthwith divide themselves, and make way for them to

^u Exod. xiv. 10, & seqq.

^x Ant. l. ii. c. 15.

(O) It is, indeed, most likely, that, seeing them hemmed in, as it were, by the sea, on one hand, by impassable mountains, and his own army, on the other, and for want of arms, as well as courage, as incapable of fighting, as they were of flying, he might think it more advisable

to force them to yield themselves prisoners by famine, than to cut them in pieces, as he might easily have done; since by the one he reduced them to their former slavery, but by the other he ran the risque of losing a considerable part of them.

The Red
Sea is di-
vided.

go through it as on dry land ; whilst *Pharaoh*, and his whole army, venturing to pursue them, should be finally overwhelmed by its waves. *Moses* obeyed, and, whilst a strong east wind was dividing that arm of the sea, to open a passage to them, and the *Israelites* were beginning their march towards it, the angel of the LORD, who conducted them in the pillar of fire, removed from the front to the rear of the army, and stood between them and that of the *Egyptians* ; so that the column of fire produced a double effect, giving light to the *Israelites* in their march, and casting a darkness over *Pharaoh's* camp, to prevent his perceiving what was doing in that of the *Hebrews*. Whilst these were passing through the sea, the sacred historian tells us, that the waves arose in heaps, and stood as a wall on each side of them (P). By this time

(P) Though it would be endless to trouble our readers with an inquiry into all the particulars with which the generality of commentators have amused themselves, with respect to this wonderful passage, it will not be amiss, we hope, to make a short inquiry into the main and most material point, namely, whether it was really miraculous, or not ; that is, whether the sea was really divided by a supernatural power, or whether *Moses* and his host did only coast some part of it, or, at most, cross over a small nook at low-water, and timed it so well, that *Pharaoh*, endeavouring to do the like, perished in the attempt. This is so far from being a new question, that *Artaaphanes*, an antient writer (54), assures us, that both these opinions were held by the *Egy-*

ptian priests ; that is, the former by those of *Heliopolis*, and the latter by those of *Memphis*. The last of these has been also followed by many eminent men, both *Jews* and *Christians* (55), who, without denying the main part of this transaction to be miraculous, have fallen into the notion of the *Israelites* only coasting it along, and making, as it were, a semi-circle round the sea-shore at low-ebb ; or crossing it only at one narrow point, whilst the sea was gone off. Where we beg leave to observe, that such an opinion cannot be maintained, without a manifest deviation, 1. from the express words of *Moses*, and several other places of holy writ, where this transaction is mentioned : 2. from reason and experience, founded on the knowlege we have of the ebb-

(54) *Ap. Euseb. l. iv. c. 27.* (55) *Abenez. & al. rabbin. ap. Fagium. Gregor. Taron. hist. l. i. c. 10. T. Aquin. in 1 Cor. i. Testat. qu. in Exod. xiv. 19. Lud. Burgenf. in loc. Genebr. in chronic. ad ann. 2239. Grat. in ver. 19. Exod. xiv. Vatabl. in loc. Le Clerc dissert. de traject. Mar. Idan. & al. mult.*

C. VII. *from their Egyptian Bondage, &c.*

time the *Egyptians*, perceiving that the *Israelites* were marching off, and that the cloud which conducted them was

ing and flowing of the *Red Sea*, and the impossibility of such a numerous host performing such a coasting, or crossing, in so little a time as that admits of: 3. from the known character of *Moses* as a bare historian, and from some concurring testimonies of antiquity to his account: and, lastly, from the far greater majority of authors of all religions and ages, who have all along maintained, and some of them proved, the contrary opinion. As to the first, nothing is plainer than that the whole tenor of *Moses's* account is pointblank contrary to such a notion. We need mention but some few passages of it; such as, *that, upon his stretching out his rod, by God's command, over the waters, a mighty wind arose, and divided them; that they stood up on heaps, and were as a wall on the right and left; that the bottom of the sea was dried up, and that the Israelites marched through it as on dry land, and the like (56): that God divided the Red Sea into parts or divisions, and made Israel pass through the midst of it: that he led them by the right-hand of Moses, dividing the waters before them, to make himself an everlasting name; and that he had led them through the deep, as an horse in the wilderness; that*

he walked, or rather caused Israel to walk, through the sea (57); and many more of the like nature; to say nothing of the apocryphal books, which abound with the same expressions. If it be objected, that the last-quoted passages out of the psalms and prophets are poetical, and consequently not to be taken in their literal sense, all that can be inferred from thence is, that they convey to us loftier ideas of this wonderful event, than Moses, whose style is far from being swoln, has done in his account of it; but it would be unreasonable to say, that they were only designed to express a transaction so purely natural and easy, as the other side supposes it to have been.

Whether *Josephus* designed to lessen the miracle, or to make it more credible, when he tells us (58), that *the Pamphilian sea opened a way to Alexander, in his expedition against the Persians*, is not very material; for, though we should grant that to be the right meaning of his words, and that he met with that account in some book then extant; or even that *Q. Curtius* intimates something like it, when he says (59), that that conqueror *had opened a new way by the sea*; yet *Strabo* will soon set us right, who tells us, " that

(56) *Exod. xiv. & xv. pass. Num. Deuteron. &c. 13, 14. & alibi. Isa. lxiii. 12, 13. Habak. iii. 15. 16.*
(59) *Lib. v.*

(57) *Pf. cxxxvi.*

(58) *Ant. l. ii. c.*

was removed towards the sea, resolved upon a close pursuit after them; not dreaming, that they were launching into

“there is an hill upon the
“*Pamphilian* sea, called *Cli-*
“*max*, by which there is a
“passage along the sea-shore;
“the waters of it so abating,
“when the sea is calm and
“still, that the ground is
“left naked, which, at the
“flowing of the waters, is
“covered again; and that
“*Alexander*, coming that
“way, set forward before the
“waters returned; but that,
“it happening then to be
“winter, the waters recoiling
“before he had passed it, he
“was forced to wade, all that
“day, thro’ the waters, up to his
“middle (60).” ’Tis plain there-
fore, that there is no parity be-
tween the passage of the *Is-*
raelites, and the coasting of *Ale-*
xander, whatever the *Jewish*
historian’s design might be in
mentioning them together.

We come now, 2dly, to
shew, that the notion of *Mo-*
ses’s leading them along the sea-
shore, or through a narrow
point, is contrary to reason
and experience. And here we
do readily grant, that the *Red*
Sea ebbs and flows like other
seas, that have a communica-
tion with the ocean; that is,
that the waters of it rise to-
wards the shore during six
hours; and, after having con-
tinued about a quarter of an
hour at high-water, ebb down
again during another six hours.
Those, who have examined it

with the greatest exactness,
likewise assure us, that the
greatest distance that it falls
from the place of high-water,
is about three hundred yards;
and that, during the time of
low-water, one may safely
travel it (61), as some have
actually done (62). So that,
from what is here premised
and allowed on all sides, it is
evident, that these three hun-
dred paces, which the sea leaves
uncovered, during the time of
low-water, can continue so
but during the space of half an
hour, at most; for, during the
first six hours, the sea retires
only by degrees; and, in less
than half an hour, it begins
again to flow towards the shore.
The most, therefore, that can
be allowed, both of time, and
space of passable ground, in
a moderate computation, is
about two hundred paces dur-
ing six hours, or one hundred
and fifty paces during eight
hours. Now it is plain, that
a multitude, consisting at least
of upwards of two millions
and half of men, women, chil-
dren, and slaves, incumbered
besides with great quantities of
cattle, household-stuff, and the
spoils of the *Egyptians*, could
never perform such a march
within so short, we may say,
within even double that space,
though we should allow them
also double the breadth of
ground to do it on. This ar-

(60) *Strab.* lib. xiv. *vid. Villet.* in *Exod.* xiv. qu. 17.

(61) *Berrier,*
Merizon. & al. (62) *Theveny.* ch. 25. *Vid. Dr. Shaw, Pococke,* & al.

gument

into another element; much less could they suppose, that it would prove as fatal to them, as it was friendly to those whom

gument will hold equally good against those who suppose, that they only coasted along some part of the sea, and those who maintain, that they crossed that small arm or point of it, which is towards the further end, near the isthmus of *Suez*, facing that fix or eight hours could not have sufficed for the passage of so immense a multitude, allow them what breadth of room you will; much less for *Pharaoh* to have entered it with his whole host.

It will not be amiss here to observe, not only how improbable it is, that none of the *Egyptians* should know any thing of the ebbing and flowing of the sea; but how absurd it is to suppose, that they should all obstinately persist in pursuing the *Israelites* through it, when they saw it gradually returning upon them, till they were all swallowed up by it. Besides, who can suppose, that the *Israelites* venturing into the sea was a premeditated thing? or even that *Moses* could entertain the least suspicion, that the *Egyptians* would be so soon at their heels; they who had been so lately and so severely plagued for detaining them, and were so urgent for their departure? Sure it is, that, if he had any such thought, he acted most impolitically, in bringing them into a place, where they were hemmed in by the sea on one hand, and the mountains on the other; whereas, had *Pha-*

raoh, on his arrival at *Pi-babiroth*, immediately fallen upon them, as it was natural to expect, they must have been obliged to flounce into the sea long before the tide had opened a passage to them, if not at the very time of high-water, in which case they must have been all either drowned, or cut in pieces.

And this brings us to our third observation, that such a notion is repugnant to the known character of *Moses*, even as a bare historian; and that it calls in question, not only his avowed modesty and veracity, but even his sense, learning, and experience. For, on the one hand, who can imagine, that the maintainers of it can give any credit to his relation, when he tells them, that God alone, who knew what passed in *Egypt*, unexpectedly made them take this new route? When he describes his own surprize, and the people's consternation, at the sight of the *Egyptian* army? When he assures them, that God interposed his miraculous power on their behalf; and, in a word, that he divided the sea, to make a free passage for them, and to overwhelm their enemies? What notion must they have of his sincerity, when he makes all *Israel* resound the praises of God, as the author of a deliverance which was intirely owing to his own cunning and policy? On the other hand, what must they think

whom they so eagerly pursued. For it doth not appear by the text, that the *Egyptians* were sensible, that they were

think of his conduct and experience, that could be guilty of such an oversight, as leading them into the very mouth of the extremest danger, and be so weak as to betray it, though cloaked with the pretence of a miraculous power and direction? We shall only add, that he must have been the most imprudent, and withal the most conceited man alive, that could take it into his head to make such a vast, and not over-credulous multitude believe, that their passage was altogether as miraculous as he affirms it to have been, when they could not but be well assured of the contrary; much less appoint a solemn festival of seven days, and injoin it to be observed by them, and their posterity, to all future ages, in memory of their pretended miraculous passing through the sea; when the experience of a much shorter time, than they continued along that coast, could easily have convinced them, that there was nothing in it but what was natural, and what happened every day. These absurd consequences, which naturally flow from that opinion, are so evident, and the system itself has been so fully confuted long ago by the learned *Diodorus Tarsensis*, *Chrysostom's* master, that it hath met with few more advocates than these we have mentioned in the margin. And, even among

these, we have already observed, that the greatest part, especially *Grotius* and *Le Clerc*, acknowledge still, that a divine power interposed itself in raising and continuing that mighty wind, and causing thereby the waters to retire much farther than usual, and to recoil with greater force upon the *Egyptians*.

We observed further upon this head, that this opinion was contrary to several concurring testimonies of antiquity. We have already mentioned that of *Josephus*, and of the *Heliopolitans*, who acknowledged the miraculousness of this transaction, and whose authority ought to be of greater weight than that of the *Memphites*, because such an acknowledgement of the divine interposing power can be ascribed to nothing but the force of truth, and notoriety of the fact, whatever motives their brethren of *Memphis* might have to disown it. We shall content ourselves with just mentioning one more. *Diodorus Siculus* (63) tells us, that the *Ichthyophagi*, who inhabited along the coasts of the *Red Sea*, towards the farther end of it, had a constant tradition, that that sea had formerly been divided by a strong wind; and that, the waves being parted into two heaps, the bottom, which was left naked, had appeared full of verdure. This can hardly be applicable

were entering into the sea; and it is more than probable, that they were too eager after their pursuit, and had too little light, to perceive the danger they were running into; unless we will suppose, with the *Jewish* historian ^w, that, because they saw the *Israelites* march safely through the sea, they vainly hoped they might do so too, and were not undeceived, till it was too late. However that were, 'tis plain that their insolent conduct, after so many warnings, justly deserved the punishment they were shortly to undergo; for by the next morning-watch, that is, by break of day, or about four in the morning, they began to find their chariots go more and more heavily; and had so many indications of God's fighting against them, as made them resolve upon turning about, and fleeing from

^w Jqs. ant. lib. ii. c. 16.

to any thing but this transaction we are upon.

Among those who acknowledge a divine power to have interposed in this signal transaction, some have endeavoured to reduce the miracle into a very narrow compass; whilst others, setting no bounds to their zeal, have magnified it even beyond all measure.

Of the former sort are those who have attributed the dividing of the sea, and the standing up of the waves, to a vehement cold wind, which froze them as fast as it blew them up; after which, a warmer one, being suffered to rise, both thawed and blew them into their former station. Of this sentiment were, 1. the seventy interpreters, who translated the words of *Moses's* song (64) *וַיִּזְזוּ מַיִם וַיִּפְּצוּ*, the waters were frozen, or, as our version expresses it, were congealed. 2. The *Chaldee* paraphrast.

3. The author of the book of *Judith* (65). 4. Some of the versions of the *Septuagint*; and, lastly, among the many moderns, father *Martianay*. A *Jewish* rabbi has fancied, that the sea was not divided, but frozen hard enough for the *Israelites* to go over it, though it thawed under their pursuers (66). On the other hand, *Origen*, to magnify this great miracle, has preserved us an antient tradition among the *Jews*, which affirms, that God opened the sea in twelve different columns, that every tribe might pass separately; in which he has been followed by several antient and modern writers. This tradition seems to have been founded upon that verse of the psalm (67), which says, that God divided the sea into parts, or divisions; but doth not appear to us worth further notice,

(64) *Exod.* xv. 8. (65) *Judith* v. 13. (66) *R. Sam. Maroc. lib. de advent. Messiaë*, c. 15. (67) *Psal.* cxxxvi. 13.

those

They are all drowned. those whom they so eagerly pursued. But all their haste could not save them: GOD commanded *Moses* to stretch again his rod over the sea; and he had no sooner obeyed, but the waves, which had been till then miraculously suspended, fell in again by their own weight, and overwhelmed *Pharaoh* and his host, so that not one of them escaped from the common ruin; whilst the *Israelites*, beholding, with wonder and amazement, the carcases and the rich spoils of their enemies thrown upon the sea-shore, began to fear the LORD, and to believe his servant *Moses* (Q).

HOWEVER, *Moses*, who knew that this religious fit would last no longer than every thing went to their liking, took hold of this happy disposition he observed in them, to celebrate this miraculous victory, and to inspire them

(Q) We lately took notice, that the exact situation of the places, from which the *Israelites* set out at their entering into the sea, and at which they came out, are so much unknown to us, that it is next to impossible to describe their route with any tolerable certainty. For, should we so far depend upon *Eusebius*, as to believe *Baalzephon* to have been *Clysm*, and that the antient tradition were true, that it was at this latter that they passed the sea; yet the generality of geographers differ so much in their placing it, that we are still to seek for the side on which it stood, whether on the north, on the east, or south, or west shore of the *Arabic gulph* (1). For which reason we hope the reader will excuse us from entering into a farther inquiry about them; and for referring him to a learned au-

thor, who hath of late obliged the world with a curious and elaborate dissertation on this point, which is too copious for a work like this (2). Those who can give credit to the report of several grave travellers (3), who affirm, from their own knowlege, that the ruts of the chariot-wheels are still miraculously preserved, not only upon the sand, but even as far into the sea as the eye can see thro' it, notwithstanding all endeavours to deface them; which they attribute to a petrifying quality in the waters of the sea; these, I say, need not be at a loss where to set the boundaries of that passage. As for us, we are contented with having proved in the last note, that they passed it somewhere, without troubling ourselves with what is of less moment, and can never be known with any certainty.

(1) Compare *Euseb. loc. Hebr. Atkanaf. bist. Arrianor. tom. i. p. 385. Philostorg. bist. ecclesiast. lib. iii. c. 6. Cosmas, lib. v. p. 194. tabul. Punting. itiner. Antonin. Thewenot's voyages, part. ii. c. 33, and others.* (2) *Dr. Shaw's supplement, c. 8. See also his travels, p. 343, & seqq.* (3) *Paul Oros. Greg. Turon. & al. ap. Calm. dissert. in loc.*

with

with the deepest sentiments of gratitude to their Almighty Deliverer. To this end he composed an hymn, in which *Moses's* he extols the greatness of GOD's power displayed in this *song for* signal victory, and his amazing mercy towards his people. *this deli-* And, having divided the *Israelites* into two great choirs, *verance.* he placed himself and his brother *Aaron* at the head of the men, and his sister *Miriam* at the head of the women; and, whilst the former sung the canticle, the women answered alternately to each verse, with repeating the first words of it, *I will sing to the LORD; for he has greatly triumphed, and has overthrown the horse and its rider into the sea.* Their music was likewise accompanied with dances, and the sound of such instruments as they had brought with them from *Egypt*. Thus was the seven days festival, which had been ordained in memory of this signal deliverance, joyfully concluded, and the first and last day of it, which were to be observed with more than usual solemnity, signalized the one by the death of the *Egyptian* first-born, and the last by their miraculous passage through the *Red Sea*, and the total overthrow of *Pharaoh* and his host.

AND now the *Israelites* began to think, that a few days march would easily bring them into the borders of the promised land, the conquest of which could not but appear easy to them, who had GOD for their protector, and *Moses* for their guide. And, indeed, had the latter had no other difficulties to surmount, than the ruggedness of the way, and the hatred and opposition of those warlike nations that inhabited it, *Canaan* would soon have been in their possession. But their stubborn and ungrateful temper, their continual murmurings and rebellions against him, joined to an invincible fondness for idolatry and superstition, proved not only a constant obstacle to their hopes, but an endless source of misfortunes to them, and of grief and vexation to their leader, though otherwise famed above all men for his meek and gentle disposition. They had scarce travelled three days from the *Red Sea* into the wilderness of *Shur*, before their excessive thirst, and want of water, put them out of all patience; inso-much that, when they came to discover those of *Marah*, and found them too bitter to drink, they filled the air with their complaints against *Moses*; who, fearing the ill consequence of this murmuring, addressed himself to GOD in the humblest manner, and was directed to a tree, which, whether by any intrinsic virtue, or by a new miracle, sweetened the waters, as soon as he had cast it in. The people

*The Israel-
ites mur-
mur for
want of
water.*

people indeed ceased to murmur as soon as they had quenched their thirst ; but as this was neither a satisfaction for their late riot, nor a security against future relapses, God was pleased to make a further trial of their future obedience, by giving them here some new statutes, and to add a promise, that if they observed them with an upright mind, instead of those plagues which he had inflicted on the *Egyptians*, he would shower down continual blessings upon them. In memory of the bitter waters, the place was called *Marah* ; from which they went and encamped at *Elim*, where they found twelve fountains of water, and seventy palm-trees ; and there continued about three weeks ; that is, from the twenty-second day of the first month, on which they came thither from *Marah*, to the fourteenth of the second month, on which they decamped from it ^y.

*A new
murmur
for want
of provi-
sion.*

*Manna
promised.*

*Quails
promised.*

FROM *Elim* the whole camp marched towards the wilderness of *Sin*, by which route they removed still farther from the frontiers of the promised land ; but, as they were directed by the miraculous pillar, they were forced to follow whithersoever that went. Here, their provisions becoming exceeding scarce, they began to murmur more violently than ever, repenting from their hearts, that they had suffered themselves to be decoyed from the *flesh-pots* and plenty of provision which they enjoyed in the land of *Egypt*, into a barren wilderness, where they could expect nothing but to die with hunger. This tumultuous carriage, which seemed levelled at God himself, whose directive column they had followed into that desert place, met however with no other reproof than a gracious promise to rain down bread from heaven upon them : and, in order to make a further trial of their obedience, he commanded them to go and gather a certain rate every morning, and on the sixth to provide double that quantity, because they were not to expect any to fall on the seventh, which was afterwards to be kept holy. *Aaron*, in communicating this message to the people, failed not to give them a severe reprimand for their murmurings. He had scarce made an end of speaking, when the people, looking towards the wilderness, beheld the glory of God displayed out of the cloud ; from which God confirmed again what *Aaron* had promised to the people, assuring them that they should that very evening be satisfied with plenty of flesh ; and on the next morning they should find that heavenly bread, which he had promised to send them.

THE first part of this gracious promise was accordingly *and sent* verified on that very evening, by whole clouds of quails, *in abundance* which came pouring down upon them out of *Egypt*; and *dance* alighted in such quantities, that they quite covered their camp (Q); and the other by the manna, which rained down round about them, by the very next morning. This last did not indeed fall close to the camp, but at some distance from it towards the wilderness. By break *Manna falls at* of day, therefore, the *Israelites* followed *Moses* to-*some di-*wards the place, where he shewed them a kind of white *stance from* dew, resembling a small hoary frost, which covered the *the camp* face of the earth; and told them, that this was the bread which GOD had promised to feed them with during their abode there; commanding them to gather an *homer* for every head, which is about five pints, or forty-three eggs ^a. The people no sooner saw this new bread, but they cried to one another, *What is this? Whence cometh it?* for they were surpris'd at the strangeness of it; and

^a LE SCEN. *essay on a new translat.* p. 170. R. SALOM.

(Q) It must be remembered here, that this was about the middle of *April*, which is the time in which that bird is observed to cross the *Red Sea* in vast numbers: the same is also observed to this very day by those who frequent those parts; and incredible quantities are caught there about this time. The miracle, therefore, consisted not so much in the prodigious number that fell into *Israel's* camp, as in the directing them thither, on that very evening, according to GOD's promise, and *Moses's* prediction. The same may be said also, if we render the *Hebrew* שלש *shelaw*, locusts, as the learned *Ludolph* has done; who, in his treatise of locusts, at the end of his appendix to his description of *Abyssinia*, has offered some probable argu-

ments, that these were such, and not quails; and affirms them not only to be in great plenty, both in these parts, and all over *Africa*, but likewise to be esteemed a delicious food. We own indeed, that the word is, even by the confession of all the *Jews*, of very uncertain signification, and may as well signify a locust, as a quail; but what inclines us to prefer the latter sense, is, that the psalmist, speaking of them, calls them עוף כנף *hoph canaph*, winged or feathered fowl; which, we apprehend, is not so applicable to those insects, any more than the words שׂר צׁר *sheer, flesh*, and צׁר *tzedab*, which signifies all sorts of venison, as well of fowl as of beasts, which are there made use of (67).

(67) *Pf. lxxviii. 25, & seq.*

from

from thence they gave it the name of *man*, or *manna* (R); and, for a memorial of this miraculous bread (S), *Moses* was ordered to preserve an *homer* full in a vessel, to be afterwards

(R) We have ventured to depart from our and several other versions, which make the *Israelites* call this new food *manna*, because *they knew not what it was*; for though commentators have taken a great deal of pains to puzzle the text by the various etymologies of that word, yet that of the *Septuagint*, which renders it $\tau\iota\ \tau\upsilon\tau\omicron\ \epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$, *what is this?* seems to come nearer to the *Hebrew*, and to be most agreeable to the context; and is followed by *Josephus*, and a great number of others (68), $\text{מנח בן} \text{מנח}$ *manhu*; in the original signifying, *what, or whence is this?* Not so easy is it to know the meaning of the word גַּד *gad*, which we translate *coriander-seed*, though, according to the literal sense of the original, it should be rendered, *and it was white like the seed of gad*, whereas coriander is of a brown colour. Some *Jews*, therefore, translate it, *mustard-seed*, because one sort of it is whitish (69); and *Abenezra* frankly owns, that he knows not what seed it is (70); but since it is said in another place, that it was of the colour of *bdellium* (71), which the learned *Bochart*, and others, have shewn to signify a kind of pearl, we may easily suppose, that the word *gad* doth not signify coriander, but some other small

white seed; and that the *manna*, shining like an hoary frost, very much resembled a small pearl.

(S) This they ventured, however, to gather, without regard to the quantity prescribed by *Moses*; and, as soon as they were got into their tents, they set about grinding it according to his direction, some with mills, others in mortars; and made themselves a sort of cakes, whose taste resembled that of wafers made with honey, or with fresh oil, as it is said in another place (72); from that they came to other ways of dressing it, by frying, stewing, boiling, and the like. As for that which remained ungathered upon the ground, the heat of the sun immediately dissolved it. In the mean time *Moses*, who had given them express charge not to leave any till the next morning, had the mortification to hear, that some of the people, whether out of curiosity or precaution, had ventured to save some of it, and had found it stinking, and crawling with worms. He failed not to reprove them for it; but their stubbornness was not to be cured by threatenings, and it was not many days before they made him sensible of it. The sixth day being come, they went, according to order,

(68) *Jos. rabbin. fere omni. S. Hieron. Fag. Mercer. Piscat. Grotius, Dra-*
fius, Le Scen. & al. (69) Vid. Munst. in loc. (70) Abenez. ibid.
(71) Vid. Munst. Boch. & al. (72) Numb. xi. 8.

terwards deposited in the ark of the covenant, and to be preserved in it as a witness to future ages, which was accordingly done by his brother *Aaron*^b.

THEY had no sooner left this desert of *Sin*, and advanced a few days journey towards mount *Horeb*; but they raised a fresh murmur at *Rephidim* for want of water. *Moses* strove in vain to quell their fury, and to persuade them to wait *God's* leisure; they only grew the more desperate, and were ready to stone him. He had recourse to *God*, who was soon pleased to dissipate his fears, by promising to signalize this place with as miraculous a water, as he had the last with a miraculous food. He commanded him to take the elders of *Israel*, and all the people, up to mount *Horeb*, assuring him, that upon smiting the rock with his miraculous rod, the waters should immediately gush out of it in such plentiful streams, as would be more than sufficient to allay their thirst. *Moses* obeyed, and *God* vouchsafed to send them plenty of water (T); and in memory of this new murmuring, the

A new
murmur
for want
of water;
which
flows from
a miracu-
lous rock.

^b *Exod. xiv.*

to gather a double quantity, to serve them for that day and the next, on which he had told them there would be none to be found, because it was to be to them a day of sabbath, or of rest. They could not be contented till they had gone into the wilderness, and satisfied themselves of the truth. This forced a fresh reprimand from him, in which, after some expostulations, he expressly forbid them to go out of the camp during the whole seventh day.

(T) *St. Paul*, speaking of this miraculous rock, which he applies to *Christ*, says, that it followed them (75); from which some will have it, that it accompanied them, and served them upon all necessary oc-

casions, to the very end of their wandering (76); and that either the waters, which gushed out of it, formed themselves into a kind of river, which followed them through all their encampments (77), or that they carried the rock in a cart where-ever they went; and that it continued flowing with water (78). Some even affirm, that it keeps running to this day, and waters all that valley which was dry before (79): but, had any of these been the case, there would have been no need of smiting that rock in another place, as *Moses* did for the same purpose (80); nor of digging wells for water soon after this last miracle, as we find they did (81).

(75) *1 Cor. x. 4.*

(76) *Calm. com. in loc. Berry. & al.*

(77) *Ra*

rabbin. mult.

(78) *Cantacuzen. in Sep. cap. xi. & rabbin. aliquot.*

(79) *Tostat. qu. 3. ap. Villet, cap. 17. qu. 10.*

(80) *Numb. xx. 11.*

(81) *Ibid. xxi. 16, & seq.*

place was called *Massah* (tempting), and *Meribah* (contention).

ABOUT this time the *Israelites* being attacked by the *Amalekites*, *Moses* was forced to depute his servant *Joshua*, at the head of a sufficient force, to make head against them, whilst himself went up to the mount to intreat GOD for his success. Accordingly on the next morning he went up with his brother *Aaron* and *Hur*, to a neighbouring hill, whence they could have a full view of the field of battle, and held up his hands in prayer, whilst *Joshua* was fighting with the *Amalekites*. And here GOD

There was, therefore, no necessity of fetching a parallel from the king of *Persia*, of whom *Ælian* says, that the river *Choaspis* always followed him (82), because he always carried some of its water with him; in order to give a more favourable sense to the apostle's words, by supposing that the *Israelites* did the same by those of the rock. St. *Paul* here speaks of a spiritual rock; and the two instances we have just now mentioned will not permit us to suppose, that they were always supplied by the natural one.

However, seeing the two actions of smiting the rock have been confounded by several commentators, it will not be amiss to shew the contrary, since we are upon the subject. Now, that *Moses* smote the rock in two different places, is plain; 1st, because the first happened at *Rephidim*, in their eleventh station, and the second in the desert of *Sin*, in the thirty-third station. 2. The one happened in the first year after the *exod*, and the other in the for-

tieth; for, in the very next station, *Aaron* died in the fifth month of the fortieth year (83). In the first, the rock was smitten with the rod with which *Moses* wrought his wonders in *Egypt*; and, in the last, with the rod of *Aaron*, that had budded, and been laid up before the LORD, in the ark, from whence *Moses* is said to have taken it (84). Lastly, the first happened before the erection of the tabernacle, and the last after it; for it is said, that, upon the people's murmuring for want of water, *Moses* and *Aaron* went to the door of the tabernacle, and fell before their faces there, at the sight of the glory of GOD (85). We might add, that the first was performed without any diffidence, anger, or indecent words; whereas, in the last, *Moses* smote the rock twice, and spoke some unbecoming words, which so displeased GOD, that he condemned him to die in the wilderness, without setting his foot into the land of *Canaan* (86).

(82) *Ælian. hist. var. lib. xii. c. 40. Calm. hist. V. T. in loc. Exod. xvii. 1, & seqq. & Numb. xxxiii. 14, 36, & 38. xx. 9, & seqq.*

(85) *Ibid. ver. 4, & seqq.*

ver. 11, 12. Vid. Simler. jun. Villet. & al. in loc.

(83) *Conf.*

(84) *Numb.*

(86) *Ibid.*

was pleased to have a singular regard to his intercession ; for, whilst he held his hands up, *Joshua* prevailed ; and, when he let them down, *Amalek* got the advantage : but at length they grew so heavy, that *Aaron* and *Hur* were forced to stay them up on each side, till the going down of the sun, that is, till *Israel* gained the victory, and *Amalek* was discomfited, as we have seen in a former chapter^d (T). *Moses* was ordered to record this signal victory, and to vow a lasting war against the *Amalekites*, till their very remembrance was quite blotted out. He also reared up an altar to GOD, and called it *Jebevah Nissi* (the LORD is my banner) ; to intimate, that GOD, who had made them denounce this war against *Amalek*, would not fail to crown it with success^e.

THE defeat of *Amalek* opened a way for the *Israelites* to mount *Sinai*, where their abode proved not only the longest, but the most famous of all by the wonderful promulgation of the law, and the appointment of the principal ceremonies which they were afterwards to observe. But, in the mean while, GOD, who foresaw what an addition this would be to *Moses's* other cares and fatigues, did in good time conduct his hospitable father-in-law, with *Zipporah* and her two sons, to the camp of *Israel*, where after their mutual embraces, and sacrifices offered to the GOD of *Israel*, *Jethro*, observing with what patience his son-in-law stood to hear the people's complaints from morning till night, and fearing lest he should in time sink under it, gave him that excellent and salutary advice of choosing a competent number of elders, who should help him to bear such a part of the burden, as

^d Vid. *supr.* vol. ii. p. 184, & seqq. ^e *Exod.* xvii. per tot.

(T) This *Hur* is thought to have been of the tribe of *Judah*, and the son of *Caleb* the son of *Ezron*, different from *Caleb* the son of *Jephunneh* ; and so to have been the grandfather of *Bezaleel*, so famed for his fine workmanship in the tabernacle, and other utensils for the service of GOD. *Josephus* thinks, that *Hur* had married *Miriam*, *Moses's* sister

(1) ; others think, that he was her son ; but the generality of antient fathers think, that she died unmarried (2). As for *Joshua*, he became famous from this time for his valour and conduct, and for his zeal for GOD and his people ; upon all which accounts *Moses* made choice of him for his successor, to lead the *Israelites* into the promised land.

(1) *Ant. lib.* iii. c. 2. *Ant. lib.* iii. c. 2.

(2) *Nyssen. de virginitat.* c. 6. *Ambr. ex-*
bert. ad virgin. & al.

would otherwise have proved too much for him ^f; an account of which we have already given in the history of *Midian* §. *Moses*, having thus eased himself of a great load of care, by the appointment he made of those inferior judges, some of which he set over thousands, others over hundreds, and others over tens, and referring only the most momentous causes to come before him, did soon after take leave of his father-in-law, and gave the signal for their march from *Rephidim*, to the wilderness of *Sinai*. This happened about the beginning of the third month after their departure out of *Egypt* ^h.

Year of
the flood
857.
Bef. Christ
1491.
They en-
camp near
Sinai.

THEY were no sooner come within sight of that celebrated mountain, but his next care was to order their encampment so, that there might be a considerable space between it and the camp. He knew that this was to be the scene of the most glorious wonders that ever mankind beheld, and the place from whence those laws were to be delivered to them with the utmost terror and majesty, which GOD, who knew the genius of that perverse people, had calculated for them; and therefore he wisely fixed their situation so, as that they might be all eye and ear-witnesses of the divine presence ⁱ; and at the same time prescribed such limits to their curiosity, as should strike them with a suitable awe and reverence. Whilst they were pitching their tents according to his directions, *Moses* went up to the mountain, where he was commanded to remind the *Israelites* of all the wonders GOD had wrought in their favour, and to assure them, if they proved obedient to his laws, he would still look upon them as his peculiar people, a favourite nation, and a royal priesthood. *Moses* came down, and assembled the elders, and charged them to go and acquaint the people with the gracious message, who likewise promised all possible obedience to GOD's command; upon which he charged them to prepare themselves against the third day for the glorious scene, to wash their cloaths, and abstain from all nuptial commerce; and forewarned them from approaching the mountain under the severest penalties; and, that if either man or beast offered to transgress them, they should be immediately stoned, or shot to death. The signal, for their coming out to this glorious sight, was to be when they heard the sound of the miraculous trumpet: accordingly, on the

^f Exod. xviii. pass. § Vid. supr. vol. ii. p. 154, & seq.
^h Vid. ann. USHER. in A. M. 2513. RIBERAM de templ. lib. v.
c. 7. & al. ⁱ Exod. xix. 9.

third day, the people having prepared themselves according to the divine injunction, and being in the utmost expectation for this wonderful sight, they saw, by break of day, the mountain surrounded with the thickest cloud, out of which came forth such thunders and lightnings, as filled them with terror and amazement. The sound of the trumpet being heard, *Moses* brought the people out of their camp towards the mount, as far as the barrier which he had set to them; and there they observed the top of *Sinai* covered with fire and smoke, whilst the foundations of it seemed to shake under their feet. In the midst of this dreadful scene, the trumpet being heard still louder and stronger, *God* called to *Moses*, and bid him bring his brother *Aaron* with him, who immediately went up, and both were soon buried in the cloud. The thunders and trumpets ceased soon after, when *God* was heard from the midst of the fire and smoke, which continued all the while, to pronounce the ten principal laws, which were to be the foundation of all the rest, and of which an account hath been given at the beginning of this volume^k: these *Moses* was afterwards ordered to write upon two tables of stone^l. In the mean time the people, astonished at what they saw and heard, removed farther off; and the divine voice had no sooner ceased speaking, but they approached *Moses*, and, in the height of their fear and surprize, and having promised all possible obedience to the divine precepts, besought him that he would, for the future, speak to them in *God*'s stead, lest, if they should hear his dreadful voice again, they should die with horror and amazement. *Moses*, highly commending the awe and regard which they expressed, went up again to the mountain; where, for that time, *God* was pleased to add a few ceremonial laws to those moral ones which he had couched in the decalogue; all which, as well as those which he received afterwards from time to time, we have already given in one body at the entrance of this volume^m, to prevent needless repetitions: and for the same reason we shall avoid following the divine historian too close in all the intercourses which he had with *God*; wherein the observance of the same laws, both moral and ceremonial, is inculcated over and over, and the same assurances of the divine favour and assistance upon their obedience, and severe threatenings in case of their disobeying, and the

^k Pag. 8, & seq.^l Exod. xix. per tota c. xx. per tot.^m Pag. 4, & seq.

same promises of their possessing the lands of the *Canaanites*, *Amorites*, *Hittites*, *Hivites*, *Perizzites*, *Girgashites*, and *Jebusites*, repeated almost upon every fresh occasion; all which, though *Moses* has penned them exactly as they happened, need to be mentioned here but once for all. What might induce Providence to deliver them in that seemingly irregular and interrupted method, is not easy to be guessed at, unless we suppose, that a more methodical manner would have favoured too much of human wisdom. As to the so frequent repetition of them, the reader will find sufficient occasion for it, since it will appear by the sequel, that neither that, nor the grievous punishments that befel them almost upon every disobedience, proved sufficient to bend their stubborn necks, or cure them of their intractable disposition. All that need be said farther concerning those laws and ordinances is, that some related to the immediate worship of **GOD**; such as were, the building of the tabernacle, with all its grand apparatus of utensils for use and ornament, their sacrifices of all sorts, the consecration of their priests and *Levites*, the holy oil to anoint them, their habit, office, privileges, revenue, and the like; the festivals, offerings, tythes, vows, purifications, laws concerning clean and unclean things, diseases, meats, and the like; some of which are generally looked upon as typical (Y); others, as topical,

or

(Y) The reader may easily remember what has been hinted, upon several occasions, about the probability of the *Hebrews* and *Egyptians* borrowing something from each other; so that those, who pretend, that the former had all their ceremonies, tabernacle, ark of the covenant, altar, &c. from the latter, because they find, that these afterwards used the same kind of religious utensils (3), do intirely go counter to the exprefs tenor of the epistle to the *Hebrews*, which mentions all these, and many more, as instituted on purpose, by **GOD** himself, to typify those better things which he reserved for the times of the gospel (4). It is even plain, from the tenor of the Old and New Testament, that the passover, the lifting up of the serpent by *Moses*, the *Israelites* wandering in the wilderness, and their entering into the land of *Canaan*, and many more of the like nature, were all typical and figurative, and are applied as such by the writers of the latter. But, on the other hand, they who absolutely deny, that they imitated them in any particular, have given such

(3) *Spencer, Maimon, & al. sup. citat.* (4) *Vid. Hebr. pass. partic. ch. ix.*

or confined to that climate; and others, as political; but all of them, to all appearance, calculated with a wise design

an unreasonable scope to their fancies, in order to find out the relation between these types, and their pretended antitypes, that they have not left one pin of the tabernacle, one bell in *Aaron's* garment, neither kettle, fork, or spoon, without one or two. We beg leave to give one instance of this enthusiastic spirit, not so much for the brightness of it, as to shew how far every thing may be moralized, when men have once got into that vein. Two eminent protestants, the one a *Lutheran*, and the other a *Calvinist*, had been wrangling a considerable time about the precedency of each of their patriarchs, without any seeming advantage, when one took it into his head to make *Luther* the antitype of *Aaron*, seeing he was the first that had set up and lighted the grand candlestick (of the reformation) in the tabernacle: the other, not being able to disprove the fact, had recourse to the same typical reasoning; and affirmed, that, if *Luther* was *Aaron's* antitype upon that score, *Calvin* was much more so, since it was manifest, that, if he had not taken the *snuffers* into his hand, the candlestick would have given such a dim light, that few people would have been the better for it (15). But, setting aside such idle dreams, we may venture to say, upon the whole, that the *Egyptians*, being generally allowed to have

been the first introducers of idolatry, may be reasonably supposed to have been likewise the inventors of a great deal of superstitious trash; and that the *Jews*, who had been, as it were, formed in the country, might have contracted such a particular fondness for it, as not to be easy without having something like it among them. We are now come upon a point of their history, which will furnish us with a signal instance of this, once for all. *Moses* promised the people, that *God* would send his angel to them, to guide and protect, and to prepare the way for them. *Moses* goes up into the mountain, and continues there forty days, till they gave him over for lost: uncertain what to do, and fearful, lest the *Amalekites*, or some other nation, should fall upon them, they grew impatient for this promised conductor; and, being doubtful what kind of one *God* designed for them, take it in an *Egyptian* sense; and, in a tumultuous manner, gather about *Aaron*, and insist that he should make them such an one. *Aaron*, who guessed their meaning, casts a golden calf (no doubt, in imitation of the *Egyptian Apis*; for, without the assistance of their mythology, a calf would be one of the last creatures that one would chuse to make a symbol of the Deity), and sets it up in the midst of the camp; and the people,

(15) *Le Clerc's bibl. A. & M. t. m. xii p. 313.*

design of preserving them both in their obedience to God, and from all intermixture with other nations, and from adopting any part of their idolatrous worship into their own; all which were delivered at several times, and upon divers exigences, by GOD to *Moses*, and by him committed to writing in the same order in which he received them^k. Neither were all those laws given to him in the mount, though the main part of them was; for, after the setting up of the tabernacle, GOD was pleased to appear, and to deliver his oracles to him from thence. One thing, however, is remarkable in that last intercourse we have been mentioning; namely, the promise which GOD made to *Israel*^l, that he would send his angel to facilitate their way, and to bring them to the promised land; and that if they proved obedient to his voice, and kept themselves from the pollutions of those nations which they went to conquer, he would inject a panic fear upon them, so that they should not be able to resist them; adding, that they should not make a complete conquest of them at once, lest the wild beasts should prove too strong for them; but that they should carry it on gradually, till they had extended it from the *Red Sea* unto

^k Exod. xxiv. 4.

^l Ibid. xxiii. 20, & seq.

highly pleased with it, began to pay the usual ceremonies of sacrifices, dancing, &c. to it: in the mean time *Moses* comes down, and surprises them in the height of their joy, upbraids both his brother and the people with their folly and ingratitude, and destroys the *Egyptian* idol (16). After this he returns immediately to the top of the mount, intreats GOD to pity and forgive them; and GOD, who saw that their minds were bent upon some outward symbol, in compassion to their infirmity, commands him to make an ark, which, though

differing in the main from the *Egyptian* idols, yet should still retain something of a resemblance in the cherubim that covered it, which had at least the head of a calf, as has been shewn by our learned *Jes. Mede*. Who doth not see, by all this, that GOD only complied so far with the carnal genius of that untoward people, as to give them a visible symbol, without condescending so low, as to permit such a close imitation of what they admired in other nations, as might in any wise prove a snare to them in process of time?

{16} Exod. xxxii. pass.

the sea of the *Philistines*, and from the desert unto the river ^m.

IMMEDIATELY after this, *Moses* reared an altar to *The cove-*
 GOD, and offered burnt-sacrifices and peace-offerings upon *nant be-*
 it; and having caused the contents of this new covenant *tween*
 to be read to all the people, and exacted a solemn promise *God and*
 from them, that they would keep it faithfully, he ratified *the people*
 it by sprinkling the altar, the book, and the people, with *ratified.*
 the blood of the victims; and then ordered twelve pillars
 to be erected, one for each tribe, as a standing monument
 of this alliance between GOD and them. *Moses* had no
 sooner made an end of this ceremony, than he took with *Moses*
 him *Aaron, Nadab, Abihu,* and seventy of the elders of *takes 70.*
Israel, some part of the way towards the mountain, *of the el-*
 where they beheld the GOD of *Israel* in a kind of vision; *ders up*
 and *Moses,* having committed the care of the people to *towards*
 them, took *Joshua* up into the mountain with him, and *the moun-*
 stayed there full forty days. It was during this interval, *tain.*
 that GOD gave him the two tables of stone, whereon were *Goes him-*
 written the ten commandments by the finger, that is, as *self into*
 the generality of expositors understand it, and indeed the *the cloud.*
 original doth properly imply, by the immediate command
 and direction of GOD himself (A); together with the
 whole

^m Ibid. ver. 31.

(A) What character these tables were written in, whether in that which we now call the *Samaritan*, or in the *Assyrian*, hath been considered in a former section (18); where we took notice of what *Moses* tells us, that they were writ or engraven *מזה ומזה* *mize umize*, on this and on that side (19). From which their *Talmud* tells us (20), that the letters were cut through and through, so as to be seen and read on either side. And, when the question is put, how it was possible for the middle part of

the □ final *mem* and □ *sa-*
mech to support itself? the *Talmudist* answers, that it was kept suspended by a miraculous power. As to other particulars relating to these tables, such as their number, which some eastern authors have multiplied to ten, and others to seventeen (22); though the *Talmud*, and all the *Jewish* rabbies, constantly call them the *two tables of the covenant* (23); their shape, bigness, what materials they were made of; which some rabbies take to have been some precious wood;

(18) Pag. 211, § seq. *gillath.*

(19) *Exod.* xxxii. 15.

(20) *Tractat. me-*

(22) *Vid. Herbelot's bibl. orient. in loc.*

(23) *Talm.*

pass. vid. etiam הגרה הפסח, cantic. אחר מי ירע.

others,

whole plan of the *Jewish* religion, of the tabernacle; and all the utensils belonging to it, and several other laws concerning the priests, *Levites*, and laity, and in particular, an order for exacting a free-will offering from all the children of *Israel*, according to their abilities, of gold, silver, brass, scarlet, silk, wool, oil, spices, and all other necessary materials for the tabernacle, ark of the covenant, priestly robes, and all other things that were

others, some precious stone, as a ruby or carbuncle; in what order the ten commandments were writ; whether all the ten upon each table, or half, or some part, upon one, and the rest upon the other; these, and other such nice inquiries, we purposely forbear, because the Scriptures leave us wholly in the dark about them. However, we beg leave here to vindicate our sense of those expressions of *Moses*, that these tables were written by the finger of God, that they were the work of God, and that the writing was the writing of God, and the like. For, though a great many expositors understand them literally, as written by God himself, others by an angel, and others by the Spirit of God, which is sometimes called *the finger of God* (24); yet we think it plain, by comparing the words with what *Moses* says in another place (25), that God commanded him to write the words of the covenant upon the second tables, as they had been written in the first, which

he had broken, and that he did so accordingly; and what he repeats, or rather recapitulates, in *Deuteronomy* (26), that he (God) wrote on the second tables according to the writing of the first, the ten commandments; it is plain, I say, that the words can imply no more, than that they were written by the command and direction of God, and that *Moses* was the person that wrote the first, as well as the last; though the common opinion of antient and modern expositors is, that God wrote the first, and he the last (27).

The *Mohammedans* tell us, that God commanded the angel *Gabriel* to take the heavenly pen, which is the naming of the name of God, and to dip it into the river of light, and to write the ten laws upon the tables; and that, after *Moses* had broken them, the angels carried the fragments up into heaven again, except one piece about half a yard long, which was afterwards deposited in the ark (28).

(24) *Vid. Exod. viii. 19. Luke xi. 20, & alib.* (25) *Exod. xxxii. 27, 28.* (26) *Ch. x. 4.* (27) *Cypr. lib. de S. Spirit. August. quæst. in Exod. 186. Jun. Villet. rabbin. vid. Munst. & al. in loc.* (28) *Vid. biblot. orient. p. 649.*

to be appointed for the public worship ⁿ. The care of making all these things was to be committed to *Bezaleel*, of the tribe of *Judah*, and *Aholiab*, of the tribe of *Dan*, two persons whom God had endowed with an extraordinary skill and wisdom to contrive and execute all these grand designs, according to his directions ^o.

IN the mean time the people, who had seen *Moses* go *Is given* up and enter into the cloud, whilst the top of the mountain was all in flames ^p, after they had waited above a people month for him, began to give him over for lost. In this uncertain condition they assembled in a riotous manner about *Aaron's* tent, and told him, that as they wholly despaired of *Moses's* return, it was very expedient, that he should make them some gods to go before them; and such was his extreme weakness and cowardice, that he doth not seem to have hesitated one moment, but directed them immediately to bring him sufficient quantity of their gold ornaments, to make them a golden calf (U). And so

ⁿ Exod. cap. xxv. ad cap. xxx.
^p Vid. Exod. xxiv. 16, 17.

^o Ibid. xxxi. pass.

(U) A learned *Romish* writer has indeed taken a deal of pains to vindicate this mean action of the *Jewish* high-priest, in compliment to his own, to whom he dedicates the work (29), which was, however, universally condemned, even by those of his own church. And indeed the most that can be said in *Aaron's* defence is, that he did not perhaps think the people would be so ready to part with their golden ornaments, especially the women, from whom he bids them tear them; but when he found how quickly his orders were obeyed, he made no scruple to be as quick as they, in answering their request; so that by the next day the calf was set up. The

greatest part of the *Jews* seem to throw the fault of this whole transaction upon the *Egyptians* that were come out with them, who first prompted the people to ask for these gods: they add, that *Aaron* had no hand in the casting of it in that form, but that it was done by some *Egyptian* conjurer; which they prove from the short time he took in making it, and from *Aaron's* words to *Moses*: *They gave me (their gold), and I cast it into the fire, and there came out this calf.* But we may justly affirm, that they, who undertake to vindicate *Aaron's* weakness, whether *Jews* or *Christians* (30), act with less modesty than *Josephus*, who saw

(29) *Monceus de vitul. aur. ap. oper. critic. vol. ii. p. 4415. Vid. etiam Bayl. dict. sub voc. Aaron.*

(30) *Berruyer's hist. du peup. de Dieu, in loc. Calm. & al.*

so eager were the people for this new god, that they willingly parted with their gold ear-rings to *Aaron*, who lost no time to have it cast according to his promise (B); and having set it upon a pedestal, in full sight of all the camp, and reared up an altar before it, he told them in their

too plainly, that it were in vain to offer any thing by way of excuse, seeing *Moses* doth so severely reprove and condemn him for it (28); and therefore hath rather chosen to suppress it wholly, than to record a deed so little to his predecessor's credit, however glossed or palliated. And, had not *Moses* had a greater regard to truth, than to the honour of his brother, we should have lost this, among many other pregnant testimonies of his faithfulness and sincerity.

(B) Our version, and several others, have given us a very uncouth account of the casting of this golden calf, by making *Aaron* fashion it with a graving-tool, after he had cast it in a mould (29): that of *Geneva* is still more ridiculous, which makes him engrave it first, and cast it afterwards. For it is plain, that *Aaron* could not have time enough to get the mould ready, the metal melted, and the idol cast, and engraven into the bargain, because he set it up on the very morrow after the people had brought him the metal. The mistake is owing to their not attending to the various sense of the verb צור *tzur*,

which signifies to *tie up*, and *bind*, as well as to *shape* and *form*, nor to that of the word צרר *cherret*, which though it may properly enough be rendered a graving-tool in one or two places where it is used; yet in others it signifies a *bag*: accordingly *Naaman* the *Syrian* is said to have tied up two talents of silver in two bags (30), in which place these two words צור *tzur* and צרר are used. We think, therefore, those in the right, who have rendered the verse now in question, *And Aaron received them (the gold ear-rings), and tied them in a bag, and got them cast into a molten calf* (31.)

As for the calf itself, some ancient fathers have been of opinion, that it had only the face of one, and the form of a man from the neck downwards (32), in imitation of the *Egyptian Isis* (33); others have thought it to have had the head of an ox, and no body joined to it. But, however, the most general opinion is, that it was a whole calf, in imitation of the *Egyptian Apis*. But, whatever the shape of it was, it is plain from some of the prophets (34), and especially from *St. Stephen's* words, *It*

(28) *Exod.* xxxii. 21.

(29) *Ibid.* xxxii. 4.

(30) *2 Kings* v.

23. (31) *Le Scen. essay on a n. vers.*

(32) *Vid. le Clerc & Cal-*

met's comment. in Exod. in loc.

(33) *Vid. Herodot. lib. ii. c. 41.*

(34) *Isai. Esck. Amos, & al. pass.*

their own dialect, that these were the gods which brought them out of *Egypt*, and appointed the next day as a solemn festival to their new deity; which they began with offering burnt-sacrifices and peace-offerings, and concluded with feasting and dancing.

IN the mean time, GOD, who saw what passed in their camp, and that the ungrateful *Israelites* were rendering themselves more unworthy than ever of his care and protection, informed *Moses* of it, who had spent by this time full forty days in fasting and prayer; but with such threatening expressions against those idolaters, as made him fear, that some heavy punishment, if not a total destruction, was ready to fall upon them. He took the two tables, and his servant *Joshua* with him, came down from the mountain, and was scarce got to the foot of it, when he was surpris'd with their strange shoutings, and it was not long before he beheld the sad cause of it, the calf which his brother had set up, and the people dancing round it. His concern was so great, that the first way he expressed it by, was, by breaking the two tables; after which he went up and upbraided his pusillanimous brother in the strongest terms, for consenting to so vile a deed, which now laid them open, naked and defenceless, to all their enemies, by forfeiting the divine protection, which alone could bring them safe into the promised land ^a.

Year of
flood 857.
Bef. Christ
1491.

Moses
comes down
from the
mount.

Breaks the
two tables.

AARON failed not to lay the blame on the tumultuous people; but *Moses*, instead of listening to his excuses, set himself immediately about the destruction of the idol, and the punishment of such of the delinquents, whom his presence had not driven away from the place where it was set up. He caused the calf to be taken down, burnt and ground into powder, and cast into the water; of which he afterwards made all the people to drink. Whilst this was a doing, he called aloud, Who is on the LORD's side? and finding that the sons of *Levi* immediately joined him, he commanded them to gird on their swords, and to go and slay all indifferently whom they found still at that idolatrous feast, without regard to age,

^a Exod. xxxii. 1, & seq.

their hearts they returned into Egypt, and forced Aaron to make them a molten calf (35), that they learned their idolatry, and contracted their propensity to it, during their abode in *Egypt*, as was lately observed.

(35) Acts vii. 39, & seq.

quality,

The Levites kill 3000 delinquents.

Moses returns to the mount.

quality, kindred, friendship, or acquaintance. These went forthwith from *Moses's* presence, and punished with immediate death about three thousand of the delinquents, whom they found still straggling about in the midst of their mirth (C). In the mean time the people, who were witnesses of this dreadful example on the delinquents, and heard with what severity *Moses* had reprov'd his brother, were under the greatest consternation; but he went up again, and interceded so powerfully for them, that he at length obtained, not only their pardon, but a renewing of *God's* former promise of bringing them into the land of *Canaan* under the conduct of his angel. Both the pardon and promise however were so far conditional, that the people were to make some atonement for their rebellion, by a solemn and public act of humiliation, and a promise to be more obedient for the future; for in case they should, by a further relapse, bring down a fresh judgment upon themselves, this idolatry was likewise to be punished along with it (D). One of these conditions

^s Exod. xxxii. per tot.

(C) Some copies of the Septuagint and the Vulgate say twenty-thousand, and others thirty-three thousand; but, besides that the original mentions no more than three thousand, and those versions are acknowledged, by several eminent men of the church of *Rome* to be corrupt in this place (36), it is hardly probable, that they could make a greater slaughter in so short a time.

This timely zeal of the tribe of *Levi* against those idolaters did not go long unrewarded: for it not only wiped off that blemish, which their progenitor had entailed upon them, for the bloody massacre of the *Shechemites*, but in a very short time procured them the *Levitical* priesthood; which, though

subordinate, to that of *Aaron*, and his posterity, intitled them to the tenths of all kinds of beasts, fruits, and grain, in *Israel*; to the inferior ministry of the tabernacle, and afterwards of the temple; to a place in the judicial courts of every city and town; to the property of thirty-five cities, with all their lands, some of which were appointed cities of refuge; and to several other privileges and immunities, of which an account hath been given in a former section (37).

(D) The *Jews* have understood these words in so unlimited a sense, that they tell us, upon the authority of one of their greatest rabbies, quoted by the *Talmud* (38), that *God* doth not inflict any punishment

(36) *Cajet. Vatabl. Lippoman. A. Montan. & al. vid. 1. Cor. x. 8.* (37) See before, p. 69, & seq.

(38) *R. Isaac in Talmud, tract. sanbedr.*

upon

the people immediately embraced, and a solemn fast was kept throughout the whole camp, during which they divested themselves of all their gaudy apparel, and costly ornaments: and in memory of this sin, and of the breaking of the two tables, the *Jews* observe that fast yearly even to this day. At the same time GOD, to administer some comfort to *Moses*, whom he saw labouring under such an heavy load of grief and care, was pleased, at his request, to grant him a sight of his glory, that is, as the context explains it, a sight of that Angel, or rather Divine Conductor, under whose direction and care they were to go and conquer the promised land (E).

Moses

† Exod. xxxiii. ver. 12, & seq.

upon the world for any crying fault, in which there is not one twenty-fourth part of this sin of the golden calf put into the scale with it. However, it is plain by the text, that GOD only designed to deter them from relapsing into the like crime, by threatening, that, in such a case, he would inflict a double punishment upon them.

(E) It must be owned, that the account which *Moses* gives us of this divine vision is none of the clearest; and that some of the expressions he uses, such as, that he should not see GOD's face, but only his back, &c. have induced some free-thinkers to tax him, and all the *Jews* after him, with being *anthropomorphites*, till they learned a more refined divinity from the *Babylonians* during their captivity. But it must be remembered, that *Moses* spoke to a gross and carnal people, in a language far from copious, especially in words or idioms suitable either to the Deity, or to the dignity of the present glorious transaction;

and that it is therefore no wonder, if he borrows his expressions from outward and sensible objects and actions. It is plain, that those who wrote in *Greek*, which is vastly more rich than the *Hebrew*, even the writers of the New Testament, and the primitive fathers, who were the farthest from having any such absurd ideas of the Godhead, have been forced to make use of the same figurative expression in many places of their writings, for want of more proper and intelligible ones, which were equally wanting in that, as in the other tongue. Neither doth it appear, that the *Jews* themselves understood *Moses's* words in that gross sense, because it is plain, that they had a notion that this Angel or Apparition, which directed them through the wilderness, was the MESSIAH, who then assumed a visible appearance, which they called the *Shekinah*, from *שכן* *shakan*, to dwell; under which he delivered his oracles and commands to them. Which *shekinah* tho' some understand

of

MOSES staid in the mount another forty days and nights, made two other tables, like those which he had broken, and received some further instructions from GOD; after which he came down again to the people, who were not a little surpris'd to observe, that his face had contracted such a glorious lustre during his recess, that they could not intensly behold it; which obliged him to cover it with a veil whenever he was to speak to them^u. By this time the people were become so tractable, that upon his exacting from them a free-will offering of all sorts of materials for the tabernacle, ark, utensils, priestly garments, &c. both men and women shewed offering of the greatest readiness to contribute their richest jewels, metals, and other precious things, which they had got out of the spoils of the Egyptians and Amalekites; so that in one day he beheld them laying at his feet a more than sufficient quantity of precious stones, gold, silver, brass, shittim and cedar-wood, silk, cotton, linen, and the finest wool of purple, sc rlet, and other colours, of the skins of rams, badgers and goats, richly dyed, and lastly, of the richest oils, spices, ointments and perfumes; all which he distributed to proper persons to be wrought, and made Bezaleel and Aholiab overseers of all the

A general offering of all the people.

^u Exod. xxxiv. per tot.

of all the appearances which GOD took from the beginning, and others, either of the *shekinah* of fire and water, or of the fry and cloudy pillar; yet all agree, that it was the *כִּסֵּא הַכְבוֹד* *kisse hakabod*, the throne of glory, which was one of the seven things which they affirm to have been created before the world (40).

However, to disculpate at once the Jewish lawgiver from such an imputation, we need but call to mind the glorious descriptions he gives almost every-where, especially in *Deuteronomy*, of the Godhead; what pains he takes to deter

the Jews from making any misrepresentation of it, under any form whatsoever, by reminding them, that, when GOD was pleas'd so to display his glory upon mount *Sinai*, at the delivering of the ten commands, they saw no shape nor likeness, but only heard his dreadful voice. These so frequent inculcations may therefore be reasonably looked upon as a key how to understand all those other expressions, which he had been forced to accommodate to their capacity, that is, not in a literal sense, but in such an one as was worthy of the Deity, and the dignity of the subject.

(40) Vid. Chald. paraph. in loc. & in Gen. i. 1. Raym. Mart. pug. fid. Dupless. cent. Jud. Munst. & al.

work ^w. These shewed such diligence, and employed so many hands, that the tabernacle, and all its rich furniture, and costly apparatus, were finished, and set up at the foot of mount *Sinai*, in less than six months. *Aaron* and his sons, being solemnly consecrated priests, began *Aaron* to offer up all kinds of sacrifices upon the new altar, *consecrated* according to the law of *Moses*. Soon after this, the *high-priest* heads of each tribe came and appeared before *Moses* and *Aaron*, and presented a very considerable offering to *God*, *Year of the flood* in six waggons drawn each by two oxen; all which were *858.* received by *Moses*, and set aside for the service of the *Bef. Chr.* tabernacle ^x. Thus was this pompous worship begun, *1490.* in the framing and instituting of which *God* was pleased to comply with their gross and carnal minds, which he saw were incapable of being affected with a purer and more spiritual one ^y.

AARON had not been long installed in his office of *His sons* high-priest, before he had the mortification of seeing his *killed by* two sons, *Nadab* and *Abihu*, struck dead by fire from *fire from* heaven, for presuming to burn incense in the tabernacle *heaven.* with strange fire, contrary to *Moses's* command ^z; who ordered them to be carried forthwith out of the camp, and buried without any mourning or funeral pomp (E).

THE people were soon after ready for another rebel- *The rebel-* lion, because he had made them take too long a march *lion at Ta-* at their departure from the wilderness of *Sinai*; so that *berah.* the divine anger was already kindled, and had shewed its effects in an extraordinary fire, which began to consume the extremities of the camp; but at *Moses's* intercession the fire ceased, and in memory of it the place

^w Exod. xxxv. 20, 21, & seqq.

^x Num. vii. 1, & seq.

^y Exod. from ch. xxxvi. to the end.

^z Levit. x. 1, 2, & seq.

(E) It is observable, that, immediately after this accident, *God* expressly forbid *Aaron*, and all his successors, to drink either wine, or any intoxicating liquor, whenever they went into the tabernacle, lest they should incur the same fate with his two sons; from which the *Jews* conclude, reasonably enough, that these two, being

drunk when they went to burn incense, took some fire along with them (41), not considering that there was an holy fire preserved in the tabernacle for that purpose, from that which was miraculously fallen a little before, and had consumed the victims upon the altar in the presence of all the people (42).

(41) *Vid. Chald. paraph. v ijiera. rcb. & al.*
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(42) *Levit. ixi ver. ult.*
E e was

The great
council of
seventy
appointed.

A new
murmur
for want
of flesh.

was called *Taberah*, or burning^a. *Moses* began to find, by this fresh instance of their stubbornness, that the burden of government was like to prove too heavy for him, notwithstanding his having thrown off a great part of it upon those magistrates, which he had chosen at *Jethro's* advice. He presented his complaint to *GOD*, who, to ease him of this load of care, commanded him to make choice of seventy of the most considerable of the elders of *Israel*, both for wisdom and integrity, to whom he should impart a portion of his spirit (G), and to erect them into a supreme court, that they might bear their share of the burden with him. It was not long before he found the advantage of it; for they were no sooner removed from *Taberah*, but their very next encampment was signalized with a fresh insurrection. A mixed multitude of the dregs of *Egypt*, and other nations, who had followed the *Israelites* hitherto, began to murmur at the manna, and to regret their forsaking the garlick, onions, and flesh-pots of *Egypt* for it, and soon infected the whole camp with a longing after some better food. *Moses's* tent was beset on all sides with crouds, who came, and, in a tumultuous manner, demanded that he should provide them flesh to eat, instead of the manna, which their souls began to loath.

WHEREUPON *GOD* commanded him to call together the seventy elders to the door of the tabernacle; and, whilst his glory drew the eyes of the whole camp, he was pleased to promise them, that he would send them such a present supply of flesh, as should serve them, not for a day or two, but for a whole month, till it became as loathsome to them as the manna was. At the same time, he inspired the seventy elders with such a share of his spirit, that they all began to prophesy (H); and the same gift

continued

^a Num. xi. 1, & seq.

(G) This the *Jews*, judiciously enough, compare to a candle lighting a great number of others, without losing any of its light. For *Moses* had such a rebellious crew to deal with, as would not permit him to part with the least portion of his spirit, all which he found too little to govern them (47).

(H) This assembly of the seventy elders, the *Jews*, and, after them, *Grotius*, and some other Christians (48), have affirmed to have been the same that became afterwards so famous under the name of *San-*

(47) *Bammidbar. rabbab. & targ. Jonath. in loc. pass. & de jur. bell. & pac. c. 3. art. 20. Kid. Seld. de synedr. vet. Hebræor. lib. ii. c. 13. Lightfoote hor. Hebr. & al.*

(48) *Grot. comm.*

bedrin,

continued with them as long as they lived. The camp was at that time in *Arabia Petraea*, at a small distance from the *Red Sea*; from the other side of which, a strong wind brought such infinite flocks of quails, that they not only covered the whole camp, but all the ground round about it for several miles ^a. These birds, being tired with their long flight, and not able to soar more than two cubits above the ground, were easily caught by the people, and in such quantities, that the least that any one of them gathered was ten *homers* (I). Their first care was to

A supply of quails sent, which lasted 30 days.

glut

^a Num. xi. 31, & seq.

bedrin, to which even their kings and high-priests were subjected. The rabbies have left no stone unturned to prove, that this *sanhedrin* had constantly subsisted ever since its first institution by *Moses*; and that the members of it always assembled before the tabernacle, where-ever that was set up, either in the wilderness, or in the promised land, till the building of the temple by *Solomon*, who, they say, built a stately room or hall in the form of an amphitheatre, one half of which being within the temple, they were not permitted to sit down in it, but only in the other, which was without it. they add further, that this supreme court was continued in *Babylon* during their captivity there; and that, at their return, it had the same place rebuilt in the second temple, and so continued till its total extinction under the *Romans*. However, as they bring no better authority for all these and many other particularities relating to that assembly, than their tradition, they are justly

rejected by the far greater part of Christians, seeing we do not find one word of such an high court, either in the times of *Joshua*, of the judges, or of their kings, nor indeed even after the *Babylonish* captivity, till the time of the *Maccabees*. We shall therefore say no more of this *sanhedrin*, till we come to the time in which it is generally supposed to have been set up. As for these seventy elders, it is likely that they assisted *Moses* during their abode in the wilderness, and that there was an end of their assembly, as soon as they entered into the land of *Canaan*.

(I) *Homer*, or rather *chomer*, is a measure which contains ten *baths*, or five bushels: the *Jews* think חומר *chomer* to be the same with חמור *chamor*, an ass, because the letters are the same, and consequently that a *chomer* is an ass's load (49). However, as we would not enlarge the miracle more than was needful, we have ventured to depart a little from our own, and most other versions, which render the words

(49) *Vid. Must. in loc.*

glut themselves with them; after which they began to think how to preserve the rest from being corrupted. But, in the midst of their feasting, GOD was pleased to smite a great number of them with a sore disease, which carried them off with the meat, as it were, in their mouths: in memory of this severe punishment for their unreasonable lust, the place was called *Kibroth-hatavah*, or the sepulchres of concupiscence; from whence they removed to *Cadesh-barneah*, and thence to *Hazaroth*^b. In this encampment *Miriam*, *Moses's* sister, having been smitten with leprosy for some reflections which she had cast upon him and his wife, *Moses*, at her's and *Aaron's* request, obtained a cure for her; yet so, that she was to remain without the camp, as a polluted person, seven days^c; after which they removed again towards *Cadesh-barneah*, in the wilderness of *Paran*. Here *Moses* was commanded to choose twelve proper men, one out of each tribe, and to send them to search the land of *Canaan*; among which were *Joshua* and *Caleb*. These twelve, having received *Moses's* directions to view the whole land, to examine the strength of its cities and inhabitants, the nature and fertility of its soil, and the like, set out upon their progress, which they performed in forty days.

A fresh plague destroys a great number of the rebels. Miriam struck with leprosy. Twelve spies sent to view the land.

AT their return from *Rehob*, which is at the foot of mount *Libanus*, they passed through the valley of *Eshcol*, so called from the great quantity of the largest grapes with which it abounded, and is still to this day famed for^d; where they gathered a branch of a vine with a bunch of grapes of a prodigious size, which they threw over one of their staves, and brought between two upon their shoulders by turns, to prevent the grapes being bruised.

BEING at length happily arrived at their camp, they made their report to *Moses* and *Aaron*, in the presence of the elders, and of all the people. They began indeed

^b Num. xi. per tot. xii. per tot.

^c See vol. ii. p. 481.

^d Num.

of *Moses* as if the quails had lain two cubits, that is, above a yard, thick upon the ground, whereas the original may properly enough be rendered, *that they flew no higher than two cubits from it*; and this quantity was more than sufficient to

serve them a month; considering, that not only the camp, but all the ground for a day's journey round it, was covered with it, and that flesh, especially that of quails, could not be eaten in great quantity.

with

with extolling the richness of the land, and shewed them a specimen of it in the bunch of grapes which they had brought with them, together with some of their finest pomgranates, figs, and other fruits; but as soon as they observed, that this account had inspired the rest with a desire of becoming the happy possessors of it by a speedy conquest, ten of them immediately altered their note, *Ten of them* and began to represent it as a thing impossible, by reason *bring an* of the strength of their fortified towns, and the bravery *ill report;* and gigantic stature of its inhabitants^c. *Joshua* and *Caleb* alone remained firm in their report; and the latter, who observed a kind of despair in the people's looks, endeavoured in vain to encourage them, by assuring them, that such a glorious enterprize was by no means impossible: but the people gave such credit to the cowardly account of the other ten, that they wholly despaired of overcoming such powerful and gigantic nations, in comparison of whom, they looked upon themselves as mere grasshoppers and reptiles. Their murmurings grew to such a height before *and cause* the next morning, that a return into *Egypt* was again *an insur-* looked upon as vastly preferable to such an undertaking; *rection,* and they were already consulting how to choose themselves a leader, to bring them back to the land of their former thralldom. The uproar, however, was, in some measure, suppressed by the appearance of the glory of God in the cloud, which then covered the tabernacle, and from which God was heard to speak to *Moses* in such threatening terms, as gave them cause to fear some terrible judgment would be the reward of their rebellion and ingratitude.

HERE *Moses* was forced again to become their intercessor; but the ingratitude and infidelity of those miscreants, who had been eye-witnesses of those wonders which he wrought both in *Egypt* and in the desert, and of the punishments which he had inflicted upon other rebels, was of too crying a nature, not to exact some *All above* conspicuous mark of the divine displeasure. Wherefore *20 years* God did then swear, that none of those, that were above *of age ex-* twenty years of age, except *Joshua* and *Caleb*, should *cluded* ever enter into the promised land; but that they should *from en-* wander from place to place during the space of forty years, *tering into* the promised *the promis-* ed land.

^c Num. xiii. per tot.

till all their carcases were rotted in the wilderness (K). As for the ten wretches, whose false report occasioned this rebellion, they were all destroyed by a sudden death, and became the first instances of the punishment denounced against the whole nation ^e.

Year of 858. ^{Bef. Chr.} THIS severe sentence did so alarm and shame the cowardly multitude, that they presented themselves early in the morning before *Moses*, ready armed; and told him, that they were now ready to retrieve their credit by some noble exploit, either against the *Amalekites*, or against some of the *Canaanitish* nations. *Moses* strove in vain to divert them from such a rash enterprize, by representing to them, that they would certainly perish in the attempt, because they had now forfeited the divine assistance and protection: his speech served only to whet their unseasonable ardor, ever indocile and deaf to good counsel; they resolved to try their fortune, and to gain the passes of the neighbouring hills; but they found them so well kept to their cost, that the *Amalekites* and *Canaanites*, falling upon them, made a great slaughter of them there, and pursued them as far as *Hormah* ^f. All this while *Moses*, who foresaw the consequence of this rash enterprize, did wisely keep himself, and the ark of the covenant, in the camp (L).

Their rash and ill-timed exploit against the Amalekites punished.

DURING

^e Numb. xiv. 36, 37.

^f Ibid. 40. to the end.

(K) *Moses* here makes use of a round number, alluding to the forty days of the spies searching the land; though it is plain, that their children entered it thirty-nine years after this sentence was pronounced against their fathers (50). It is further to be observed, that, though this exclusion excepts none but *Caleb*, and, in other places where it is repeated, it mentions only *Joshua* along with him; yet there were certainly some others that were not included in it, such were *Moses* and *Aaron*, who had no

part in the mutiny, but were excluded afterwards upon another account; together with *Eleazar*, and a few more, especially of the tribe of *Levi*. In memory of this rebellion, the *Jews* have ever since kept a strict fast on the 7th day of the *Elul* (51) or sixth month.

(L) In memory of this sad disaster, and of the dropping of the people, during the remainder of the forty years, he is supposed to have composed the xth psalm, in which he gives us a most lively image of the shortness and frailty of life.

(50) Compare Numb. xxxii. 13. with Deut. ii. 14. Vid. *Usher's ann.* p. 19.
(51) See *Meghillath tbaneth*, part. ult. sect. 14.

After

DURING this long interval of thirty-nine years, the Divine Providence displayed itself in the most conspicuous manner, in the forming and polishing this new generation, for whom the conquest of *Canaan* was reserved. The miraculous pillar continued still to direct them, and the manna to nourish them. *Moses* continued still his intercourses with GOD; and such was his paternal care of them, that their raiment, particularly their shoes, continued whole, and their feet unhurt, notwithstanding their long and frequent marches. If at any time the people relapsed into their usual murmurs and rebellions, as they often did, their punishment followed so close, so severely, and so universally, that their disobedience could neither be countenanced by the number of delinquents, nor flatter itself with hopes of impunity. And this may be, perhaps, the main motive, which inspired them with such a laudable zeal against the sabbath-breaker, whom they brought to *Moses*, and on the next day, according to his sentence, led out of the camp, and there stoned and buried him^k.

God's wonderful care of this new generation.
The sabbath-breaker accused, and put to death.

IT was not long, however, before he discovered a most dangerous conspiracy hatched against him, by one of the chiefs of the tribe of *Levi*, and countenanced by some of the most considerable men in the whole camp, especially of the tribe of *Reuben*^l.

Year of the flood 877.
Bef. Chr. 1471.

KORAH, the great grandson of *Levi* by his father *Jabar*, as *Aaron* also was by his father *Amram*, and consequently one of the heads of that tribe, unable to behold *Aaron* and his family raised to the high-priesthood,

rebellion and accomplices.

^k Numb. xv. 32, & seq.

^l Ibid. xvi. pass.

After some longer stay in this camp, they continued moving from place to place, but still in the same wilderness of *Seir*, during which time *Moses* received many other laws; but we have given an account of the most remarkable ones in a former section. However, it is to be observed, that their encampments from this time were much longer than they had formerly been, seeing we read of but seventeen during the remaining thirty-seven years, whereas this removal from *Cadesh-barneah* was the fifteenth from their coming out of *Egypt*. We shall not trouble our readers with a further detail of them at present: those, who are desirous to have a more particular account of them, may find it in the annals of the learned archbishop *Usher* (52).

(52) *Ann. Usher, sub A. M. 2513. p. 22, & seq.*

had drawn a considerable number of eminent persons into his interest; and, among them, *Dathan*, *Abiram*, and *Hon*, who were heads of the house of *Reuben*. Whether he thought, that he should never gain his point against his rival, whilst *Moses* enjoyed the supreme power, and consequently, that it was necessary to inspire them with a desire of supplanting him, or whether he had observed already some such design in those three chiefs, he played his part so well, that he drew them, and two hundred and fifty more, into his party; and, as soon as he found things ripe for an open rupture, he resolved to appear at their head, and to bear the brunt of the first onset against *Moses* and *Aaron*. He began with upbraiding them with their unjust ambition, in ingrossing all the power into their hands, and excluding the rest of the congregation, whom he affirmed to be holy as they. *Moses*, surpris'd at the boldness of this speech, rebuked them for their presumption in the severest terms; but bid them put off all further debate till next morning, and then to appear at the door of the tabernacle, with each his censer in his hand; at which time he promised, that the LORD should declare himself openly in favour of those whom he designed for that high office. After this, addressing himself to *Korah* and his *Levites*, he upbraided them for their ingratitude and arrogance, in not being contented with the dignity and privileges which God had annexed to their tribe; but aspiring to the high-priesthood, which God had reserved for *Aaron* and his posterity.

Soon after this, he sent privately for *Dathan* and *Abiram*, whom he supposed to have been drawn by *Korah* into this conspiracy, with a design to have argued the case more calmly with them; but they not only refused to come, but sent his messenger back with an insolent answer; in which they upbraided him with having decoyed the whole nation out of the rich and fertile land of *Egypt*, under pretence of bringing them into a better; instead of which, he only detained them in that barren wilderness to make them greater slaves to him; and that he had now nothing more to do, but to put their eyes out, since they saw further into his ambitious and tyrannic designs than he cared they should^m.

As meek and gentle as *Moses* naturally was, his patience was not proof against such a reproachful message; he appealed to the Divine Presence against the injustice of it, since he

^m Num. xvi. 12, & seq.

had been so far from using his power to the invading of the least portion of any man's property, that he had reaped hitherto nothing by it but care and sorrow. Early the next morning *Moses* and *Aaron* marched towards the tabernacle, whither *Korah* failed not to repair soon after, at the head of his two hundred and fifty men, each having a copper censer in his hand. These were followed by a vast multitude of the people, who were come, either to be spectators of this famous contest, or to back the seditious in case of an opposition. The first thing that drew their eyes was the glory which appeared in the cloud over the tabernacle, from which God commanded *Moses* and *Aaron* to withdraw themselves from the rebellious crew, lest they should perish with them in the ruin which was ready to fall upon them. Here *Moses* was forced again to turn intercessor; and the croud had no sooner separated themselves from *Korah* and his company, following him to the quarters of the *Reubenites*, where *Dathan* and *Abiram*, with their families, stood at their tent-doors, but *Moses* spoke to the assembly to this purpose; that if those rebels died a common death, he would give them leave to question his divine mission; but that if the earth immediately opened in a miraculous manner, and swallowed them up alive, he then hoped, that they would look upon him as sufficiently authorized for all he did. The words were scarce out of his mouth, and the people retired at a proper distance from the tents of the conspirators, when the earth clove asunder under their feet, and buried them alive, with all their families and substance. At the same time *Their Korah* and his whole company, who stood with their censers before the court of the tabernacle, were all destroyed *dreadful punishment* by a supernatural fire; though their children were spared, because, in all likelihood, they had no share in their fathers guiltⁿ (M).

IN the mean time the people, who fled, terrified at the sight of so dreadful a spectacle, were scarce recovered from their fright, before they began to murmur afresh;

ⁿ Vid. Num. xxvi. 11.

(M) In memory of this dreadful judgment, and to deter, for the future, any but the sons of *Aaron* from presuming to burn incense before the Lord, *Eleazar* was command-

ed to take the censers of *Korah* and his men, and to beat them into broad plate, for a covering of the altar; which he accordingly did.

and

*Causes a
new insur-
rection
against
Moses.*

and to accuse *Moses* and *Aaron* of having murdered the people of the LORD, as they called that seditious crew.

These two ran immediately into the tabernacle, from whence the glory appearing again in the cloud, suspended for some time the fury of the insurrection. Here *Moses*, who foresaw that some terrible judgment was just ready to fall on the rioters, immediately commanded his brother to take his censer, and make atonement for the people: but, though *Aaron* made all possible haste to obey him, the plague was already begun, and raged so furiously, that it had already destroyed fourteen thousand and seven hundred men, besides those who had perished in *Korah's* rebellion: all that he could do was to put a stop to its further progress, by standing with his censer between the living and the dead^r. But here, to prevent *Aaron's* authority being any more called in question, GOD was pleased to confirm it by one miracle more (N). So that from this day there was an exprefs prohibition made, against any, but the sons of *Aaron*, presuming to come into the tabernacle under pain of death.

*Aaron's
priesthood
confirmed
by the
budding of
his rod.*

By this time they had wandered near thirty years in the desert of *Arabia Petraea*, and had been near thirty-nine years out of *Egypt*, still moving from one place to another, about the mountains of *Idumea*; during which time they were guilty of many more murmurings and idolatries than *Moses* has thought fit to record, but which have been preserved by other inspired writers^s, who have severely upbraided them with setting up, and carrying about, the idols of *Remphan*, *Malchom*, and many others of the like nature. However, the time drawing near for their entering into the promised land, they went from *Exongeber* towards *Kadesh* in the wilderness of *Zin*, designing

^r Ibid. xvi. per tot.

^s Vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 201, & seq.

(N) *Aaron* on the one side, and the head of every tribe on the other, were ordered to bring an almond-rod, with their names written upon it; and these were to be deposited in the tabernacle till the next morning, by which time the LORD would decide in favour of that family, on whose rod some visible and miraculous change was

found. Accordingly, when they came to examine them on the morrow, *Aaron's* rod alone was found to have budded, and brought forth leaves and ripe almonds; and *Moses* was ordered to lay it up in the ark, as a standing monument of their rebellion and unbelief.

proba-

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Probably to have entered *Canaan* by the narrow passes, *Severas* called *the way of the spies*; but they were discomfited in *idolatries* their first attempt by *Arad*, one of the kings of the *not record-* *Canaanites*, who killed a great number of them, and *ed by Mo-* took some considerable spoil from them. Upon *ses.* this they vowed all the cities of *Arad* to destruction; *Year of* soon after which they made a second push, wherein they *the flood* had much better success; and, having defeated the king, *895.* and destroyed some of his towns, they called the field of *Bef. Chr.* victory *Hormah*, or rather *Chormah*, that is, *anathema*, or *1453.* utter destruction^r; though the total one of that country did not happen till the time of *Joshua* ^u (O).

ABOUT

^r Num. xxi. 1, 2, & seq.

^u Josh. xii. 14.

(O) The *Jews* have a tradition, founded on an express text in *Deuteronomy* (62), and some places in *Joshua*, that the *Israelites* were obliged to send an herald to offer peace in their name to every city and people, before they attempted to conquer it by the sword; and that, in case they accepted it, they became only tributaries to them; but, if they refused their offer, they were then to be vowed to destruction; and that this command of God extended even to the seven nations of the *Canaanites*, contrary to the current opinion, that these had been long before under an anathema for their wickedness. However, *Maimonides* has taken a great deal of pains to confute this common notion, and to prove, that all those nations, that were cut off by the *Israelites*, owed their destruction to their choosing to try the fortune of war, rather than accept of peace

upon such terms. There is, indeed, one main objection against him; namely, the stratagem which the *Gibeonites* made use of, to obtain peace from *Israel*, which would have been needless, had the latter been forced to offer it before all things: but to this our learned *Jew* above-mentioned answers, that the reason of the *Gibeonites* policy was, that they had, in common with their neighbours, refused the first offers of peace, and were consequently doomed to the same fate with them; to prevent which, their embassadors pretended to come from a country vastly distant from any of those seven, and, as such, obtained the desired peace (63). However, it is plain from this tradition, and the rabbi above-mentioned, that this peace was to be offered to those nations upon certain conditions; the two principal of which were, that they should own a sub-

(62) *Deut.* xx. 10, & seq. *Josh.* xi. pass. *Basnag. rep. Hebr. tom. i. lib. ii. cap. 20.*

(63) *Maimon. ap. Cu-*

Year of the flood 895. *895.* *Bef. Chr.* 1453. ABOUT this time also it was that the king of *Edom*, having refused a free passage through his country to the *Israelites*, though on the most peaceable and friendly terms, they were, in all likelihood, going to take some kind of revenge for the affront; but *GOD*, who would not suffer them to commit any hostilities against them, because they were their brethren, caused them to take a turn round their country, and to march peaceably away towards mount *Hor* ^w, where *Miriam*, *Moses*'s sister, died soon after (P), in the hundredth and thirtieth year of her age, being about eight or ten years younger than *Aaron* ^x, who died in the hundredth and fortieth year of his, in the very year following.

A new murmuring for want of water.

WHILST they continued at *Kadesh*, a little before *Aaron*'s death, a new murmuring arose for want of water; and *Moses* was again commanded by *GOD* to bring them a fresh supply out of the rock; but he did it in such a manner as was highly displeasing to him; and for which he and his brother were excluded from entering into the promised land (Q). In memory of this new rebellion, the place was called *Meribah*, *strife*; from which they went and encamped at the foot of mount *Hor*, on the frontier of the land of *Edom*. Here *Moses* was commanded to take *Aaron*, and *Eleazar* his son, to the top

^w Numb. xx. 22. Deut. ii. 8, 9. Vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 173.
^x Numb. xx. 1.

jection, and pay tribute, to the *Israelites*; and that they should observe the seven precepts given to *Noah*, in case they refused to be circumcised.

(P) *Eusebius* (64) tells us, that *Miriam*'s sepulchre was still extant in his time at *Kadesh*, at a small distance from the city of *Petra*, the metropolis of *Arabia Petraea*. Some antient fathers think, that she died a virgin (65); and that she was the legislatrix and governess of the *Israelitish* women, as her brother *Moses* was of the men (66).

(Q) *GOD* had commanded him to call for the water by only speaking to the rock; but he, whether out of impatience at their loud murmurs, or out of diffidence of the promised supply, smote it twice with his rod, and used some indecent expression, either to the rock, or the people (67), for which he was excluded from setting his foot in the promised land, and condemned to die in the wilderness. *Aaron* was likewise included in the same sentence, as having, doubtless, shared in the fault.

(64) *Loc. Hebr.* (65) *Greg. Nyssen. & Ambros. de virginitat. & al.*
 (66) *Theod. in Mic. vi. 4.* (67) *Vid. Ps. cv. 32, 33.*

of the mountain in the sight of all the people, and to strip the father of his priestly robes, and to array the son with them; which was no sooner done than *Aaron* died, *Aaron's* and was buried there: but whether by *Moses* or *Eleazar*, *death*. or by some other person, certain it is, that the place was kept so private, that none of those countries could ever find it out, or dared substitute another in lieu of it. The children of *Israel* mourned thirty days for him, and *Eleazar* succeeded him in the high-priesthood γ (R).

Soon after the days of mourning were over, they went and encamped at *Zalmonah*; which place took that name *The brazen serpent* from the image or figure of the brazen serpent, which *Moses* caused to be set up there^z; for the *Israelites*, being *set up*. tired with the length of their journey, and labouring under a scarcity of provision, began to murmur afresh against *Moses*, in so grievous a manner, that *GOD* was provoked to send large flights of fiery serpents among them, which destroyed such multitudes of that rebellious people, that the rest applied to *Moses*, and, in the humblest terms, begged him to deliver them from that destroying vermin (S). *Moses*, recurring to *GOD*, was commanded to cast a brazen serpent of the same figure with those that infested them, and to set it on a pole upon some eminent ground; that as many as were bitten by the serpents, might be healed

γ Num. xx, 23, & seq.

^z Ibid. xxi. 9.

(R) *Aaron's* death happened upon *Tuesday* the first day of the fifth month (which is our *August*), in the fortieth year after the *exod*, and in the hundredth and fortieth year of his age (67).

(S) A certain author (68) has endeavoured to prove, that those insects were only little worms which bred in the skin, but of such a venomous nature, that they immediately poisoned those that were infected with them; but it is plain, that not only the original words נחשים, *necashim* se-

raphim signify a burning or winged serpent; but likewise, that those creatures are very common both in *Egypt* and *Arabia*; insomuch that those countries would become uninhabited, if those serpents had not been debarred by a kind of providence from multiplying as other serpents do; but the *Arabians* tell us, that, after they have coupled together, the female never fails to kill the male; and that her young ones kill her, as soon as they are hatched. The learned *Bochart*, from whom we have

(67) Vid. *annal. Usher*, sub a. m. 2552. *spontan. vivent. u. t. vid. Usher ubi sup.*

(68) *F. r. un. Licet. lb. de*

healed by looking upon it^y. As soon as they were delivered by this means from the plague, they marched towards *Phunon*^z, since known by the name of *Metallaphunon*, by reason of the copper mines with which it abounded^a, and might, perhaps, have its first name from *Phinon*, one of the dukes or princes of *Edom*^b; from thence they removed to *Oboth*, called by *Pliny*, *Eboda*.

Year of This was their thirty-seventh encampment; their next the flood was at *Fie-abarim* (T), upon the borders of *Moab*, that 896. is, in that part of the desert which lies over-against the Bef. Christ land of *Moab* eastward^c, and is therefore called *the desert* 1452. *of Moab*^d. Soon after this, as they were removing to pass the brook or valley of *Zared*, God forbid them to commit any hostilities against the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*^e.

^y Numb. xxi. 4. & seq.
SEB. loc. Hebr. sub Phenon.
xxi. 11. ^d Deut. ii. 8.
also vol. ii. p. 128, & 143.

^z Ibid. xxxiii. 42. ^a Vid. Eu-
^b Gen. xxxvi. 41. ^c Num.
^e Ibid. ver. 9. 18, 19. See

this account of them, tells us further (69), that they are short, and spotted with divers colours, and that their wings resemble those of a bat. He quotes a great number of ancient and modern authors to prove, that they are the same with the *hydra* of the *Greeks* and *Latins*. *Herodotus*, who went on purpose to the city of *Butos* to see them, says, that they are not unlike the *hydra*; and that he had seen a vast quantity of their skeletons, whose flesh had been devoured by the *ibis* (70), which bird is peculiar to *Egypt*, and a continual destroyer of those serpents, as we have shewn elsewhere (71). There was no need, therefore, of any other miracle, the *Israelites* being then in *Arabia Petraea*, than a

strong wind to blow them into their camp, it being then about the spring-time of the year, in which season they commonly fly in great swarms from *Libya* and *Arabia* towards *Egypt*, and other countries in that neighbourhood (72).

(T) It must be remembered, however, that when *Moses* tells us, that they encamped at *Oboth*, *Fie-abarim*, and other cities belonging to the *Edomites* and *Moabites*, he must not be understood as if they came near those places, but only that they encamped at such convenient distance from them, that they might easily send to buy provisions, without giving them the umbrage of their having any hostile design against them.

(69) *De animal. fac. p. ii. l. iii. c. 13.*
(71) *Vid. supra. vol. i. p. 422.*
eo citat.

(70) *Herod. l. ii. c. 75, 76.*
(72) *Vid. Bochart, ubi sup. & anteq. ab*

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because he had given them that land they dwelt in, and obliged them to take a large turn round their country to come at that of *Canaan*. They arrived at length at *Bamoth*, or *Bamoth-arnon*, that is, the high places of *Arnon*, under which is a fine valley belonging to the *Moabites*, along which the brook or torrent of *Arnon* runs; and pitched at the foot of mount *Pisgab*. From thence they removed to *Beer*, so called from the well which the heads of *Israel* dug there by GOD's direction; and this gave birth to that song of *Moses*, which was sung by the *Israelites*; the burden of which begins with the words, *Spring up, O well; sing ye unto it* ^e.

AFTER several marches, in which they passed, as it were, between the countries of *Moab* and *Ammon*, without committing the least hostilities on either side, they came at length to the land of the *Amorites*. Here they sent again to beg a peaceable passage through the territories of *Sihon* king of *Heshbon*. But that prince, having refused to let them pass upon any terms, and making himself ready to attack them, was overthrown by them in a set battle ^f; and the *Israelites*, having seized upon his kingdom, from the torrent of *Arnon* to that of *Jabbok*, put men, women and children to the sword, and saved nothing but the cattle. Soon after this, *Og* king of *Basan*, attempting in like manner to obstruct their passage, underwent the same fate; as we have already shewn in the history of the *Canaanites* (W).

By this time *Balak* king of *Moab*, near whose territories the *Israelites* were encamped, with a design to cross the river *Jordan*, in order to enter into the land of *Canaan*.

^e Num. xxi. 17, & seq.

^f Vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 202

^g Vid. Jud. xi. 13, & seq.

(W) The reader may see these two fertile kingdoms described in a former volume (73); and as to their gigantic stature and defeat, the reader will likewise find an account of it in a former chapter. But the fabled *Jerus* tell us, that he was sixscore cubits high, and born before the flood; which,

when at the height, reached not above his knees. They add several other particulars, equally ridiculous; such as that what *Moses* calls his iron bed, was only his cradle; and other such, of which we only give this as a specimen (74).

(73) See before, vol. ii. p. 452, & seq. also *Galmet* sub voc. & *Munster* in Num. xxi.

(74) *Bamidbar rabba*. See

naan,

naan, began now to look upon them with such a jealous eye, that he did not think it sufficient to make a strong alliance with the *Midianites* and *Ammonites*, his neighbours, in order to stop their progress, but resolved, before he began any hostilities against them, to try how far *Balaam's* enchantments might go towards turning the fortune of war to his side. We need not repeat what has been said in the history of *Moab*^h, concerning the ill success of *Balak's* project, and the too sure one of *Balaam's* advice of debauching the *Israelites* by the help of some of

The Israel- their most beautiful women; which fully answered their ites de- hopes, and the *Israelites* failed not to give into the snare, *bauched by* and to make fresh work for repentance. *Balak* had ordered *the women* his subjects to celebrate a grand feast to *Baal-peor* (which *to idolatry* is generally supposed to have been the same with *Priapus* or *Adonis*ⁱ, in which, as we observed before^k, the most shameful kinds of lewdness used to be perpetrated), and to invite the *Israelites* to them. These were soon enticed from one crime to another, by the fair women that

Year of the flood were sent among them; and, falling from drunkenness to 896. lewdness, and from lewdness to idolatry, they became so

Bef. Chr. enamoured with those fair deluders, that observing in them 1452. a more than ordinary forwardness to follow them, they

Their se- were pu- nishment. made no scruple to bring a great number of them into their camp; so that the infection soon became universal, and was punished by a plague, which carried off about twenty-four thousand of the offenders

IN the mean time God, still highly provoked at their disobedience, to which this severe punishment had not yet put an effectual stop, commanded *Moses* to erect a court of judicature, consisting of the heads of all the families, and to try and hang all that had been guilty of this rebellion and idolatry, without respect to friendship or kindred (Z); which was accordingly done, and about one thousand

^h Vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 128, & seq. ⁱ ISID. orig. lib. viii. HIERON. in Hof. ix. vid. GOODWIN's *Moses and Aaron*, lib. iv. c. 3. CALM. dissert. Le CLERC's com. in loc.

^k Vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 125, & seq.

(Z) Though we have given mand *Moses* to take all the this place a different sense heads of the people, and to hang from our own, and most ver- them up in the face of the fa- sions, which make God com- (87); we hope those who

(87) *Num. xxv. 4.*

derstand

thousand more were put to death. By this time the greatest part of the people, being come a little to themselves, were bewailing their folly at the door of the tabernacle, when they were surpris'd with an instance of the most unparalleled boldness in one of the chiefs of the tribe of *Simeon*, named *Zimri*, who had brought a young *Midianitish* princess into the camp; and in sight of *Moses*, and of the whole congregation, was leading her into his tent. *Phineas*, the son of *Eleazar* the high-priest, followed them close with a spear in his hand, and, fired with an holy zeal, at one stroke joined their bodies in death, where they were joined in their sin; for which noble deed the high-priesthood was confirmed to him and his seed; though it is plain, from the words of the *Psalmist*^k, that he averted the divine vengeance more by his prayers to *God*, than by the punishment of the two offenders^l. Neither did the authors of this defection go unpunished: *Balaam*, *Balaam* was soon after killed in a set battle, which *Israel*

Zimri and Cozbi are severely punished:

Balaam, with five kings of Midian, slain.

^k *Psal. cvi. 30.*

^l *Num. xxv. per tot.*

derstand the *Hebrew*, will readily own, not only that the words are capable of our interpretation; but likewise, that the context, as well as the reason of the thing, naturally lead us to it. For, whatever shifts commentators have made use of to justify the other version, such as that those heads were, either all in the guilt, which is not probable, or that they were guilty of a shameful neglect, in not opposing the growing mischief (88); both which might, probably enough, be out of their power, since *Moses* himself found them so often too headstrong for him; yet it is plain, from the directions which he gives those judges in the very next verse, viz. *to punish all that they found guilty differently*, that this command

had nothing so unjust in it, as those versions intimate; and *Josephus*, who followed the common version, was so well convinced, that it could not be palliated by any arguments, that he has chosen to suppress it wholly; and this is one main argument to us, that he understood neither the *Hebrew* nor the *Chaldee*, else he might as easily have fallen into our sense of that command, as the *Targum* of *Onkelos*, *rabbi Salomon*, and other *Jews* after them, have done, as well as the learned *Fagius*, in his comment on the place, and others among the *Christians*. How *Josephus* has mutilated this place, and what account he has given of this defection, and the consequences of it, the reader may, if he pleases, see in his antiquities (89).

(88) *Ita Abarbanel in pdirash & atborab.*

(89) *Lib. iv. c. 6.*

fought against five kings of *Midian*, who likewise fell on that day, whilst the conquerors made a terrible slaughter of their subjects, putting them all to the sword, women and children excepted; plundering and burning their cities, and carrying off a considerable booty^m with them, which they brought to *Moses* and *Eleazar*; and these ordered one fiftieth part of it to be distributed among the priests, and another fiftieth to the *Levites*.

The Israelites numbered. SOON after this defection, *Moses* was ordered to take an account of all the children of *Israel* that were able to bear arms, that is, from twenty years old and upwards;

Year of the flood
896.
Bef. Chr.
1452.

Josephus says, from twenty to fiftyⁿ; but it is more likely to have been to sixty; and these were found to amount to six hundred and one thousand seven hundred and thirty, besides the *Levites*, who were numbered from one month and upwards, and amounted to twenty-three thousand: this account was taken in the plain of *Moab*, near the river *Jordan*, over-against *Jericho*; and it is supposed, that the last punishment that befel the 2400 adorers of the *Midianitish* deity, made a total end of the old murmuring generation, which had been excluded from entering into the land of *Canaan*, because, upon examination, there was not one of them found in this new list which *Moses* took of the people, except *Joshua* and *Caleb*, according to the sentence pronounced against them^o by God himself. The numbering of the people was no sooner over, than *Moses* received orders to direct the distribution of the promised land between the tribes to be made by lot, not into equal parts, but in proportion to the number of men in each tribe. As for that of *Levi*, it was not to have any inheritance with the rest, but was otherwise provided for, as we have already shewn P (A).

IMME-

^m Vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 132, & seq. ⁿ Ant. lib. iii. cap. 12.
^o Num. xxvi. 64, 65. ^p See before, vol. ii. p. 485, & vol. iii. p. 82, & seq. Num. xxxvi. pass. ad ver. 62.

(A) When this order was published, there came five of the daughters of *Zelophehad*, of the tribe of *Manasseh*, the son of *Joseph*, to petition *Moses* and *Eleazar* for an inheritance with their father's brethren, that his name might not be lost in *Israel*, seeing he had left no sons, but was dead in the wilderness; not for any sedition, but had shared in the common fate with the rest. Their request was approved by

IMMEDIATELY after this, GOD commanded *Moses* to ascend mount *Nebo*, which is one of the mountains that make that long ridge which is called *Abarim* ⁹, and to take a view of the promised land, since his rebellion in the desert of *Zin* had debarred him from entering into it, and he was shortly to die in that very mountain, from whence he beheld it. *Moses* was nothing surpris'd at the news of his approaching death, which he only looked upon as an haven of repose, after a life of the greatest trouble and fatigue. Neither was he solicitous to have his commission transmitted to his children, or in the least displeas'd to see his own servant appointed his successor before them; but, finding his end so near, he made it his chief business, during those few remaining days, to settle things in the best order he could. The first care he took, was to have *Joshua* confirmed his successor in the most public and solemn manner, to prevent any opposition from his own family after his death. To this end he brought him forth in sight of all *Israel*, laid his hands upon him, and having presented him to *Eleazar* the high-priest, and given him all necessary directions, and, in particular, that of consulting GOD upon all emergencies by the *urim* and

⁹ De his vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 453.

by GOD, and readily granted by *Moses*, who allotted them a portion in their kindred's inheritance accordingly. After which GOD was pleas'd to make a law, that, for the future, the estates of those who died without issue male, should be inherited by their daughters; and, if they had no daughters, that then it should go to the next of the male; and, in defect of that, of the female line (1). But, there being still some doubt remaining, namely, whether the latter might marry out of their tribe; that of *Manasseh* came soon after to *Moses*, and represented to him the inconve-

niency of such marriages, seeing those heiresses would carry their inheritance into other tribes, which might, in process of time, cause a great deal of confusion, and probably lessen one tribe, and enrich another. This remonstrance was likewise approved by GOD, who immediately declared, that neither these daughters of *Zelophehad*, nor any heiresses for the future, should marry out of their tribes, nor even out of their own family. As for the other females, who had no inheritance, they were permitted to marry into what tribe they pleas'd (2).

(1) *Num.* xxvii. 1, 2, & seq.

(2) *Ibid.* xxxvi. 1, ad fin.

thummim (C), he caused him to be proclaimed head and general of all Israel^r.

As

^r Numb. xxvii. pass.

(C) Of the fashion of the *urim* and *thummim*, we have already taken notice, in speaking of the high-priest's garments, of which they were an appendage (95). In the mean time, we beg leave to observe, that *Josbua* could not be that prophet like *Moses*, whom God promised to raise, and commanded, under severe penalties, the people to obey (96), as our modern Jews affirm. *Josbua* was, in many particulars, inferior, not only to *Moses*, but likewise to the generality of the prophets, since he was to have recourse to the *urim* and *thummim* upon all emergencies; whereas the former spoke to God face to face, and the latter were always ready to declare the mind of God to those that came to consult them. How could he therefore be the head prophet and director of such a numerous nation, who wanted a director himself? Or how could the people be charged to hear and obey him, who was himself to receive his orders from the high-priest? As for this divine oracle of *urim* and *thummim*, which, in the original, signifies *light* and *perfection*; and the *Septuagint* and *Philo* (97) render by the

words ἀήλωσις and ἀλήθειαν, *manifestation* and *truth*, as having those two distinct virtues; it was not to be consulted by private persons, but only by the judges, whilst *Israel* was governed by them, and afterwards by the kings, or such as were sent by them; or, according to the *Talmudists*, by the *בית דין* *ab-beth-din*, or the head of the *Sanhedrin* (98), and even by the general in time of war, as in the case of *Josbua* (99). *Spencer* indeed thinks, that the head of the nation alone, and he in his own person, was allowed to consult the *urim* (100); but the contrary seems more probable from *David's* consulting the LORD by *Abiathar*, before he was settled upon the throne (1). However that be, this ordinance of consulting by *urim*, &c. was not performed without great ceremony. The high-priest alone was the person to apply to; he was to be dressed in his pontifical robes, particularly his breast-plate, and to go into the holy place, though not into the holy of holies, towards which he was only to turn his face, when he inquired of the LORD. Again, he was only to be consulted upon matters of

(95) See before, p. 76, & seq.

Acts iii. 22. vii. 37.

(96) *Deut.* xviii. 15. *vid.* *Job.* i. 45.

(97) *In vit. Mos.* & *lib. de monarchia*, c. 2.

(98) *Talm. tract. in NMI joma*, cap. 7. §. 5. *vid.* *Fag. in Exod.*

xxviii. *Moses & Aaron*, lib. iv. cap. 7. §. 8. *vid.* & *Jud.* i. 1.

(99) *Legib. ritual.* *Hebr. lib. iii. dissert.* 7. c. 1. 8. & *alib.*

Meyer de fest. dieb. Hebr. cap. 4. §. 49. & 51.

(100) *Vid.* (1) 1 *Sam.* xxiii. 4.

xxx. 7, 8.

As there elapsed somewhat above a month between *Moses's* receiving the news of his death, and the day in which

the greatest moment, such as concerned the public good, and upon any sudden and unexpected emergency, as the *Jews* prove from those places of Scripture, where such counsel was asked (2). Lastly, things relating to faith or practice were not to be inquired by the *urim*, because they had the old precept quoted by *Isaiab* (3), *to the law and to the testimony.*

But how this divine oracle gave its answer, whether by the unusual lustre of the stones in the breast-plate, when the answer was favourable; and by their dimness in the contrary case, as *Josephus* (4), and others after him, have imagined; or, as others think, by virtue of the name יהוה written or engraven in or between the double breast-plate (5); or, 3dly, by the prominency of the letters engraven upon the twelve stones of it, which the high-priest, being then inspired, knew how to range so, as to give a true answer; which opinion is almost universally received by the *Jewish* rabbies (6) (as for instance, they say, that, when *David* inquired whether he should go up into any of the cities of *Judab*, and the LORD answered לך go up (7), those three letters became prominent above the

rest); or, lastly, whether God answered the high-priest *viva voce*, by an articulate voice, from the mercy-seat, where the cherubim covered the ark of the testimony, called therefore the oracle (8); from whence God promised, that he would meet and commune with *Moses*, or, as the original has it, *instruct and talk with him*; which notion is embraced by the majority of Christians, as being indeed the most probable, and consonant to some instances in the text relating to this matter, especially to that where the children of *Israel* are blamed for making a peace with the *Gibeonites*, without consulting ה' פה the mouth of the LORD (9); all these opinions, we say, are liable to many objections, which we shall not trouble our readers with; but conclude with the saying of a wise *Jewish* rabbi (10), *that he is on the safest side, who roundly owns his ignorance in this point.*

How long the *urim* and *thummim* continued, is not difficult to decide: the *Jews* in general agree, that it lasted no longer than the tabernacle. It is a maxim with them, that God delivered his oracles, during the standing of it, by *urim* and *thummim*; by the mouth of his prophets, during the first

(2) *Abarban. R. Levi. Ben. Gers. ap. Buxt. bist. urim & thum.* (3) *Ch. viii. 20. Vid. Maimonid. kele hamukaash, c. 10.* (4) *Ant. lib. iii. c. 7.*
 (5) *Rab. Salom. ap. D. Kimch. in rad. vid. Exod. xxviii. 15.* (6) *Vid. Zobar. in Exod. ex lib. jalkutb siphre. R. Bechai in Deut. xxxiii. Maimon. ubi supr. & al. mult.* (7) *2 Sam. ii. 1.* (8) *Exod. xxv. 22. & alib.* (9) *Josb. ix. 14. Hof. iii. 4.* (10) *Kimch. in rad.*

Part of
the Mide-
aniteish
spoils offer-
ed to God.

which he expired, he spent the best part of that time in making some further regulations. Amongst other things, he had the pleasure to see the twelve thousand men, whom he had chosen, that is, a thousand out of every tribe, return from the total overthrow of the *Midianites*, we mentioned a little before, loaden with the richest spoil, and to order the distribution of it; one half of which he allotted to the conquerors, and the other to those who had not gone to the war, reserving, as we said before, one fiftieth part of each for the priests and *Levites*; which distribution seems to have passed afterwards into a law^s. What added still more to his joy, was, that the chief captains, upon a strict inquiry, had not found one man missing of all that went upon this expedition; and expressed such thankfulness for it, that they presented to the LORD an offering of the gold rings, bracelets, and ornaments, which they had taken, amounting to the weight of sixteen thousand seven hundred and fifty shekels; all which was deposited by *Eleazar* in the tabernacle, as a

* Vid. Num. xxxi. 30, & seqq. 2 Maccab. viii. 28.

temple; and by the *Bath-col*, from the *Babylonish* captivity to the destruction of the second. *Spencer*, who has espoused their opinion, has backed it with several arguments *de congruo* (10); but what weighs more with us than all his reasoning, is, that we do not meet with one single instance of the *urim* being consulted, from the building of *Solomon's* temple; on the contrary, we read, that, when *Hilkiah* the high-priest found the book of the law in *Josiah's* reign, and that good king was not a little perplexed at the terrible threatenings pronounced against the transgressors of it, he sent to consult the prophetess *Huldah* about it (11); which he needed not to have done, had the *urim* still subsisted.

All that can be objected against it, is, that *Moses*, in blessing the tribe of *Levi*, prays, that the *urim* and *thummim* may continue with God's holy one (12): but this does not imply, that it should do so whilst *Levi* continued a tribe. As for what *Josephus* says, that the stones of the *urim* had lost their lustre but about two hundred years before he wrote (13); that is, about 112 years before CHRIST; we think it not worth confuting, since it is allowed on all hands, that it ceased at the *Babylonish* captivity, if not before; and that it was one of those things in which the second temple came short of the first (14), as *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* intimate plainly enough (15).

(10) *De urim & thum. c. 2. § 2.* (11) *2 Kings xxii. 14.* (12) *Deuter. xxxiii. 8.* (13) *Jos. ubi supr.* (14) *Vid. Prideaux's connect. part. 2. lib. iii.* (15) *Ezra ii. 63. Nehem. vii. 65.*

monument of their gratitude ¹. It is likewise supposed, Year of that it was during this interval, that he distributed the the flood land of *Sihon* and *Og* to the two tribes and half ².

AND now, as the *Israelites* were on the eve of entering ^{897.} ^{Bef. Chr.} into the promised land, he appointed the limits of the ^{1451.} land which they were to conquer, and the distribution of ^{The limits of the land appointed.} it by lot according to GOD's command; and committed the whole care of it to *Joshua*, and *Eleazar* the high-priest, at the head of the chiefs of every tribe ^x. Some further directions were also given concerning the forty-eight cities, and their suburbs, or rather districts, which were to be allotted to the tribe of *Levi* ^y: six of these were to be cities of refuge for the manslayer to fly to, three of which were to be on the one side, and three on the other of *Jordan*; to which he added a permission to appoint three more, whenever the enlargement of their borders should make it necessary ^z. We have given an account of them in a former section.

THE nearer *Moses* drew to his end, the more solicitous he was to complete his arduous task. Accordingly, on the fifth day of the eleventh month, answering to our *Saturday, February 20.* of the fortieth year of the *exod* ^a, the *Israelites* being still encamped in the plain of *Moab*, he assembled the people about him, and, in a long and pathetic speech, recapitulated to them all that had hap- ^{Moses's} pened since their departure out of *Egypt* till that time ^b. ^{speech to} He adds indeed one circumstance not taken notice of ^{the Israel-} before, namely, his earnest request to GOD, that he ^{ites.} might be admitted to go into the promised land, and his prayer being absolutely denied ^c (D).

HE

¹ Num. xxxi. 49, & seq. ^a USHER. ann. sub an.
^x Deut. xi. 24, & seq. ^y Num. xxxv. pass. ^z Deut.
xix. 7-9. ^a Vid. USHER. ann. ubi sup. ^b Deut. i. ii. iii.
& iv. ad ver. 4. ^c Ibid. ch. iii. 23, & seq.

(D) This speech was soon followed by another of a much greater length (16); in which more particular mention is made of all GOD's mercies and judgments, promises and threatenings; and wherein the blessings and curses, which were to be the fruit of their obedience or disobedience, are expressed in the strongest and most lively terms; after which, he reminded them of the continual murmurings and rebellions of their fathers, and the severe judgments that follow-

(16) *Deut. from ch. iv. to xxvii.*

HE next directed *Joshua* and the elders to erect a capacious altar upon mount *Ebal*, of unhewn stones covered over with plaster, upon which they should write a fair transcript of all these laws, copies of which he delivered to the *Levites* to keep ^h; and to set up the blessings and curses upon mount *Ebal* and *Gerizim*, in full sight of all *Israel*, six tribes of which, namely, *Reuben*, *Gad*, *Asber*, *Zebulun*, *Dan*, and *Naphtali*, should stand upon the former, and those of *Simeon*, *Levi*, *Judah*, *Issachar*, *Joseph*, and *Benjamin*, on the latter, and should alternately answer *Amen* to all the blessings and curses, when they proclaimed and set them up there, which was accordingly done in *Joshua's* time ⁱ, as we shall see in the sequel. And that there might be nothing wanting in these his last instructions, he prescribed a kind of exhortation, which was to be spoken aloud at the head of the army, by a priest appointed for that purpose, whenever they were going to engage their enemies, in order to inspire the people with an unshaken trust in *God*, and assurance of victory. He ordered likewise, that a proclamation should be made at the same time by proper officers, to permit not only all that had left a new wife, house, or vineyard unenjoyed, but even all those, whose fear or pusillanimity might discourage the rest, to return home; and lastly, how they should behave themselves towards those cities that accepted of their proffered peace, and to those which rejected it ^k.

^h Deut. xxvii. 5, & seq. xxxi. 9.
^k Deut. xx. per tot.

ⁱ Josh. viii. 33, & seq.

ed them. Those he interspersed with a summary of all the laws which the divine providence had calculated for their welfare, in which those of the decalogue are repeated almost word for word; which he concludes with a most elegant description of the solemn and dreadful manner in which they were delivered from mount *Sinai*. He closes the whole with a most pathetic exhortation to obedience, and a submissive reliance on that amaz-

ing goodness that had so graciously chosen them before any other nation of the world, not for any merit of theirs, but that he might display his almighty power in favour of them, in order to be glorified by them and future ages, as well for the great mercies he had shewed to them, as for the heavy punishments he had inflicted upon the neighbouring nations for their wickedness and idolatry (17).

(17) Deut. ix. pass. xxii. pass. & al.

HE soon after assembled the whole nation, men, women, and children, in order to make them renew the covenant which their fathers had made with GOD in *Horeb*; and as he enforced the observance of it by the most engaging motives, so did he at the same time endeavour to deter them from the breach of it by such threatenings, as proved no less than prophetic of those miserable slaveries which they underwent afterwards for their disobedience¹, not only during the time of the judges, and the *Babylonish* captivity, but much more since their rejection of the *Messiah* (G). *Moses* having caused this

¹ Deut. xxix. pass.

(G) There was one remarkable thing in this prophetic warning, which ought not to be passed by; which was, that, under whatever captivity and dispersion they happened to groan, if they applied themselves to God by prayer, and an humble acknowledgement of their sins, they should still be delivered from it. This was exactly verified by the event; for they no sooner turned to God, but he either sent them a deliverer soon after, as in the time of the judges, or some prophets to comfort them during their captivity, and to fix the time of its duration; as in that of *Babylon*. This needs not be wondered at; the crimes for which they suffered in these, idolatry, murders, rapine, extortion, and the like, were of too glaring a nature, not to force the deepest remorse and acknowledgement, whenever they smarted for them. It was far otherwise in their last sin, the rejection of the MESSIAH; his mean birth and appearance, his sufferings and death, and many other disadvantageous circumstances, were so opposite to those glo-

rious notions they had imbibed of him, and his religion so pure and spiritual, that their prejudices made them easily overlook all the visible proofs he gave of his divine mission: and, after they had once condemned him, they had too great an opinion of their own sagacity and uprightness, ever to feel, or at least own, the injustice of the deed. We may add, that their posterity has followed their steps; and has been so far from supposing, that the *Sanhedrin* could have been guilty of so fatal a mistake, and so horrid a crime, as the rejecting and murdering the MESSIAH, that they are still fully persuaded, that court would have been the very first that would have acknowledged him. This is the source of their unbelief; and, since they have rather gloried in that deed, than acknowledged and repented of it, we need seek no farther for the cause why their captivity and dispersion has proved so severe, of so long duration, and without the least comfortable prophecy, or even prospect, of God's putting an end to it.

covenant

Moses's
song.

covenant to be ratified by the whole assembly, no doubt with a suitable solemnity, he commanded the *Levites* to deposit a copy of it, which he delivered to them in the ark, and concluded with calling heaven and earth to witness for the truth of what they had heard from him, for the reasonableness of those laws which GOD had given them, and for the certainty of those blessings or curses which would infallibly follow the keeping or the breach of them ^m. However, in order to fix these important truths more strongly in their minds, he composed a psalm or canticle, in which they are expressed in the most elegant and lively language; and, having caused it to be read before all the people, he delivered it to *Joshua*, to be hereafter learned by heart by them and their posterity. The preface of this inimitable piece of antient poetry, as far as our language can come up to the beauty of the original ⁿ, the reader may see in the following note (H).

THE lecture of it being ended, *Moses* delivered a duplicate of the laws to be preserved in the ark, with an order, that this latter should be publicly read before the whole assembly at the feast of the tabernacles every sabbatic or seventh year ^o.

His last
blessing to
the twelve
tribes.

AND now his task being at an end, and GOD having commanded him to go up to mount *Nebo*, and to resign his soul there, as soon as he had taken a view of the promised land; he had nothing left to do, but to gather the tribes about him, and to pronounce his prophetic blessing upon them. The text tells us, that he was an hundred and twenty years old, and that neither his sight nor his natural strength were in the least impaired; and we may add, that, if one may judge of that of his mind by the style of this his last speech, and by the beauty and energy

^m Deut. xxx. & xxxi.

ⁿ Ibid. xxxii. ad ver. 45.

^o Ibid. xxxi. 10, & seq.

(H) *Attend, ye heavens, whilst I speak; give ear, O earth, to the words of my mouth.*

Let my doctrine descend like drops of rain, and my speech distil as the dew.

Let them fall as a gentle shower upon the tender herb, and as the rain that falls upon the grass:

And, whilst I invoke the name JEHOVAH, resound the greatness of our GOD.

His works, even the works of this our strong rock, are perfect; and all his ways are equity.

He is a faithful GOD, without deceit; for he is just and righteous. And so on.

of the expressions, it seems to have received an addition at the sight of his departure, and of his people's approaching happiness. The preface and conclusion of it are couched in as strong and elegant terms, as the most divine enthusiasm could inspire a prophet with. However, as we have lately touched upon it, and shewed how it agreed with that of *Jacob*, we shall not dwell any longer upon it at present (H).

THE *Jewish* lawgiver had no sooner ended this prophetic speech, than he went up in the sight of all *Israel* up to mount *Nebo*, from the summit of which he beheld all the land which God had promised to *Abraham's* posterity. *Josephus* adds †, that he was accompanied by *Joshua*, *Eleazar*, and the seventy, to the mount; and that, whilst

† Ant. lib. iv. c. 8.

(H) Only here it will not be amiss to observe, that our *English* version was certainly right to insert the word *not* in the latter part of the 6th verse of this chapter (18), *Let Reuben live and not die, and let not his men be few*; which is certainly the true sense according to the genius of the original, which often omits that negative in the second hemistich, though any modern version, that did not supply it, would make it speak contrary to its plain meaning (19). This is the very error into which the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate* have fallen, in order to render the latter part of the verse applicable to the tribe of *Simeon*, of which *Moses* had made no mention throughout this prophecy; but herein it is plain they mistook the sense of the text, not only from what we have just now hinted, but also

because *being few in number* would have been a curse rather than a blessing, and was more particularly esteemed such by the *Israelites*; in which case that tribe alone would have been cursed, whereas they are all said to be blessed in the very first verse; besides, it is certain, that *Simeon* had his blessing, since he had an inheritance allotted to him, as well as the rest (20). We need not therefore look for any other mystery, or reason for this omission of *Moses*, than that this tribe was wholly intermixed with that of *Judah*, according to their father's prophecy (21), and consequently shared in all its blessings, those only excepted which *Jacob* had confined to the latter; and hence it came to pass, that these two tribes generally went hand in hand in all their expeditions (22).

(18) *Deut.* xxxiii. (19) Compare *Pf.* vi. 1. and xxxviii. 1. See also *Pf.* ix. 18. as they are in our Bibles. (20) *Josh.* xix. 1. 1 *Chron.* iv. 24, & seq. (21) *Gen.* xlix. 7. Vid. sup. p. 316, 317, (F). (22) *Jud.* i. 3, & seq. Vid. Jun. in *Deut.* xxxiii, 6.

the two last were taking their sorrowful farewell of him, a cloud conveyed him away into a certain valley; but the text seems rather to intimate, that he went up alone. Be that as it will, the author of this last chapter, whoever *his death*, he was, assures us that he died immediately after, and *burial, and* that the LORD conveyed him into a valley in the land of *character.* Moab, over-against Beth-peor, and there buried him in so private a place, that his sepulchre was not known at the time of his writing ^u; to which we may add, that it never was discovered since ^w. Several inspired penmen, and apocryphal writers, have since given us the character of this truly great lawgiver, besides the above-mentioned *Josephus*; but none has expressed it in fewer and stronger terms than the author of these additions, in the three last verses of this chapter (I). His death happened on the first

^u Deut. xxxiv. 6. ^w Vid. HORN. hist. ecclesiast. BASNAG. continuat. Joseph. tom. iv. lib. vi. c. 17. art. 13. BARTOLOC. bibliot. rabbin. tom. iii. p. 928, & seq. CALM. dissert. on the death and burial of Moses, at the head of his epit. canoniq. & al.

(I) Nothing is plainer from the text, than that *Moses* did really die, and was buried; and *Josephus* tells us (29), according to our copies of him, that the Scripture affirms him to be dead; lest people should think, because of the excellency of his person, that he was still alive, and with God; notwithstanding which, the superstitious *Jews* have fallen into various notions about it; some absolutely denying his death; and others, without taking notice of that circumstance, affirming him to have been translated into heaven (30). Those of the *Christians*, who have embraced this wild notion, ground it on his appearing with *Elias* at the trans-

figuration upon mount *Tabor* (31), and upon that contest which *Michael* and the devil had about his body, which we find mentioned by *St. Jude* (32); though the most probable inference that can be made from such a dispute, is, that the devil wanted to bring *Moses's* body to light, that he might thereby ensnare the people to idolatry, or rather to *λεψανολατρεία*, the worship of relics, which therefore *Michael* opposed with a zeal worthy of an archangel (33). However, this circumstance seems, in all probability, to be quoted by the apostle from an apocryphal book, intitled, *περι αναληψεως Μωυσεως*, of the assumption of *Moses*;

(29) *Ant. loc. citat.*

(31) *Mat. xvii. 1, & seq. Test.*

(30) *Vid. Maimon. proem. ad talmud.*

(32) *Jud. ver. 9. Vid. Fabric. apocr. Vet.*

(33) *Ush. ann. ubi sup. & auct. ab eo citat.*

first day (according to *Josephus* and archbishop *Usher**, or on the seventh, according to the generality of the latter

* Ant. & ann. ubi supr.

something like which we find in some Jewish writings (34). Other rabbies, though they believe, that he was so far dead, as that there was a separation of soul and body, yet deny his dying a common death, because he is said to have died על פי יהוה, that is, as we rightly translate it, according to the word of the LORD; but, according to their literal sense of it, upon the mouth of the LORD; from which they affirm, that *Moses*, having begged of GOD not to deliver up his soul to the angel of death, breathed it out in a kiss, which the LORD was pleased to give him (35).

As to his writings, besides the *Pentateuch*, which is universally received by Jews and Christians, as penned by him, if we except *Aben Ezra* and *Spinosa*, among the former, and some moderns among the latter (if their avowed principles will permit us to call them Christians, who denied him to be the author of it, and have been learnedly confuted by a late (36) author); besides the books, I say, commonly called the five books of *Moses*, there have been some other works attributed to him, though without

nny certainty, such as the book of *Job*, of which we have already spoken in another place (37), eleven psalms, viz. xc. xci. xcii. and so on to the cth. *Origen* believes him to have translated the book of *Job* from the Syriac into Hebrew (38); though he is scarce followed by either Jew or Christian. A few fragments of other books are likewise quoted by some of the antients, as written by him: such as, 1. his apocalypse, out of which *St. Paul* is by them supposed to have taken those words (39), for in CHRIST JESUS neither circumcision availeth any thing, &c.; 2. his lesser *Genesis*; 3. his ascension; 4. assumption, mentioned a little above; 5. his testament; and some other mysterious books (40).

Some rabbies attribute to him likewise a treatise, intituled, באר משה beer *Mosheb*, or באר חכמה beer *chokmah*, the fountain of wisdom (41). As for the lesser *Genesis*, *St. Jerome*, who quotes a passage out of it, tells us, that they had it in Hebrew in his time (42). The *Sethites*, an antient sect of heretics, quoted likewise two of the afore-mentioned books, namely, his testament, and his

(34) Vid. R. Natban. פירקי אבות. (35) Vid. Gaulmin's פשירת-מושה. (36) Abbadié verit. de la relig. Chrestien. pt. i. (37) Vid. sup. p. 350. 352. (38) Orig. in Job. (39) Galat. v. 6. vi. 15. (40) Syncell. ex parv. Gen. Clem. Alexand. ex Eupolem. Stromat. lib. i. Isidor. Hispal. lib. i. Orig. t. 3. Cedren. Glycas. Bartoloc. & Volf. bibl. rabbinic. & auct. ibi citat. vid. etiam Fabric. de apoc. V. T. (41) R. Sabtai Strim. vid. & Wolf. bib. rabbin. Numb. 1582. (42) Epist. 127. ad Fabiol. Mans. 18. & 24. Vid. Calm. bist. V. Test. t. i. p. penult.

latter *Jews*) ^v of the twelfth month, which is called *Adar*, and in the hundredth and twentieth of his age; the last forty of which (the last month excepted) he had spent in the government of the *Israelites*. The people mourned for him one whole month, according to the custom of the nation for the death of any eminent person; after which *Josbua* entered into his office, and, soon after that, into the land of *Canaan*, as shall be shewn in the next section (K).

BEFORE we dismiss this section, it will be expected, no doubt, that we should give some account of the order and manner of encamping and marching used by the *Israelites* in the wilderness, because it is not only curious, but useful, in order to understand several places of holy

^v Vid. Sedar holam rab. cap. 10. MAIMON. præfat. admifnatioh, &c.

mysterious books or discourses; but all these were so far from bearing any authority in the church, that they fell into contempt and oblivion, as fast as Christianity prevailed.

(K) In the mean time it will be proper to observe here, that the ceremony of circumcision was discontinued during the whole time of their abode in the wilderness (41); for which no proper reason can be well assigned, unless it be either because their frequent moving from place to place would have made it dangerous for those children who were circumcised before a march; or that, the design of circumcision being to keep the people from intermingling with other nations, it became less necessary in the wilderness, where they were in less danger of such a mixture (42). But neither of these reasons is satisfactory; for, as

to the first, besides that their marches happened but seldom during the last thirty-eight years, as we lately observed, it would have been more safe to have dispensed with the time, and, instead of the eighth day, to have performed it on the next encampment, than to have wholly omitted it, seeing there were some particular blessings belonging to it, which they were deprived of, who died without it. But, whatever be the reason of this omission, one may conclude from it, that that ceremony was not so necessary to salvation, as some, both *Christians* and *Jews*, have imagined; among the latter of whom, some have run to such an extreme of superstition, as to cause those children, that happened to die before they were circumcised, to receive it before they buried them.

(41) *Josb.* v. 2, & seq. Clerc, Grot. Saurin, &c.

(42) *Basnag. rep. Hebr. tom. i. lib. iii. c. 5. L.*

writ that allude to it, both in the Old and New Testament ^a, especially in the prophetical books. It is plain, from the short account which *Moses* has left us of it ^b, that it was prescribed to him by GOD himself. And indeed, if we consider their vast multitude, their untoward genius, the great mixture of other nations that joined them, the quantity of lumber which they were forced to carry with them, we can hardly suppose, that any man, how wise and experienced soever, could be equal to such a task without a supernatural assistance. 'Tis true indeed, that the word *wilderness*, by which the scene of their forty years wandering is called, ought not to be taken too literally ^c, seeing they generally encamped near inhabited towns and villages, whose territories could furnish them with provisions for themselves, and pasture for their cattle; and, when that failed, they were often miraculously supplied; but, nevertheless, to provide for all other exigencies, which must needs be supposed to happen in such a numberless host, to settle such excellent order and discipline in it, as to prevent confusion, disorders, and defection, to breed up such a number of excellent soldiers, and to teach them to encamp and decamp, to march and to fight, in so regular a manner as they did, whatever *Moses* might have learned from the *Egyptians*, who understood, doubtless, as much of the art of war as any other nation then did, seems still to have been above the power of a mere man. And this consideration should, one would think, stop the mouths of those, who can find nothing of military art worth admiring, except in the antient *Greeks* and *Romans* (M).

^a See Sir ISAAC NEWT. observ. upon the prophecies, p. 259. & alib. MED. clav. prophet. pass. & al. ^b Num. i. 51, & seq. ^c De his vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 416, & seq.

(M) However, as the subject has been copiously handled by other pens (43), who have been forced to supply the succinct account of *Moses* out of the writings of the *Talmudists*, and other antient *Jews*, not to say sometimes out of their own heads; we hope our readers will easily excuse us from launching further into these particularities, than we have good grounds for from holy writ: though, where we find any thing in the *Talmud*, *Josephus*, or any other rabbi, that carries a face of probability, or gives any light to the account we have in the text, we shall venture to give it in a note.

(43) *Basnag. ex Cunaao, rep. Hebr. tom. ii. c. 18. Calm. & al.*

THE text tells us, that they were to pitch their tents every man by his own camp, tribe, and standard, throughout the whole host: that the tribe of Levi was to encamp round the tabernacle, and have the charge and custody of it; and that the rest of the tribes should pitch their standards with the ensigns of their father's house round about it, at an equal and convenient distance from it^d. This distance, let it have been what it would, composed not a perfect square, because the tabernacle and its court were oblong, much less a circle, as some have fancied it, from the words *round about* taken too literally, but an oblong square, in the centre of which was the tabernacle with its court, in length one hundred, and in breadth fifty cubits^e. Parallel to each of the four sides of it, and at a proper distance between it and the other tribes, was that of *Levi*; along the east end was *Eleazar* the high-priest, with the rest of the family of *Aaron* at the head of the four classes of *Levites*. As for *Moses's* pavilion, all that he has told us of it, is only, that it stood on the same side with those of *Aaron's* children^f; though we may reasonably suppose, that it was in the most honourable place of the whole camp, as he was their chief and lawgiver; and nearest the tabernacle, to which he was obliged to repair upon all emergencies. On the west side were the *Gershonites* under *Eliafaph*, the son of *Lael*, in number seven thousand five hundred^g: 3. the *Kohathites* under *Elizaphan*, the son of *Uziel*, in number eight thousand six hundred: and lastly, the *Merarites* under *Zuriel*, the son of *Abihail*, in number six thousand two hundred; and these two last encamped along the south and north sides. All these together made an army of twenty-two thousand three hundred^h (M). Each of these

^d Num. i. 52, & seq. ii. 1, 2, & seq. ^e Vid. Exod. xxvii. 18. ^f Num. iii. 38. ^g Num. iii. 24. ^h Ibid. ver. 39.

(M) This tribe was not numbered at the first recension of the people, but some time after. However, if the reader compares the amount of it mentioned in this place (49), with that of the three classes of which it consisted, he will find, that it comes short of the odd three hundred, which are supposed to have been the first-born of that tribe, and therefore out of the case. And as the *Levites* were chosen out instead of the first-born of all the tribes, when the num-

these had their particular functions and charges allotted to them, both as to the worship of God, and the custody of the tabernacle, with all its apparatus, as may be seen by the text ^h.

As the tribe of *Levi* made four small bodies on each side the tabernacle, so did the other twelve make four large camps parallel to them, each body consisting of three tribes. That of *Judah*, whether because it was the most considerable, it mustering seventy-four thousand six hundred fighting men, or in consideration of the sceptre, or the *Messiah*, being promised to it, had the post of honour, and encamped on the east side behind the priests, at the head of two other tribes; namely, that of *Issachar*, consisting of fifty-four thousand four hundred, and that of *Zebulun* of fifty-seven thousand four hundred men; so that this body amounted to one hundred eighty-six thousand four hundred fighting men ⁱ; but whether he encamped on the right hand of the other two tribes, as the *Jews* think, or, which is more probable, seeing he was as it were their head and general, in the centre betwixt them, is neither certain nor material; the same may be said also of the heads of the other three bodies.

REUBEN was at the head of the next body, and his camp on the south side; his tribe consisted of forty-six thousand five hundred men; and *Simeon* with fifty-nine thousand three hundred, and *Gad* with forty-five thousand six hundred and fifty, marched under his banner; this body consisted of one hundred fifty-one thousand four hundred and fifty.

THE next was *Ephraim* at the head of forty thousand five hundred of his own tribe, under whom *Manasseh* led thirty-two thousand two hundred, and *Benjamin* thirty-five thousand four hundred, in all one hundred eight thousand one hundred; these encamped on the west side.

THE last was the tribe of *Dan* with sixty-two thousand seven hundred, with that of *Asher*, consisting

^h Num. iv. per tot.

ⁱ Ibid. ii. 3-9.

ber of the former came to be taken, and was found to fall short of the first-born of the latter by two hundred eighty-three, this overplus was re-

deemed at the rate of five shekels of the sanctuary, and the money given to the sons of *Aaron* (50).

(50) Num. iii. 41, & seq. vid. Munst. in loc.

of forty-one thousand five hundred, and *Naphthali* fifty-three thousand four hundred, in all one hundred fifty-seven thousand five hundred and fifty, and these were on the north side of the tabernacle. Thus the *Israelitish* host amounted to six hundred and three thousand five hundred and fifty fighting men, exclusive of the *Levites*. To which if we add the old men above sixty, and the young men under twenty, their wives, daughters, servants, slaves, and strangers, which, as we shewed before, amounted in the whole to little less than three millions, their vast number of cattle, waggons, and other lumber, the least space that can be allowed for such a prodigious camp must be above twenty miles, though we supposed the spaces between each tribe to have been much less than the *Jewish* doctors affirm (N).

THESE four large bodies had each their general standard (O), to which their own and the other tribes were to repair; under these were twelve more, one to every tribe; and under these again were those of all the heads of families, amounting to fifty-seven, according to *Moses's* own account^k; and indeed less than that number cannot be supposed. What the colours, emblems, and devices of those ensigns were, neither *Moses* nor any inspired writer has told us (P).

THAT

^k Num. ii. & xxvi. pass.

(N) This prodigious army is by the ancient *Jews* called threefold, whereof the tabernacle, with its precinct, is called the *camp of the Divine Majesty*, the next the *camp of Levi*, or little host of the LORD, and the largest the *camp of Israel*, or the great host; and may well enough be compared to a cathedral in the heart of a city, round which are the bishop, dean, canons, and inferior clergy, and round them the laity.

(O) The *Chaldee* and *Septuagint* have indeed rendered the original word גִּדְלוֹ *gedel*,

ensign or standard, the former by שָׂקֶן, borrowed perhaps from the *Greek* τάξις, גִּדְלוֹ נִרְדָּה, and the latter by τάγμα. ἄνθρωποι ἐκείνων κατὰ τὰ ἄγμα αὐτῶν, every man to his own order, station, or rank; which phrase the apostle seems to apply in a sense somewhat different from this (51).

(P) The rabbies have supplied all those defects very plentifully; but, though they are not always to be depended upon, yet some particulars they have given us relating to those of the four main bodies, and those of the twelve tribes, seem

(51) 1 Cor. xv. 23. Vid. *Goodwin Moses and Aaron*, l. vi. c. 3.

THAT every tribe had, besides, their particular standard of a different colour, and with a different emblem and motto, if they used any so early, can hardly be questioned; and that these two last might be taken from those allusions which *Jacob* or *Moses* made use of in their last blessing, is far from improbable: and thus, for instance, *Naphtali* might have a large tree or a hind in his ensign^t, *Iffachar* an ass couching under his burden, *Benjamin* a wolf^u, and so on; beyond which we will not venture to affirm any thing, much less concerning the ensigns of the principal families, which other authors have thought

^t Vid. sup. p. 330, & seq. ^u Gen. xlix. 14, 21, 27, &c. Deut. xxxiii. 6, & seq. See also an ancient apocryphal book called the testament of the twelve patriarchs.

not to be ill grounded. Of the first they tell us, that *Judah* had the emblem of a lion, with this device, *Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered* (1); but the latter seems more proper for the ensign of *Levi*, if any belonged to that tribe; which is not improbable, because those were the words which were used by the *Levites*, when the ark was removing. As for the lion, it is the emblem by which *Jacob* represented the tribe of *Judah* in his last will (2); but they add, that it was painted of three colours on the standard (3). *Reuben's* ensign had the figure of a man, to which some add that of a mandrake, alluding to those he found in the fields when a boy (4). That of *Ephraim* was an ox or calf, and seems to be taken from the words of *Moses's* blessing to that tribe; *His glory is like the firstling of his bullock* (5). To the

tribe of *Dan* they give an eagle, which agrees neither with *Moses's* blessing, which compares him to a lion's whelp; nor to that of *Jacob*, which compares him to a serpent in the way. However, in order to make it agree with the latter, they pretend, that the eagle was painted holding a serpent in his talons (6): but we have still a better authority for these four emblems, namely, 1. The vision of *Ezekiel* (7), which is universally allowed to allude to them. 2. The psalmist representing the congregation of *Israel* under those emblems (8); and, lastly, *St. John* in his apocalypse, representing the faithful by the four beasts about the throne of God, crying night and day, *holy, holy* (9), and so on; from which it is most likely, that the four evangelists came afterwards to have the same emblems more particularly appropriated to them.

(1) Ps. lxxviii. 1. (2) Gen. xlix. 9. (3) Ita RR. Jonatb. Abr. ben Levi. Cabal. histor. ap. Cunnæum, ub. sup. (4) Gen. xxx. 14. (5) Deut. xxxiii. 17. (6) Vid. Aben Esr. & Fag. in Num. ii. (7) Ch. i. 10. (8) Ps. lxxviii. 10. (9) Revel. iv. 6, 7.

fit to give us ^w. One thing more, however, is certain, that they had likewise a separate camp for lepers, for those who had running sores, or any infirmities of that nature, or had defiled themselves by touching a dead body, and the like; all which were excluded from this grand one ^x.

THE order of their decamping and marching, of their engaging in battle, and such-like, as they are more particularly described by *Moses*, we shall content ourselves with mentioning the principal heads relating to each of them, and removing some few difficulties that occur; and refer our readers for the more circumstantial parts to the text itself, and to those who have treated of them more at large ^y.

IN their decamping, whilst in the wilderness, the first thing they were to observe, was the signal from the miraculous pillar, of which we have already spoken ^z; which *Moses* immediately took care to have communicated throughout the camp, by two silver trumpets made by GOD's command ^a; and because these were used for other signals, such as the calling the elders to the tabernacle, proclaiming of anniversary festivals, and the like, they were differently blown, according to the signal they were to give; that is, for instance, singly, when to call the elders; jointly, when to call the whole congregation; with a constant and even sound, when they proclaimed a march; and with a tremulous interrupted one, when they sounded to battle. To these the apostle seems to allude, when he says, *If the trumpet gives an uncertain sound, who will prepare to battle* ^b? As soon, therefore, as the first signal was given for marching, every tribe set about making ready for it; and this took up some considerable time, especially with respect to the priests and *Levites* ^c, who had the tabernacle, with all its utensils, to take down, cover, and pack up, and set part upon waggons for that purpose, and part to be carried upon mens shoulders. By that time the *Levites* had got every thing ready for the march, the second signal was given; for it is not to be doubted but the other tribes could be sooner in a readiness than they: and then all that bore arms repaired to their standards, whilst the invalids, women, children,

^w BASNAG. ubi supr. CALM. & al. ^x Num. v. 1, & seq. ^y Vid. BASNAG. ubi supr. c. 19. ^z Vid supr. p. 338. ^a Num. x. 1, & seq. ^b 1 Cor. xiv. 8. ^c Vid. Num. iv. 5, & alib.

and

and carriages, marched towards the rear. Upon the next signal, the tribe of *Judah*, at the head of the other two that belonged to his camp, began to march; and these were followed, according to the most general opinion, by the *Gershonites* and *Merarites*, who guarded the wag-gons loaded with the boards, pillars, &c. belonging to the tabernacle. Upon the next signal, *Reuben* and his two tribes began to move; after whom came the *Kohathites*, bearing the ark, altar, table, and other utensils, upon their shoulders; so that by the time these were at their journey's end, the *Gershonites* and *Merarites* had set up the tabernacle, and got all things ready for their reception. The ark and its bearers were guarded by the tribes of *Ephraim*, *Benjamin*, and *Manasseh*, as soon as the third signal was given. To this alludes that of the psalmist ^c, *Thou that sittest between the cherubim, shine forth before Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasseh*. Last of all came the tribes of *Dan*, *Asher*, and *Naphtali*, escorting the invalids, that none might be left behind. For which reason this body is called the rear-ward, or, as our margins more properly word it, the *gathering-host* ^d (T).

CONCERNING their method of engaging with their enemies, order of battle, and the like, we have nothing certain but what has been occasionally mentioned before. Such as the having one priest anointed to be

^c Psal. lxxx. 1, 2. ^d Joshua vi. 9. Vide MUNST. in loc. GOODWIN'S *Mos. & Aaron*, lib. vi. c. 4. art. 3. see also Num. x. 21, & seqq.

(T) However, it is plain, that this order was not always observed; for, first, with respect to the ark, there are some places where it is said to have gone before them (1) upon some emergencies; and, with respect to the whole body, tho' they kept this excellent order of marching in columns, as often as the lands, thro' which they passed, would permit it; yet, when they were obliged to cross whole ridges of mountains, they were then forced to make their way, some over heights, others through the valleys, pre-serving still the best order they could for their own safety. All that can be added upon this subject is, that, when the ark was taking up for the march, *Moses* used to say, *Arise, O LORD, and let thine enemies be scattered, and let them that hate thee flee before thee*; and, when the priests set it down, he said, *Return, O LORD, unto the many thousands of Israel* (2). These words are still used to this day by the *Jews*, when they fetch the roll of the law out of its repository, and when they carry it thither again.

(1) See Num. x. 33. Josh. iii. 6. (2) Num. x. 35, 36.

Their
manner of
engaging.

consulted by *urin*, instead of the high-priest, who never went to the wars; the *amercol*, or exhorting priest, who is thought to be the same with the former by some authors, and whose speech, at least the substance of it, has been preserved to us by the antient *Jews* (W): all that we can say farther on this head with any certainty is, that as soon as the trumpets had given the signal for the ~~signal for the~~ engagement, the combatants gave a great shout, and fell immediately upon their enemies^b; an instance of which we find some time after, when they went to engage the *Philistines*ⁱ (U).

S E C T.

^g CALMET & BASNAG. ubi sup. ^h Vide CUN. & GOODWIN, ubi sup. ⁱ Vide I Sam. iv. 5. & JOSEPH. de bell. Jud. l. iii.

(W) Among other remarkable things in this speech were those that follow; Hear, O Israel, — you are now going to engage, not against your brethren, not one tribe against another, by whom if you chanced to be taken, you might expect to be used with mercy: — but against your enemies, into whose hands if it be your misfortune to fall, you must expect no quarter: — let not your courage fail you; let not the neighing of their horses, the brightness of their spears, the clattering of their shields, or the sound of their trumpets, dishearten you — GOD is in the midst of you; — your foes come against you with an arm of flesh, but you trust in the strength of the Almighty; and so on (65). Part of this speech we find to have been certainly dictated by *Moses* (66); but, whether the rest was so, or not, we dare not affirm. However, one thing is worth observing,

with respect to these words, *Thou art not going to engage against thy brethren, from whom thou mightest expect mercy*; that the tribe of *Judab* having been captivated by those of *Israel*, so long after as in *Abaz's* reign, and these ready to use their captives with the same severity as they did strangers, a prophet of the LORD strenuously opposed it, and made the conquerors cloathe, feed, and appoint them, and send them back to their brethren (67).

(U) This was no less practised by the *Greeks*, *Romans*, and other warlike nations, who often increased the horrid noise with knocking their weapons against their shields (68). With relation to their manner of besieging towns, we are still more in the dark; all therefore that can be added here, is what the *Jews* tell us from a passage in *Joshua* (69), that, when he sent to offer peace to the cities of *Canaan*, before he entered

(65) Tract. תורה cap. 8. vid. Goodw. Nos. & Aar. lib. iv. c. 8. §. 14.
(66) Deut. xx. 2. & seqq.

(68) Polyb. vid. Cun. ubi sup.

(67) Vide 2 Chron. xxviii. 8, & seqq.
(69) Josh. xi. 19, 20.

S E C T. VII.

*The History of the Jews under Joshua.**The conquest and partition of the land of Canaan.*

THE *Israelitish* camp continued at *Shittim*, near the river *Jordan*, and in sight of the land of *Canaan*, during the days of mourning for *Moses*; and the people, whom a forty years wandering in the wilderness, under a discipline intermixed with the greatest tenderness and severity, had rendered more tractable, and more sensible of **GOD's** paternal care, were only waiting for the signal for passing over the river *Jordan*; when their new general received fresh and repeated promises of the divine assistance in the conquest of the promised land ⁿ (A).

Year of the flood 897.
Bef. Christ 1451.

ⁿ *Josh. i. per tot.*

it, he dispatched three expresses to them: the first was, to permit those, who had a mind to leave the country, to depart; the second was, to offer peace to those that would make peace with him; and the last, to declare war against those that refused the two former offers (1).

(A) Nothing less than such a divine assurance could indeed have supported *Joshua's* courage in so arduous a task. He was now ninety-three years of age, and had been trained up under *Moses* at least one third part of that time, so that he wanted neither experience nor sagacity to foresee all the difficulties he was to encounter with. He saw himself indeed at the head of six hundred thousand fighting men; but, on the other hand, his army

was clogged with an innumerable multitude of old men, women, and children, besides servants, cattle, and other incumbrances. The very first step he was to take, was the crossing of a large river, in doing which he knew himself equally exposed to the arms of those he went to attack, and those whom he left behind. The nations he was to subdue were naturally warlike, of a gigantic stature and strength, their towns well fortified by nature and art, their forces and interest united by the strongest ties and alliances; they had all long ago taken the alarm, and had made the greatest preparations against him, resolving either to obstruct his conquest, or lose their lives in the defence of their country (2).

(1) *Goodw. ubi sup.*(2) *Josh. ix. 1, 2, & seqq. x. & seqq. pass.*

Two spies sent to Jericho; As soon, therefore, as he had received his order to prepare for the glorious conquest, his first care was, to make choice of two proper persons to go privily to the land of *Jericho*, and examine what condition their cities and people were in. These soon set out for the perilous expedition; and, having happily crossed the *Jordan*, went and lodged at an innkeeper's house (X) named *Rahab*; where they had not been long, before a strict search was made after them, by order of the alarmed king of *Jericho*. Their fear, however, was soon dispelled by their hospitable hostess, who sent away the searchers, by telling them out of her window, that two strangers had indeed refreshed themselves at her house, but that they were gone since towards sunset, and might be easily taken, if closely pur-

Concealed by Rahab.

(X) We have ventured to give *Rahab* a more favourable appellative than most versions have done, who make no scruple to call her an harlot, tho' it is plain, that the word *zonab* doth properly signify an innkeeper, or one who selleth victuals and drink; for it is derived from the root *זן* *zon*, which signifies to give food, and is the feminine participle active of that verb. And in this we have followed the *Chaldee* paraphrase, which renders it *innkeeper* (68); in which he is also followed by some of the most learned *Jews*, who paraphrase the word here by *מוכרת* (*mokereth mazon*, a feller of victuals (69); and *Kimchi* allows, that it may be rendered either way (70): to which we may add, that the *Septuagint*, and, after them, *St. James*, have made use of the *Greek* word *πόρνη*, which is capable of both significations, namely, of a victualler or an harlot, as

Junius has fully proved (71). And indeed, as the word in its primitive sense properly signifies the former, it is not unlikely, that the freedoms which those kind of women were used to allow to their customers, might give birth to the latter signification; so that, from an hostess, or victualler, it came in time to signify an harlot. But as it doth not appear by the text, that she followed both these trades, but rather the contrary, the faith which she expressed in God, and her behaviour to his two servants, might well deserve to have the most favourable construction put upon her profession. To which we may add, that it is not likely, that *Salmon* would, or indeed could, afterwards have lawfully married her, if she had been such a public woman; he who was a prince of the house of *Judah*, and one of the *MESSIAH's* ancestors.

(68) Vide *ערוך שולחן* seu *lexic. R. Natban. Fona, Levi, Ben Gersb. vid. S. Munst. in loc. Jun. in epist. Jacob. ii. 25.*

(69) *RR. Salom. (70) In rad. (71) Vid.*

sued. Their backs were no sooner turned, than she went to the two spies, to whom she freely owned the panic dread that had seized not only that city, but all the land of *Canaan*, at the news of what the *GOD* of *Israel* had done in favour of their nation, both at the *Red Sea*, and against those kingdoms which they had so lately conquered. To this she added, that, being now fully persuaded, that he was the only true *GOD*, against whose decrees all opposition would be both vain and dangerous, she was now ready to save them from their imminent danger, upon condition they swore to save her and her family, when they became masters of the city. An offer so generous and unexpected, joined to so candid a confession, could not deserve a less reward; and the two spies, who, in the condition they were in, would have purchased their safety upon much harder terms, were not long before they gave *They* her all the desired assurance, that not only she and her family, but all that were found in her house at the taking of the city, should be exempted from the common ruin, *swear to save her and hers.* She kept them hid the remaining part of the time under some hempen stocks, and about midnight let them down by a rope out of one of her back windows, which was contiguous to the city-wall, after she had charged them to keep themselves concealed in some cliff of the neighbouring mountains for two or three days, till their pursuers were returned home. Before they took their leave, they agreed, that she should hang a scarlet line out of her window, which should be a signal to them, and a safeguard to her house. The risk they had run, put a stop to their further progress; and what they had learned at *Jericho*, made it as needless as dangerous: so that, having happily escaped all further discovery, they returned to their camp on the third day, and related to *Joshua* all that had happened to them.

THE consternation which, they told him, had over-*Return to* spread that whole land, was universally looked upon as a *the camp,* sure omen of their future success; and *Joshua* failed not *and make* to improve it, by assuring them, that it was *GOD* himself *their re-* who had struck their enemies with such a terror, and that *port.* they had now nothing to do but to fight valiantly under his banner and protection. He then reminded the two tribes and half of their former promise of assisting their brethren in the conquest of the land *P.* But as those tribes composed an army of an hundred thousand fighting men,

• *Josh. ii. per tot.*

• *Ibid. i. 12, & seqq.*

They pre-
pare to
march
towards
Jordan.
The order
of crossing
that ri-
ver;

Joshua contented himself with less than one half, and left the rest to defend their new possessions and families. After this, he caused it to be proclaimed through the camp, that they should pass over the *Jordan* within three days; during which time they should make provision for victuals, seeing the manna was to cease as soon as they had set foot on the other shore, as it actually did †; and then he gave the signal for marching from *Shittim* to the neighbouring shore of that river. As soon as they were encamped there, *Joshua* sent and communicated to every tribe the order that was to be observed in this solemn march. The priests, bearing the ark, were to begin the procession; and as soon as their feet, touching the water, had opened a miraculous way † to them, each tribe was to follow in the same order as they had observed in all their marches, keeping, however, the awful distance prescribed of two thousand cubits, from that sacred symbol of the Divine Presence *, whilst those that bore it were to continue in the middle of the river, till the whole host of *Israel* had got safe to the other shore.

To inspire the people with a still greater regard for this wonderful passage, they were commanded to sanctify themselves, as had been formerly done upon such solemn occasions; and *Joshua* charged every tribe to send a man to him, to be ready to execute such orders as he should give them on the morrow; which was no sooner come, than the priests began their march towards the river, and the people made themselves ready to follow them in two columns, one above, and the other below the ark (B). As soon, therefore, as the priests that bare the ark had touched the extremity of it with their feet, *GOD*, who had promised to signalize their new general here, in as miraculous a manner, as he had done their old one at the *Red Sea*, caused the waters of the river from above to go back, and to rise up in heaps far beyond the city of *Adam*,

which di-
vides it-
self to open
a dry pas-
sage.

† *Josh.* v. 12. † *Ibid.* iii. 13. * *Ibid.* ver. 4.

(B) This march happened over (1), about which time on a *Friday*, on the tenth day the water of *Jordan*, being of the first month *Nisan*, which usually swelled by the melting answers to our thirtieth of the snows of *Lebanon*, and *April*, and was the day on other neighbouring mountains, which the lamb was to be seldom or never failed to over- chosen and set by for the pass- flow its banks.

(1) *Usher's ann. ant. C. 1452.*

which

which is beside that of *Zaretan*, whilst those below, continuing their course towards the *sea of the plain*, otherwise called the *Salt or Dead-Sea*, opened a passage of about sixteen or eighteen miles in breadth to the *Israelites*, till they were all got safe to the other side.

DURING all the time of their crossing, the priests continued with the ark in the midst of the *Jordan*, and waited only for *Joshua's* orders when to come out, and join the rest of the camp. But *Joshua*, who designed to perpetuate the memory of this wonderful transaction, commanded them to stand still, till he had made those ^{Two monuments of} twelve men, whom he had directed to wait about him, ^{it reared} take twelve large stones, one for each tribe, and lay them on one heap in the place where the ark stood, so that they might be seen afterwards from each shore, when the waters of the river were abated; and at the same time he made them take up twelve other stones from the bottom of the river, and to erect a monument with them on the shore; which was no sooner done than the priests had orders to march with the ark, and leave the waters to resume their usual course. *Joshua*, who by this time was in as high esteem with the people as *Moses* had been before, failed not to charge them to transmit to their posterity the occasion and meaning of these two monuments; both which, if we may believe *Eusebius* and others, were still to be seen many centuries after^u. From this place *Joshua* commanded the vanguard, which consisted of the forty thousand men of the tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and half *Manasseh*, to march towards the plains of *Fericho*^w; and these were soon followed by the rest of the army, and encamped at *Gilgal*, about seven or eight miles from *Jordan*, and about three or four from *Fericho*.

IN the mean time the feast of the passover drew nigh, unto which no uncircumcised person was to be admitted, under the severest penalties; and yet that ceremony had been intermitted during their forty years wandering, as has been lately hinted: it was therefore necessary, before *Circum-* all things, that it should be renewed out of hand: where- *cision re-* fore *Joshua* was commanded to have it immediately per- *newed.* formed (C); and God, highly pleased with their obedience,

^t Josh. iii. & iv. per tot. ^u EUSEB. loc. Hebr. sub Bounos & Gilgal. ANSELM. ALBERT, JOB. MOSCH. vit. patr. & al. ap. Calm. hist. V. T. lib. iii. cap. 1. ^w Josh. iv. 12, 13.

(C) The circumstance of for such an operation; and time was altogether favourable their miraculous passage over the

dience, told them, that he had now *removed, or rolled away from them, the reproach of Egypt*; that is, that he did no longer look upon them as *uncircumcised Egyptians*, but as his own people; in memory of which, the place was called *Gilgal, or rolling*.

The pass-
over cele-
brated.

God ap-
pears to
Joshua.

THIS was the third time of their celebrating that festival; the first was at their departure out of *Egypt*, and the second on the next year, at the setting up of the tabernacle at the foot of mount *Sinai*, since which time, whether for want of corn to make unleavened bread, or for any other reason, it had been wholly intermitted till now; when, the text tells us, the *Israelites* having provided themselves with corn, both old and new, they baked themselves unleavened cakes with the former, and parched the latter in the sheaves, and eat it instead of bread, this last being equally suitable to the feast, as being eaten without leaven. In this place it was also that *GOD*, or, as some will have it ^x, his angel, appeared to *Joshua* in the plain, in the shape of a warrior, standing at some distance from him with a drawn sword. *Joshua* knew him not, and was probably gone thus far alone to reconnoitre the city, and contrive the properest means of besieging it. Being therefore surprised to see a man stand so near him in that hostile posture, he asked him, Whether he was for or against *Israel*? and, upon his answering, that he was the captain of the *LORD's* host, *Joshua* fell down at his feet, and worshiped him, and in the humblest terms expressed his readiness to receive his command ^y; and it was there that the *LORD* was pleased to direct the wonderful manner in which he would have *Jericho* besieged, that the rest of the *Canaanites* might be made sensible, that it was not an arm of flesh that fought against them.

^x GROT, LE CLERC, & al. vid. supr. p. 261. note (T) & alib. ^y Josh. v. per tot.

the *Jordan* had spread such an universal dread among their enemies, that they had now no cause to apprehend being surpris'd by them, as the *Shechemites* had been by *Simron* and *Levi*. Besides, it was *GOD* that commanded, to whom they had all the reason in the world to commit their safety; so that his orders were cheerfully and punctually obeyed.

The sharp stones, which they made use of, being more proper for the ceremony, than knives or rasors made of metal, as being less apt to cause inflammations, were a means of their being sooner healed, and consequently in a condition to celebrate the passover at the appointed time, as was accordingly done.

WE have already given some account of the siege and taking of this place in the history of *Canaan* †. All that needs be added to it here is, that the city, into which great numbers out of the neighbouring villages had retired, some to help to defend it, and others to save themselves, had been closely shut up by order of the king, who commanded in it in person, no man being suffered to go in or out; and that on the seventh day, which was the sabbath, the circumvection of the ark was repeated seven times, with the usual solemnity; the priests sounding with the rams-horns (D), and the same guard of armed men marching

† Sup. vol. ii. p. 203.

(D) The original is שפרות הויבלים, *shopheroth-hajoblim*, which all the *Jews* in general (83), and, after them, very many *Christians*, understand, as we do, of trumpets made of rams-horns*; though the difficulty of boring them, and making them fit for the ends designed, hath appeared so great, that some commentators have fancied them to have been made of copper, and only in the shape of rams-horns; which notion hath been sufficiently confuted by our learned *Spencer* †, and others: and we may add, that those now in use among the *Jews*, on some grand festivals, are made in joints of a considerable length, and give a loud and shrill sound, little inferior to our trumpets.

Josephus, who is very particular in describing those silver ones which *Moses* made (86), says little or nothing of

these here, but calls them plainly horns (87); only when he comes afterwards to speak of those which *Gideon* and his men made use of (88), he calls them rams-horns (89). However, let them have been made how, and of what they would, it is plain, from this instance of *Gideon*, and some others, both before and after him, that, besides those trumpets, which were appropriated to the priests, to sound before the ark, to proclaim feasts, jubilees, and the like, whose number was increased to seven in *Joshua's* (90), and to sixscore in *Solomon's* time (91): (*Josephus* says (92) two hundred thousand; and adds, *that it was according to Moses's command*, though upon what authority is hard to guess); besides these, we say, 'tis plain there were others for the war, which each general caused to sound upon all exigencies. Thus

(83) *Ita rabbin. fer. omn. vid. Munst. in loc.* * *Spenc. & Meyer. de tem. sacr. c. 14. §. 11. Goodw. Mos. & Aar. lib. iii. c. 10. §. 2. & al. mult.*
 † *Id. ibid. vid. & R. Selomo Ben Melech in Levit. xxv. 10.* (86) *Ant. lib. iii. c. 12.*
 (87) *Ibid. l. v. c. 1.* (88) *Judg. vii. 8. & seqq.*
 (89) *Jos. ant. l. v. c. 3.* (90) *Josh. vi. 4.* (91) *2 Chron. v. 12.*
 (92) *Ant. l. viii. c. 2.*

The man-
ner of tak-
ing Jeri-
cho.

Rahab
and her
family
saved.
Year of
the flood
897.
Bef. Chr.
1451.

marching before and after it, as had been done during the first six days. As soon as the seventh round was ended, the sound of the trumpets was accompanied with an universal shout of all the besiegers; and this was followed by the fall of the city wall, which opened a way into it, at which every man mounted the breach that was next before him. Their first care was to convey *Rahab*, and all her family, out of the city; and these were no sooner got safely out, but the *Israelites* killed all the men, women, children, and cattle, that were found in it; after which, having seized upon all the gold, silver, brassy, and other baser metals, to be repositied in the treasury, they set the place on fire, and levelled it to the ground. *Joshua* added a prophetic curse on the man that should afterwards attempt to rebuild it, importing, that he should lay the foundation of it in his first-born, and set up its gates in his youngest son ^z; by which the *Jews* understand, that all his children, from the biggest to the least, should die an untimely death before he had finished it ^a. However, we find it literally fulfilled above five hundred and fifty years after, by *Hiel* the *Bethelite*, who laid the foundations of it in his eldest son *Abiram*, and set up its gates in his youngest son *Segub*, accordingly ^b(C). Such was the fatal end of *Jericho*, which *Moses* chose to call by the name of the city of *Palm-trees* ^c, by reason of the great number of them that grew in the plain round about it. To which *Josephus* adds, that the tree from which flowed the best balm of *Gilead*, and other odoriferous trees, likewise grew in its neighbourhood ^d, from whose fragrancy it is supposed to have been named *Jericho*, which, in the original, signifies odour. As for *Rahab*, and her family,

^z Josh. vi. per tot. ^a Vide MUNST. in loc. ^b 1 Kings xvi. ver. ult. ^c Deut. xxxiv. 3. ^d Jew. wars, l. v. c. 4.

Ehud, after he had privately killed *Eglon* king of *Moab*, founded the trumpet, and gathered *Israel* on mount *Ephraim* (93). And the same was afterwards done by *Joab*, *Abshalom*, and many more (94).

(C) This, however, must not be literally understood, as

if there had been no city of that name from *Joshua* to *Hiel*, since we read of the city of *Palm-trees* in *Eglon*'s time (95), and of *Jericho*, in *David*'s days (96): concerning all which, we shall refer our readers to what has been said in a former volume *.

(93) *Judg.* iii. 27.
(95) *Judg.* iii. 13.
sub not.

(94) Vide 2 *Sam.* ii. 28. xv. 10, & alib.
(96) 2 *Sam.* x. 45. * See vol. ii. p. 472.

they had a place assigned them out of the *Israelitish* camp; and she was soon after incorporated into their commonwealth, by her embracing the *Jewish* religion, and her marriage to *Salmon*^e, head of the tribe of *Judah*, as was ^{She is} hinted before: whether the rest of her kindred followed ^{married to} her example or no, is neither certain, nor of great consequence.

IN the mean time *Joshua*, wisely considering the time which the making and dividing of future conquests would take, during which his numerous army must be supplied with provisions, chose to make that fruitful plain the centre of his camp, from whence he might constantly draw out a sufficient number of men to invade other territories, till they had so far enlarged their own, as to admit of a distribution between the tribes, which was not done till six years after †. As soon therefore as he had settled the best order he could in his camp, he detached a body of three thousand men against the king of *Ai*, whose capital was about ten or twelve miles distant from *Fericho*, where they received an unexpected repulse, with the loss of about thirty-six men. This defeat, howsoever, so damped the people's courage, that *Joshua* was forced to have recourse to GOD, who immediately answered by *urim*, as is supposed, that a sacrilege had been committed, and ordered him to discover the guilty person by lot, and (E) to punish him with immediate death.

Joshua

^e Matth. i. 5. Vid. USHER's ann. sub ann. ant. C. 1451.

† Vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 203, & seqq.

(E) How these lots were cast, is neither plain from Scripture, nor agreed about by commentators; though we have a great many instances of their being made use of, both to discover guilty persons, not only by the *Jews*, as in this, and the case of *Saul* (2), but by other nations, as we find by the history of *Jonah*; and for several other purposes, bad as well as good. As to the manner in which the ceremony itself was performed, except the calling of the tribes one after another, till it came to the right, and so down to the inferior branches of each family, till they came at last to single persons, as in the two cases above-mentioned, except this, we have nothing certain about it. *Josephus* (3) only says, that it was done before the high-priest, and seventy elders. To this other *Jews* add, that they were made to pass before the ark, and that the high-priest was directed by the *urim* to pitch upon the right tribe, family, &c (4).

(2) 2 Sam. xiv. 38, & seqq. *Munst*, in *Jsh*. vii.

(3) *Ant.* l. v. c. 1.

(4) *Vide*

How-

Achan's
crime pu-
nished.

Joshua lost no time, and, having cast lots from the tribes to the families, *Achan*, the son of *Carmi*, of the tribe of *Judah*, was found to be the guilty person, who, at the general's request, confessed that he had concealed some of the accursed plunder of *Jericho*. His crime was no sooner verified by the search that was made in his tent, than he, and all he had, were conveyed to the adjacent valley, which was from that time called the valley of *Achor*, or *trouble*, from the trouble which this crime had brought upon the people; and there the former were stoned to death, and the rest burnt; after which they reared up an heap of stones for a monument of his crime, and a deterrent to the rest ^f.

Canaan
conquered
in six
years.

THE army being thus purged, as *Josephus* words it, they had much better success, not only in their next expedition against *Ai*, but also against the whole land, the conquest of which was (though not perfectly) finished in six years. But as we have given an account of it in a former volume, to that we shall refer [†].

The sun
stands still
at Joshua's
prayer.

IN the mean time our readers will not, perhaps, think it amiss, if we venture to subjoin here some few, we hope, not improper, remarks upon those two miraculous transactions which happened at this time; namely, the stopping the course of the sun by *Joshua*, and the remarkable rain of hail-stones, which did such terrible execution upon the confederate army of the *Canaanites*, both which happened on the same day [§]; but, having been barely mentioned before, and having no connection with what is to follow, can no-where be more properly offered than in this place. We need not tell them how many, otherwise learned men, among the *Christians* [‡], have scrupled to fall in with the *Copernican* system, in this and many other countries free from the inquisition, upon a mistaken notion, that it is point-blank contrary to several express testimonies of holy writ, amongst which this of the sun

^f *Josh.* vii. per tot. [†] Vol. ii. p. 202, & seqq. [§] *Josh.* x. 12, & seqq.

However that be, the lawfulness of this way of casting lots cannot be denied, seeing it was not only countenanced, if not prescribed, by GOD, but afterwards practised even by the apostles (5), though the hea-

thenish superstition which since mixed itself with it, and the vile purposes to which it hath been put, hath made it exceeding dangerous, if not altogether criminal.

(5) *Acts* i. ver. ult.

and

and moon standing still is strenuously urged by them ; whilst others, from a contrary principle, have been induced to question its divine authority, because it favoured so absurd a one, as that of *Ptolemy* is now generally allowed and proved to be. It was, doubtless, this last error which gave occasion to that witty, tho' profane saying reported of that great philosopher, *Alphonso* king of *Naples*, that *if the system of the earth's standing still were true, the whole universe was but a bungling piece of mechanism* &c.

Now it is plain that these two extremes might have been easily avoided by two very obvious observations ; namely, first, that the expressions here made use of, *Sun, stand still upon Gibeon*, and so on, are figurative, and incapable of a literal sense (G) ; and secondly, that the system, which places the earth immoveable in the centre, and supposes the sun, moon, and stars, to turn round it,

§ BACON'S apothegms.

(G) The words literally run thus: *Sun, be thou silent in, or upon, Gibeon, and thou moon in the valley of Ajalon* ; and, in the next verse it is said, that they stood still accordingly. Now it is plain, that those two luminaries were neither in, upon, or even over these places in any other than a relative sense ; and that they had a different situation with respect to those that were one mile east or west of the place where *Joshua* stood. We may venture to add, that it was impertinent to make the moon stand still with the sun, upon any other supposition than that *Joshua* had the solar system in his thoughts when he used those expressions, because the presence of the moon was useless to him as long as he had that of the sun ; but if he only prayed, that their light might continue in *statu quo*, till he had accomplished his conquest, which is certainly all he meant, he could not but

know, that upon the earth's standing still, both the sun and moon, and all the rest, must seem to do so. It is plain our great philosopher *Sir Isaac Newton*, who was sufficiently master of the *Hebrew*, was not frightened by these or any such popular phrases from his favourite system, though no man paid a greater deference to the authority of the Scriptures than he did ; and that he thought it sufficient, that the effect was the same, whether the sun or the earth were supposed to be stopped in their career ; and as the first was altogether supernatural, it will sufficiently answer all cavils and difficulties raised against it, to say, that the supreme Author of nature, who first gave motion to matter, and whose will alone appointed the laws of it, can either suspend, or dispense with them, whenever his own glory, or any wise ends of his Providence, make it necessary or expedient.

was the most universally received, the most adapted to vulgar capacities, and the freest from seeming difficulties, because most agreeable to common appearances and observations; and that the gross *Israelites* were so used to it, that had *Moses*, *Joshua*, or any other inspired writer, known any thing of the solar one, yet it would have been improper, if not dangerous, to have so much as hinted at it. However, these considerations, though obvious and reasonable, have been so far from being universally admitted, that a great number of authors, both *Jews* and *Christians*, have ransacked their brains to find out more satisfactory solutions, though with so little circumspection and success, that they have rather multiplied than removed the difficulties which they endeavoured to avoid.

The system of some authors concerning it examined. AMONG the first, some have affirmed, that the motion of the luminaries was only abated in its velocity, as that of a coach is from a full gallop, to an even pace ^b, from an expression used there, that *the sun did not hasten to go down about a whole day*. But whether or no they thought it easier to retard, than wholly to suspend their motion,

Maimonides and Spinosa confuted.

sure it is, that neither of them could be done, but by a supernatural power: the same may be said of what some rabbies affirm, that God substituted some meteor, or body of light ⁱ, or that he retained the moon above the horizon, to supply the absence of the sun ^k: but all these are modest men, in comparison to the learned *Maimonides*, who makes all the miracle of this transaction to have consisted in a bare wish or prayer of *Joshua*, that the sun might not go down till he had gained a complete conquest; and in God's granting his request, not by stopping the sun's career during so many hours, as we understand it, but by enabling that general, and his army, to do as much execution in one, as would reasonably have taken up two days ^l. After this we need not wonder, if *Spinosa*, the last among the *Jews* we shall mention, has still improved upon him, and quite removed the difficulty, by denying the miracle, and attributing the extraordinary length of that day to the bare refraction of the sun's rays by the sky, which was then more than ordinarily charged with hail, but which the people mistook for the sun's standing still. According to him, *Isaiab* was no better a philosopher than *Joshua*, when he attributed the change that happened upon *Abaz's*

^b Chald. paraph. R. LEVI BEN GERSH. & al. Vide MUNST. in loc. & CALM. dissert.

ⁱ R. ELIAKIM, B. NAPHTAL. יוֹם אֶחָד. ^k Jos. & DAV. KIMCHI. Vid. אֶחָד, & epist. sup. mor. nevoch. MAIMONID.

^l More nevoch. part ii. c. 39.

dial to the retrogression of the sun, rather than to a refraction of it from some cloud ^m.

WE should hardly have thought any of these, especially the two last, worth answering, or even mentioning, had they not been too closely followed by some very learned *Christians*, protestants as well as Roman-catholics. We shall only take notice of three of the most eminent of them, namely, *Grotius*, *Peirerius*, and *Le Clerc*, whose sentiments, as well as what has been said to confute them, we shall now give in as few words as the subject will admit of.

As for *Grotius*, though he doth not think it impossible, *Grotius* that GOD should suspend the course of the sun, or make *confuted*. it appear upon our horizon after it is set; yet he is so far from granting, that it was really done, that he thinks its not being mentioned, among other things of less moment, in the epistle to the *Hebrews* ⁿ, to be a strong argument against it (H). And therefore what is said in *Joshua*,
that

^m Tract. theologico-politic. c. 2. ⁿ Heb. xi. ad fin.

(H) The misfortune is, that the argument will hold equally against several other miraculous transactions, which are likewise omitted by the apostle, though expressly mentioned in holy writ; such as the plagues of *Egypt*, all the wonders wrought by *Moses* in the wilderness, the miraculous passage over *Jordan*, and many more of the like nature. He doth not so much as speak a word of the conquest of *Canaan*, or mention *Joshua* among his worthies, though his character be so vastly superior to that of *Gideon*, *Jephthah*, and others that are mentioned in that place.

Under this head we may rank another objection, namely, the silence of all the antient historians, which, it is urged, could never have been so universal, had such a memo-

orable transaction ever happened. But it ought to be remembered, that this fact is vastly previous to any profane writer, either extant or quoted, so that it was easy for the remembrance or monuments of it, if there were any, to be lost among a vast multitude of others, during the long and dark interval between it and the most antient authors. However, if light may be allowed to be fetched out of darkness, whence could the notion come into the poets heads, of their demigods and heroes having the power of lengthening days and nights, as best served their warlike or amorous designs, but most likely from this wonderful event? How came *Jupiter*, for instance, to be affirmed to have spun out the night, which he spent with *Alcmena*, to twice its natural length? or *Minerva*

that GOD hearkened to the voice of a man, he thinks with *Maimonides* to mean no more, than that GOD, at his request, granted him as much time and dispatch as was necessary to gain a complete victory °.

Peirerius
confuted.

PEIRERIUS, an author of extraordinary skill in accounting for all scripture miracles in a natural way, supposes ^p, contrary to all reason, as well as the plain meaning of the text, that *Joshua* only wished for a longer day, about the time of the sun's setting; upon which the land of *Palestine*, or perhaps the territories only about *Gibeon*, were enlightened by a kind of twilight, or something like our *aurora borealis*, which, continuing long enough to answer *Joshua's* purpose, was mistaken by him for the sun, tho' it was actually set as usual; and made him, and his army, fancy that day to have been longer than any other by all that interval. But here the question is, not how far these *parelia*, or mock-suns, can supply the absence of the real one, but whether the historian's account can be capable of such a forced interpretation. The text says expressly, that the sun stood still in the mid-heaven (I) at *Joshua's*

° Comm. in Josh. x. 14.

^p Præadamit. lib. iv. c. 6.

to have done the same in favour of *Ulysses*, whilst he was butchering his competitors, and making himself known to his wife (11) ? and many others of the like nature (12): but though we could bring nothing out of profane history to confirm this fact, yet would this be no fair argument against the truth of it, or the veracity of the writer, abstracting even from his divine authority, if we judge of him with the same candor, as we do of any other historian.

(I) The words are *בְּרַצְיָהּ* *בְּשָׁמַיִם*, in the midst of heaven, or, in the mid-heaven; which is always understood both by astronomers, and by

the vulgar, to signify the place where the sun is at noon; and that he halted not *לִבְרוֹךְ* to go down, or literally to decline towards his setting, during one whole day (13). What follows in the next verse, that no day was ever like it, either before or since, plainly confirms it. However, as these authors seem to rely little on the authority of the text, whatever they pretend to the contrary, it will not be amiss to try to confute them in their own way, by shewing, that their supposition of the sun's being then near setting, when stopped by *Joshua*, makes against their favourite hypothesis, and leaves him not time enough for all

(11) Vide Hom. Odyss. xxiii. ver. 242, 243.
Huet. demonstr. evan. Calm. dissert. & al.

(12) Vide Bacon. syren.
(13) Josh. x. 13.

Joshua's prayer, and that his more than usual continuance above the horizon, or rather in the same situation, made that a longer day than ever was known. Supposing then for once the whole army to have been so little acquainted with these kinds of lights, as to have fancied the sun still above the horizon, could they be so stupid as not to know his usual place at noon from that of his setting? But should we suppose even this, could they choose being undeceived, either by seeing him rise on the next morning at his usual time, or by the concurring testimony of

the work which he is recorded to have done on that day.

It is expressly said, that the army marched all that night from *Gilgal*, and came early in the morning to *Gibeon*, where *Joshua* engaged the enemy, put them to flight, and pursued them from the ascent of *Bethoron* to *Azekab* and *Makkedab*; and that, as they were going down the descent of *Bethoron*, the storm of hail fell upon them; after which he commanded the sun to stand still in *Gibeon*, and the moon in *Ajalon*. All this might be done easily enough before the sun was past the meridian; and the situation of those two last places shews, that it must have been about that time of the day. From the *Bethoron* here mentioned, or lower *Bethoron*, he pursued them to *Azekab* and *Makkedab*, which could not be less than twelve or fourteen miles, according to *St. Jerom*, who places the former at nine, and the latter at eight miles northward of *Eleutheropolis* (14). There he is told, that the five kings had hid themselves in a cave, and ordered the mouth of it to be stopped with an heap

of stones; and then continues his pursuit till part of the enemy is killed, and the rest fled into fenced cities; and then returns to *Makkedab*. Here again he causes the mouth of the cave to be opened, and the five kings to be hanged till sun-set, and then to be taken down, and buried again in the same cave. Can an army, which had marched all the night, and fought all the day, be supposed to have pursued their enemies so many miles, and slaughtered them all the way they went, then to have come back to *Makkedab*, and executed and buried the five kings with such solemnity, after sun-set, and by the help of a refracted light? And, if so, what sun was that which they saw setting when they took the kings down? How much less probable is it still, that they should have done all this before the real sun-setting! The reader may further convince himself, how much the situation of *Gibeon* and *Ajalon* is incompatible with the supposition we have been opposing, from the maps and geography we have given at the beginning of this chapter.

(14) *Vide epitaph. Paulæ, & loc. Hebr.*

other people, who had seen him rise and set as at other times? And if they were undeceived, is it likely, that they would have transmitted an account of it in such terms, as must of necessity betray either their want of common sense, or common honesty? Lastly, can our author, or any of his admirers, if they really believe this book to be divinely inspired, suppose that the Holy Ghost would have suffered the *Hebrew* general, not only to have continued under such a delusion, but even to have transmitted it to posterity with the divine stamp upon it?

Le Clerc
confuted.

THE last person we proposed to mention under this head, is the famous M. *Le Clerc*, who has not only embraced the sentiments of the two former, but has endeavoured to back them with new reasons. The two first are taken from *Joshua's* expression, *Sun, stand still upon Gibeon*, which can admit of none but a figurative sense; and from the literal one being contrary to the received solar system. We have already shewn above, that they prove nothing on either side of the question. But he goes farther, and says, thirdly, That providence is too sparing of miracles, to bestow so signal a one as the overturning the whole order of nature, upon a thing of so small a moment, as the defeat of the *Canaanitish* army in one day, rather than in two. To this it is added, that *Joshua's* prayer was too unreasonable for GOD to grant in the strict sense it is commonly understood in, since the next day might have done as well without lengthening this at the expence of so great a miracle (K): but is not this very presumptuous, and may not such a bold way of reasoning, against the plainest facts mentioned in Scripture, prove the source of endless errors and infidelity? Will it not equally hold against all the other miracles wrought from *Moses* to CHRIST himself? Why were so many done in *Egypt*, when *Pharaoh* might have been softened into compliance at a much easier rate? Why

(K) The *Jews* indeed tell us, that the reason of the lengthening of this day was because the next was the sabbath, which would have given the *Canaanites* an opportunity either of rallying or escaping, whilst *Joshua* and his army were at rest (14); but, be-

sides that they give no proof of it, it is plain from their own confession, that it was not always unlawful for them to do execution on the sabbath, since *Jericho* was so lately taken on that day, as we hinted before.

(14) *Rabbin. in Sedar Olam. Vid. Manf. in loc.*

must the *Red Sea* or the *Jordan* be miraculously divided, when the former might have been coasted, and the latter forded at more places than one? In a word, why did CHRIST and his disciples work such a great number of miracles, when one or two great ones, well known and attested, were sufficient to prove their divine mission? Well might *Job* say, *Vain man would be wise* 9. Fourthly, The same author supposes the account of this transaction to have been taken from the book of *Jasher*, or *The upright*, which, like other poetical works, especially those that are written in the eastern tongues, are too swollen and hyperbolic to admit of a literal sense, and cannot be rightly understood, unless they be reduced vastly below it. We shall not trouble ourselves with examining how unreasonable the supposition of such disparate and unnatural hyperboles is, and especially of their being afterwards closely followed by an inspired historian, whose style is every-where else rather in the other extreme: it will be sufficient to say, that all this is affirmed *gratis*, and without any foundation. For, who told *Grotius*, or our author, that the book of *Jasher* was a poetical piece, abounding with such hyperbolic flights? when no mention is made of it any-where but in this place, and in the second book of *Samuel* 1; and these would rather incline one to believe it to have been an history of *Hebrew* worthies, written and continued by several hands, and at different periods. But even this is upon the supposition, that they are the same book, which yet doth not appear (L).

WHAT

9 Ch. xi. 12.

1 Ch. i. 18.

(L) The *Jews* indeed think so; but then they understand by *Jasher*, or *Righteous*, *Moses* himself, and this book to be the *Pentateuch*, in which are contained several promises of the wonders that God was to work in favour of his people (15). But as this is owing to a superstitious unwillingness in them to own, that any inspired book could be lost, they are not followed by any *Christian*. However that be, *M. Le Clerc* has taken the pains to verify

the two places in question, by the transposition of some words, in order to make it appear at least probable, that the author of the book of *Joshua*, in quoting them out of that of *Jasher*, had only reduced them to historical prose by the contrary transposition. But here we beg leave to observe, that it is at least a very bold assumption to say, that a writer, who barely appeals to another for a the truth of a single instance, has taken the whole from him.

(15) *Vid. Munst. in loc.*

WHAT *Le Clerc* adds, that it is more probable, that *Joshua* should pray for a longer day, when he perceived the sun just going to leave him, than when he was at his height; though it carries a great appearance of reason, yet can it by no means conclude against a positive text, backed with other circumstances equally strong on the other side. *Joshua* might have his reasons for what he did, though they are not recorded, nor we able to guess at them. He was an old experienced general, eager for a complete victory, which alone could save his new allies from the impending ruin, and able, no doubt, to compute what time it would take to achieve it; so that his fear of losing any part of it might make him pray, that the day might be thus prolonged, till he had gained the whole. But, after all, where is the unreasonableness of supposing, that GOD, who designed to signalize this day's action, by one of the greatest miracles that ever was done, did himself inspire the *Hebrew* general with that wish or prayer, which otherwise, perhaps, would never have come into his head?

BUT here it is further objected, that the occasion was too inconsiderable to deserve such a signal miracle, since it was only the giving one inconsiderable nation an advantage over another, for which the next day might have done as well: but, since this would be to set limits to the divine wisdom and power, and our author seems not to have examined the case thoroughly; we beg leave to do it for him, and to shew it in a fairer light, by reminding the reader, that this battle was not fought offensively, but defensively on *Israel's* side, and in order to save a people, whom they had solemnly taken under their protection, from being utterly destroyed upon that very account. The *Gibeonites*, as a free people, had a right to take all proper measures for their safety; so that *Joshua*

The most that can be fairly concluded from such an appeal is, that the fact is equally affirmed by both, either in the same or equivalent terms; but such as an honest historian would never have used, who had had the least suspicion of their being so monstrously exaggerated by poetic rhapsody; and, that all that was meant by those expressions of the sun and moon standing still in the mid-heaven, and of that day being thereby so miraculously lengthened, was no more than that there remained so much light after their setting, occasioned by some unusual refraction, as made the whole army think those luminaries to be still above the horizon.

could

could not but look upon the confederacy formed against them as cruel and unjust; and, consequently, that it would have been base and dishonourable in him to have refused them the desired succour upon any pretence whatsoever (M).

SOME other objections urged against our side of the question, such as the intolerable heat to which *Joshua's* army must have been exposed, had the sun continued so long over their heads; the necessity there was of their stopping to refresh themselves with some sustenance; and lastly, that had *Joshua* wrought a miracle which so far exceeded those of *Moses*, he would have been greater than he; these, we say, would hardly be worth mentioning, were it not to shew to what strange shifts a favourite notion or system will drive men of the greatest learning. For, first, the excessive heat of a vertical sun might be allayed by interposing clouds, and refreshing winds: none certainly ought to be more ready to grant this supposition, than they who think, not that that day was longer, but that more execution was done in it than usual †. As to the next, we need not tell our readers, that nothing is more common in such exigencies as these,

† Ita MASIUS, GROTIUS. LE CLERC post MAIMON. ubi sup.

(M) To this we may add, that the honour of GOD himself was concerned in the preservation of his new-made profelytes, whose alliance with the *Israelites* had been ratified in his name, by the mouth of his high-priest. Upon these considerations *Joshua* loses no time, but marches all that night to their assistance, and on the next day GOD is pleased to reward his faithfulness and zeal by a miraculous victory, which not only saves the oppressed by the total defeat of the oppressors, but makes at once the whole land of *Canaan* sensible, that a mightier GOD was on *Israel's* side, than any that was worshiped there, by stopping the course of the sun and moon, the two grand deities of those

idolatrous nations. Had *Israel's* sword alone gained the conquest, it would have been imputed to their superior valour and strength; had there nothing more remarkable happened in it, than the rain of stones or large hail, it might have been thought owing to chance, or, at best, been only known in that neighbourhood; whereas the stopping of the two great luminaries in the height of their career, thus universally felt, could not but convince those unhappy people, that the gods which they trusted to were subject to that of *Israel*, as well as prove a most powerful deterrent to the latter from falling into the idolatries of the former.

than

than for the soldiers, who carry their provision in their knapfacks, to take a piece in their hands, and eat it as they march. The last thing objected, that such a miracle would make *Joshua* a greater man than *Moses*, contrary to some express texts of Scripture, is too jejune to deserve an answer. *Moses* and *Joshua* were both instruments in the hands of God, to whose glory alone the greatness of the miracle redounds, without adding any preference to the one over the other, since one miracle cannot be said to be greater than another, with respect to an Almighty power.

It is plain, then, that if we admit the divine authority, we cannot but look upon this transaction as altogether supernatural, and of the number of those many which God was pleased to work in favour of the *Israelites*: it will be, therefore, needless to dwell much longer upon our next inquiry, how far the storm of *hail-stones* that preceded it, was so or not?

The rain of stones that fell upon the Canaanites.

HOWEVER, though we have ventured to give it the name of *hail*, and the original be capable of that sense, yet it is plain to those that understand it, that the most natural one is, that it was a shower of real stones (M). The misfortune is, that men are apt to run themselves into greater difficulties than those they endeavour to avoid; and whilst they take such care to screen themselves from the suspicion of being over-credulous, especially in

(M) The text literally runs thus, *And the LORD caused great stones to fall, or to be cast upon them, and many more died by the אבני הברד abne habarad, the hail-stones, than by the sword*; and it is this last expression that made the *Septuagint*, and, after them, *Josephus* (17), and the author of *Ecclesiasticus* (18), to understand them of a real hail of more than ordinary bigness, in which there is nothing but what is agreeable enough to the genius of the tongue. But on the other hand it is certain, that

it is so far from being the obvious meaning of it, that the word *hail* seems rather to be used here to express the vast quantity, bigness, vehemence, and execution, of those stones which then fell; and the expression of flying and falling as thick as hail, is not only common to all the antient, but is likewise retained in most modern languages; for which reason, several learned men have understood it of a miraculous shower of real stones, as being the most easy and natural meaning of the text (19).

(17) *Ant. lib. v. c. 1.*

(18) *Ecclus. xlv. 6.*

(19) *H. Grotius, Masius, Bonfrer. Ger. Voss. Jun. Munst. & al. mult. Vid. Calm. dissert. on the subject.*

cases which carry the appearance of a miracle, they not only call in question the most pregnant testimonies of the like facts in profane history, both antient and modern, but likewise cast a distant reflection on the divine historians, and those inspired writers, who have mentioned the same facts after them, as if they had designedly made choice of such terms, as would make them appear more supernatural than they really were. For, if nothing had fallen on the *Canaanites* but a common shower of hail, in which there was nothing extraordinary but the size, why must they be suspected of having exaggerated it at that prodigious rate?

BUT here our two learned critics, *Grotius* and *Le Clerc*, *Le Clerc's* who used to go hand in hand before, have taken a separate tract: the former believes them to have been real stones, because he finds many parallel instances of it in profane history; and indeed it is no more than what has been fully proved by several eminent authors on that side of the question^r. *Le Clerc* has not scrupled to affirm, that it was nothing else but a large shower of hail; to call testimonies alleged out of history, mere forgeries, and the endeavours of some authors to account for it in a natural way, trifling, and not worth confuting. How easy he would have found the task, had he gone seriously about it, will be best known by an impartial view of the testimonies themselves, and of what has been urged to prove the possibility of the thing from natural causes.

As to the first, we hope our readers will think it sufficient for our purpose, to instance in two or three of the most pregnant and unquestionable facts recorded in antient history, and back them with some few of a more recent date, but too authentic to be so easily eluded; and if the latter are of such a nature, as to lead us to an easy discovery of their cause, we shall not be at a loss for a sufficient ground to admit the possibility, if not the reality of the former. It is no wonder, that they, who lived in the early ages of the world, did look upon a shower of great stones, as too miraculous to be credited without ocular demonstration. Such prodigies happen so seldom, that we find the *Romans*, above a thousand years after *Joshua's* time, very backward to believe the report of that which fell upon the mountain *Alba*, in the reign of *Tullus Hostilius*, successor to *Numa Pompilius*, till they had it confirmed by those whom they sent thither on purpose to examine it, *Instances of it out of history.*

^r G. J. Voss. in loc. CALM. dissert. on the subject, and others.

who

who brought them word, that the fact was not only true, but that those stones had fallen from the skies in the same manner as hail that is driven down by the wind ^s. They became in time more familiar, and less questioned, especially after that remarkable one which fell upon the same mountain, which the same author tells us ^t lasted two whole days. The same, or something like it, is likewise affirmed to have been seen at *Rome, Capua, Lavinium*, and so many other places in *Italy*, by so many authentic writers ^u, that we do not see how they can, with any modesty, be called in question (N). We might here also take notice of some other kinds of stony rains, mentioned by antient and modern authors, which are still more

^s T. Liv. lib. i. dec. i. ^t Id. lib. xxv. xxx. & xxxiv.
 Vid. CALM. ubi sup. ^u Vide & de bell. Afric. c. 47. AMAN.
 bell. civil. lib. iv. AUGUST. de civit. lib. iii. c. 32, & al.

(N) To these various instances, of which the authors quoted above have given us several other particulars, such as that those stones which fell in that prodigious manner were sometimes red-hot, and at other times cold, sometimes like hard clods of earth, and sometimes like sand or dust; we might add what is likewise recorded by others of equal credit, of stones that have been observed to be carried for some considerable time in the air, and thence fallen with great violence upon the earth. Such was that which is mentioned by *Plutarch* to have fallen in *Thrace* into the river *Argos* (20), which *Anaxagoras* fancied to have fallen from the sun (21), and which the author, from whom the former has it, tells us (22) was observed to fly about in the air like a luminous cloud, about the space of seventy-five days, during which time, several splinters did now-and-then break off and fly about like wandering stars before they fell down. The main stone itself was of such prodigious bigness, that *Pythagoras* could by no means think with *Aristotle* (23), that it had been broken off from some rock, and carried up into the air by some vehement wind; because, as he justly observes, it would have been impossible for it to have kept itself so long suspended there, as *Damachus* affirms it to have done. *Pliny*, who tells us, that it was still carefully preserved in his time, says, that it was *magnitudine vebis*, of the bigness of a cart, or waggon, of a dark burnt colour. Such was that likewise which is recorded to have fallen in *Alsace*, in the midst

(20) In vit. *Lysand.* (21) Vid. *Diog. in Anaxag. & not. Menog.*
 in *Laert.* (22) *Damachus ap. Plut. ubi sup.* (23) *Meteorolog.*
 lib. i. c. 7.

more natural, as being occasioned either by vehement *Some* hurricanes, earthquakes, or by subterranean fires. Of *caused by* the first sort were those which fell upon and routed the *hurricanes* *Persians*, when they went to plunder the temple of *Del-andearth-* *phi*^w, and are affirmed by other travellers to be very fre- *quakes.* *quent* in some parts of *America* †. Those that fell upon the *Gauls*, on the like attempt, are attributed to a vehement hurricane by *Pausanias*, but to an earthquake by *Justin*^x. The last sort is that, which is caused by vulcanoes and subterraneous fires; and these are so well known, that we shall mention but two remarkable instances of it, of a very late date; namely, that which preceded the surprizing emerfion of the isle of *Santorino* out of the *Archipelago*, in the year 1707, concerning which we have the following account: That a dreadful noise had been heard several days, like that of thunder, or of great guns, during which, volleys of ftones all on fire were feen to rife out of the fea, and to fly up quite out of fight like fo many rockets, and then fall into the fea again about five miles from the place whence they were thrown up. All this while the air was filled with a thick fuphureous fmoke, mixed with cinders, which with much difficulty difperfed, and fell in fuch abundance, that the neighbouring countries were covered with it, and with fmall ftones that fell upon it. The fame account we have of a new ifland of one of the *Azores*^y, and fomething like this *Montfaucon* tells us happened in *Italy*, near the village of *Tripergola*, after terrible fhocks and earthquakes, during which the air was darkened, and the

^w Vid. DIOD. SICUL. Bybl. lib. xi. † See COREAL and FEUILLEE'S voyages. ^x PAUS. lib. i. JUST. lib. xxiv. sub fin. ^y KERCHER, & al.

of a ftorm of hail, in *Novem-* *ber* 29, 1630 (24); which, our author (25) tells us, he has feen in the great church of *An-* *xiffem*, where it is ftill pre- ferved, and is like a large, dark flint-ftone, whofe furface has been fplintered by the fire, and weighs near three hundred pounds. Of the fame nature were thofe which count *Mar-* *cellin* relates to have fallen in *Thrace*, A. D. 1452, and fe- veral others. For if fuch pro- digious ftones could either be ingendred in the air, or carried up thither by the force of ve- hement winds, or of subterra- neous fires, the like may be more reafonably fupposed of thofe which fell upon the *Ca-* *naanites*, which had nothing fo extraordinary either in their fize, appearance, or effects.

(24) *Gefner. & Anf. de Boot. hift. lapid. & gem.*

(25) *Calm. ubi fup.*
ground

ground was covered with stones and dust, which kept pouring down from the sky during the space of two days, at the end of which a mountain was observed to have reared itself in the midst of the lake *Lucrino*; this happened, according to our author, in the year 1538^y.

Others ingendered in the air.

THE reader may find several other instances of the like, and perhaps of a more surprising nature, in some of the authors above-mentioned^z, which we forbear to dwell upon: all that we shall add at present, is a remark or two on the possibility of some sort of stones, different from those of hail, being ingendered in the air, according to the hint we have given in the last note. How common hail is formed in the clouds, is too well known to want any explanation: that dust, sand, earth, and other such materials, may be carried up a considerable height into the air by a strong whirlwind, is no more than what is commonly observed. Here then we need but suppose, that these, mingling themselves with other exhalations, whether sulphureous, bituminous, oily, vitrioline, and with the moisture of the clouds, are there conglomerated and hardened by their own weight, by the pressure of the air and clouds, and thence fall down when they can be no longer supported (O). There is nothing in

^y Vid. MONTFAUCON's diar. Ital. ^z G. VOSS. CALM. ubi sup. GASSEND. in lib. X. DIOG. LAERT. de meteor. Epicur.

(O) Of this nature seem to have been those, which, an author of credit (26) tells us, fell in the neighbourhood of *Abdua*, to the number of twelve hundred, which he says were of the colour of rusty iron, smooth and hard, and of a sulphureous smell, not unlike, in all these respects, to those which are commonly called thunder-stones, or bolts. These, he adds, were observed to fall from a vehement whirlwind, which appeared like an atmosphere of fire; and were so large and heavy, that one of

them weighed sixscore, and another sixty pounds.

To all this we may add, that these rains of stones were so far from being questioned either by the *Greeks* or *Romans*, that they were looked upon both by them, and by other less polite nations, as ominous; who therefore never failed of consulting the oracles, or endeavouring to avert the impending omen by sacrifices, and other religious rites, which are reported to have lasted nine days (27); insomuch that these kinds of heathenish expiations

(26) Cardan. de variet. lib. xiv. c. 72. diar. l. v. c. 27. ap. Calm. ubi sup.

(27) Alex. ab Alex. genial.

in all this but what is natural, and might, for aught appears to the contrary, have been the cause of that which is mentioned in *Joshua*. We see therefore no reason for having recourse to allegory for fear of admitting the fact to be miraculous, as *Le Clerc* has; nor to the assistance of good or bad spirits to prove the possibility of the supposed miracle, as others have done^a; since, if any thing was supernatural in it, it was only the directing of that storm to fall just at that time and place upon the flying *Canaanites*. The reader is at his liberty to attribute the phenomenon to which of these systems he pleases, though the season of the year, the nature of the soil, and many other circumstances, rather incline us to ascribe it to the last.

WE return now to *Joshua*, whom Providence had by this time so far signalized, not only by the two miracles last-mentioned, but likewise by the miraculous crossing of the *Jordan*, and the siege of *Jericho*, that he became respected by the whole *Jewish* nation, who fought under him, and so dreaded by all the *Canaanites*, that a great part of the latter abandoned their country, and fled, some into *Asia*, others into *Afric*, to avoid the victorious arms of the former (A); all which greatly facilitated the

^a MASIUS, BONFRERIUS, & al,

have induced some Christians to believe, that the devil was the author both of those prodigious rains, and of the superstitious rites that were used to avert them (28), in order to confirm mankind in their idolatry.

(A) This is what the learned *Bochart* hath taken great pains to prove (1), tho' a latter author seems not altogether so well satisfied with his arguments (2). We have not room to enter into the merit of the controversy; but if there be any truth in the inscription, which *Procopius*, who lived in the reign of the emperor *Ju-*

stinian, tells us was engraved on some pillars near the place where *Tangier* now stands, importing, that those who set them up were the fugitives from the face of that great robber *Joshua*, the son of *Nun*, be of any weight, there will be no doubt made, that great multitudes fled from the conquering sword of the *Hebrew* general, tho' not perhaps in such large numbers, or into so many countries, as the former hath supposed. And where is the improbability or wonder, that they should flee from certain ruin, who were seated so near the *Philistines*

(28) *Vid. Masl. in Josh. x. Phœnic.*

(1) *Præfat. in lib. de colon. & sermon.*

(2) *Spuckford. connect. vol. iii. p. 489, & seqq.*

The land divided. the conquest of the country, which, as was lately hinted, was, in some measure, completed in less than seven years,

and divided between the tribes by lot, in the manner we have shewn in the geography of *Palestine* †. *Caleb*, the son of *Jephunneh*, was immediately put in possession of the mountainous parts of *Judah*, and of *Hebron*, which had been assigned to him by GOD^a; after which the tribe of *Judah*, of which he was chief, that of *Ephraim*, and the other half-tribe of *Manasseh*, had likewise their lots assigned to them. *Joshua* then sent proper persons to survey the land, and to bring him an account of it, whilst he and the rest of the tribes were assembled at *Shiloh*; and he divided to each their portion, according to their respective lots^b; which being done, *Joshua* had the territory of *Timnath-serah*, in the mountains of *Ephraim*, allotted for his inheritance by the whole people; and there he built the city of that name, and made it his chief residence during the remainder of his life^c.

Cities of refuge. His next care was to appoint three cities of refuge on this side *Jordan*, according to GOD's command; and those likewise, which were to be allotted to the priests and *Levites*, in number forty-six, which we have already spoken of elsewhere*. As for the altar, which GOD commanded likewise to be set up on mount *Ebal*, together with blessings and curses on that and mount *Gerizzim*, together with an epitome of the *Mosaic* law^d; all this had been done soon after the taking of the cities of *Jericho* and *Ai*, and before the famed victory over the united

† See vol. ii. p. 455, & seqq.

^a Josh. xiv. 6, & seqq.

^b Ibid. xviii. xix. pass.

^c Ibid. ver. 50, & seqq.

* See

before, p. 92, & seqq.

^d Deut. xxvii. 4, & seqq.

not yet subdued, and from thence might easily embark themselves in search of more peaceable habitations? However, it appears upon the whole, that there remained a sufficient number of them behind, to make the strongest and boldest opposition against the *Israelites*, not only during *Joshua's* life, but much more during all the time of the judges; which was no more

than what had been foretold by *Moses* and *Joshua*, that they should be left to be as thorns in their sides, and scourges on their back, as often as they rebelled against GOD. According to which prediction we shall see them in the next section as often groaning under the severest thraldoms, as their frequent apostasies drew these judgments upon them.

Canaanites

Canaanites, lately spoken of ^c; soon after which he made Year of that hasty treaty with the *Gibeonites*, by which they saved the flood 901. themselves from the common destruction, and of which we have spoken in a former volume ^d. He had now Bef. Chr. nothing left to do, but to dismiss the two tribes and half, 1447. which had been seated on the other side the *Jordan*, and were come to assist their brethren in the conquest of *Canaan*, and were now begging leave to return to their families ^e. *Joshua* readily complied with their request, and caused them to be honourably dismissed by the heads of the tribes; but in their return homewards, before they landed on the other side the *Jordan*, they resolved to erect an altar of a prodigious size upon the border of that river, in order to perpetuate the memory of the relation they bore to the other tribes, and of the wonders which GOD had wrought in their favour. *An altar reared up by the two tribes.*

THIS laudable action was so far mistaken; however, both by *Joshua* and the rest of the people, that they took great umbrage at it, insomuch that he assembled the heads at *Shiloh*, where it was resolved to enter into a bloody war against them, in case they did not disculpate themselves from the crime of rebellion and apostasy, which this new altar had given cause to suspect them guilty of. He accordingly deputed ten of the chiefs, with *Phinehas* the high-priest's son at their head, to come and inquire into the reason of their erecting it; seeing they could not be ignorant how expressly they had been forbid by GOD to offer up any sacrifices any-where, but at the place which he himself should appoint; and to declare to them, that in case they had formed any such schismatical design, the other nine were resolved to oppose it with all their might. *A deputation sent to them by Joshua.*

PHINEHAS failed not to deliver his message in the strongest terms, and to remind them of the danger which the bringing of any new worship would expose them to; but was agreeably surpris'd to hear them take GOD to witness, that they had not built that sumptuous altar with a view of offering any sacrifices upon it, but, on the contrary, to prevent their posterity being debarred by their brethren, in process of time, the privilege of coming and offering them at the place which GOD should appoint, under pretence that Providence had separated them from the commonwealth of *Israel*, by setting the river *Jordan*

See *Josh.* viii. 30, & seqq.^d *Ibid.* ix. 3, & seqq.See vol. ii. p. 204. ^e *Josh.* xiii. pass.

Year of
the flood
922.
Bet. Chr.
1426.

as a barrier between them. Their answer was couched in such submissive terms, and accompanied with such plain tokens of sincerity, as gave to the deputies, and soon after to *Joshua* and all the *Israelites*, all the satisfaction they could wish ^f. After this, *Joshua* governed the *Israelitish* commonwealth peaceably during the space of seventeen years; when, finding himself drawing to his end, he caused all the heads of the tribes to assemble at *Shechem* (B); and having reminded them, in a very pathetic speech, of all the wonders which GOD had wrought in their favour, and, how much it was their interest, as well as duty, to continue stedfast in their obedience to him, exhorted them to renew their covenant, which they readily did, and confirmed it with an oath, which he caused to be registred, and a new monument to be erected in memory of it, near the great oak that is in *Shechem*: he expired soon after, in the 110th year of his age ^g, and was buried in the border of his inheritance in *Tinnath-serah*, in the tribe of *Ephraim*, on the north side the hill of *Gaash* ^h (C).
His

^f Josh. xxii. pass. ^g Ibid. c. ult. ver. 29. ^h Ibid. 30. See also xix. 50. & Judg. ii. 9.

(B) Some manuscripts say, at *Shiloh*, where the ark was, and where the heads of the tribes are said to have presented themselves before the LORD, that is, at the court of the tabernacle, for there the ark was, and not at *Shechem* (3); from which some have imagined, that *Joshua* had caused it to be brought thither, but without any foundation. However, *Shiloh* and *Shechem* were about 10 or 12 miles asunder (4), and *Joshua's* habitation was about half-way between them; and, as the text says, that he gathered all the tribes, as well as their heads, judges, and magistrates, it is very likely the former, who must be sup-

posed to have composed a large camp, were gathered at *Shechem*, where was a spacious plain large enough to contain them (5), whilst the heads of the tribes went with their general to *Shiloh*, to ratify their covenant with GOD, in the most solemn manner, before the door of the tabernacle; after which they returned to *Shechem*, and in the presence of the whole host, erected the pillar or monument there mentioned, in memory of this solemn transaction.

(C) This great general, whose original name of *Oseab* was changed as is supposed by *Moses*, into that of *Joshua*, signifying a saviour, such as

(3) *Josh.* xviii. 1. (4) See vol. ii. p. 464, sub not. (5) *Comp.* *Gen.* xxxiii. 19. & *Judg.* xix. & seqq.

C. VII. *from their Egyptian Bondage, &c.*

His death was soon followed by that of *Eleazar* the high-priest, who was succeeded by his son *Phinehas* : by degrees the

he approved himself in the sequel, is, by the generality of the learned, supposed to have been the author of the book called by his name ; and it is plain by the word *we*, used by the historian in speaking of the miraculous passage over *Jordan* (6), that he was one of those that passed it ; and the book itself concludes with affirming, that *Joshua* wrote all these transactions in the book of the law of God (7), or as an appendix to those which *Moses* had written before. His great character, drawn by *Jesus* the son of *Sirach*, mentions his succeeding that law-giver in his prophetic spirit (8), &c. and both *Jews* and the generality of *Christians* have acknowledged it as his, and as a canonical book. Nevertheless there are here-and-there some expressions which have been objected by some critics and commentators against that opinion, but which may be easily accounted for, by supposing, as we have elsewhere hinted, that this, as well as some other books, had received some additions and illustrations from some subsequent inspired writers. Thus the last chapter of *Deuteronomy*, which gives an account of *Moses's* death, might be written by *Joshua*, and that of his own death by *Samuel*, and so on of the rest ; and it is commonly own-

ed by *Jews* and *Christians*, that *Ezra*, when he collected the sacred canon, made some farther additions to it, as he was likewise an inspired writer (9).

The time in which this book appears to have been written, viz. before *Rahab's* death, seems to confirm the opinion of *Joshua* being the author of it ; for it mentions his *saving her and her family, and her continuing among the Israelites unto this day* (10). And here it is to be observed, that the verb *וַתֵּשֶׁב* *vatesheb*, being singular and feminine, cannot relate to her family, but to her ; and, 2. that as he says no more of her than that, it must have been written before she was married to *Salmon*, who was head of the tribe of *Judab* ; else it is not likely, that he would have omitted that circumstance. To this we may add, that *Joshua* was the only inspired writer of that age that we read of ; and, when he had once finished the division of the land between the tribes, it was natural for him to spend the interval between that and his death, in continuing an account of all the glorious transactions he had been an eye-witness of, and had had so great a share in, beginning where *Moses* left off, and ending at this solemn assembly, and filling up his narrative with a general ac-

(6) *Ch. v. 1.*
1, & seqq.

(7) *Ibid. c. ult. ver. 26.*

(9) *Prideaux. connect. part i. book v.*

(8) *Ecclus. c. xlvii.*

(10) *Josh. vi. 25.*

the rest of the seventy elders, who had outlived *Joshua*, died also; and with them, one would think, not only all the remembrance of *Joshua*, and of their late covenant so solemnly ratified by all the tribes, but likewise all sense of religion, fear of God, or regard of his laws, had died; infomuch that *Joshua* had been scarcely dead twenty years, before we find them sunk into the greatest anarchy and idolatry, as we shall see in the next section.

count of the settlement of each tribe under his care, that recourse might be had to it as to an undisputable record in all future contentions about their respective inheritances (11).

The *Samaritans* have a book of *Joshua* containing 47 chapters, some of them filled with jejune and fabulous stories, and on that they found their pretences against the *Jews*. This book was never printed that we know of; only one manuscript of it was presented to the library of *Leyden*, by *Joseph Scaliger*, which is written in the *Arabic* tongue, but in *Samaritan* characters (12). The *Jews* acknowledge no other book of *Joshua* but that we have in our

Bibles; but attribute to him the composing of a certain prayer, which they commonly repeat, at least in part, at the going out of their synagogues, and is to this purpose, that it belongs to them to praise the great Creator of heaven and earth, who hath granted them an inheritance inestimably richer, &c. than to the rest of the nations of the earth (13). The *Mohammedans* have stuffed his life with many more transactions than we have recorded; but most of them so fabulous and puerile, as to deserve no farther mention: the reader may see them in the author under quoted (14).

(11) See *Shuckford*, *ubi sup.* p. 498, & seqq.

(12) *Fabric. apocryph.*

V. T. p. 876, & seqq.

(13) *Vagens. tela ignea*, p. 223, & seqq.

(14) *D'Herbelot. bibl. orient.* sub voc. *Josckowa*.

The END of the THIRD VOLUME.

An APPENDIX:

Concerning the Rise and Progress of Idolatry, Witchcraft, and other Superstitions introduced among the Jews.

AS we have hitherto seen the miserable effects of those three epidemic evils, which had so long and universally infected the world, and more particularly with respect to the *Israelites*, on whom it brought all those heavy punishments and thraldoms, which we have spoken of in the last section, we hope our readers will not think it foreign to the design of a work like this, if we close this volume with a short inquiry into the origin and progress of them, especially since we shall find them, in the next, to have been so obstinately rooted into that blind and ungrateful nation; as to have proved the main, if not sole, cause of the total extinction of one of their monarchies, and of a severe seventy years captivity to the other.

WITH respect to idolatry; those who believed, that mankind sprang up out of the earth like mushrooms, affirmed, that *fear made the first gods* ^a; others have thought, that the beauty of the sun, moon and stars, their brightness and usefulness, &c. induced men, at first, to worship them, as having some divine power, and afterwards to erect and consecrate statues, altars, and temples to them, to supply their absence, when they were got below our hemisphere. The *Jews*, particularly the author of the book of *Wisdom*, reduce the rise of idolatry to these three causes ^b; viz. 1. The extreme fondness of a father that hath lost a dear child, and who, to comfort himself for his loss, hath his picture drawn or carved, and causes some kind of homage or worship to be paid to it; 2. The beauty and excellence of the pictures or carvings; and, 3. The skill of the carver in stone, &c. to which another learned *Jew* hath added some others ^c; which we shall pass by, as not coming to our present purpose: for if we would find the true spring-head of idolatry, we must seek it in the depravity of human nature, its ignorance, pride, vanity,

^a Vid. LUCRET. l. v.
MON. tract. Abodah Zarah.
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^b Ch. xiii. xiv. xv.

^c MAI-

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unruly passions, our weak and imperfect notions of the Godhead, our mistaken ones of his Providence, an extravagant self-love, wrong notion of happiness, fear of evil, an inordinate itch of prying into futurity, too violent a passion or regard for an husband, wife, child, or friend; and many others, which are obvious to every thinking person: all which being so predominant in man from the fall, hath made many of the fathers and *Jewish* doctors imagine, that idolatry was as rife before the flood, as we find it to have been since; though the generality of them rather think, that it did not begin till some ages after that dreadful epoch, and that *Ham*, or his son, were the first inventors of it^d; of which we shall say something more by-and-by.

WE do not design, however, to run through a long descant about the manifold opinions of the learned about this matter; because we think, that they have gone a great way for the causes of it, and overlooked those more natural ones, which were just at their elbow. But here, with respect to the first of these evils, we would be far from rejecting that probable opinion of some judicious men^e, which fetches its origin from the promise made to *Adam*, of the seed of the woman, or the MESSIAH and MEDIATOR; from the progenitorship of whom *Ham* and *Canaan* having been excluded, for their irreverent behaviour towards their naked father, our authors suppose *Canaan* might be induced to obliterate and revenge that loss and disgrace, by corrupting the true meaning of the prophecy; and, instead of one Mediator, to be born in after-ages, of the line of *Shem*, to introduce the worship of a multiplicity of them; not of human race, but of some superior nature among their posterity. And, if it be at least a very probable opinion, as we have shewn in several parts of this volume^f, that it was this very MESSIAH, who appeared in some visible shape, and had frequent intercourses with *Adam*, and the patriarchs; or even supposing these apparitions were, as others will have them, only those of angels, deputed by GOD, and speaking in his name; but from whose intercourse he, and his cursed posterity, may be reasonably supposed to have been excluded; how natural was it for him to arrogate a superiority over his rival, as well in the number and frequency, as in the intimacy and excellence of those hea-

^d Vid. CASSIAN. collat. LACTANT. de fals. relig. & al.

^e Vid. inter al. ALIX. in Pentateuch.

^f Vide inter al.

pag. 261, (T). 287, (D), & alib.

venly visitors, by rearing an infinite multitude of altars to them ! Thus, for instance, *Egypt* was the place where *Canaan*, if not *Ham*, fixed his abode ; and how thriving a soil it proved for those kinds of idolatrous monuments, may be easily seen by what we have already said in the history of that country § ; whereas the holy patriarchs, who offered their sacrifices to the true GOD upon those altars only, which they occasionally reared in those places where he appeared to them, having but a very small number of them, appeared vastly inferior to them, in this respect, in the eyes of an ignorant world.

BUT though this accounts probably enough for the rise of polytheism, or the worship of inferior deities ; yet it leaves us wholly in the dark about the more absurd and unnatural worship of stocks and stones under various figures of the planets, and of several parts of the animal and vegetable creation ; which is more particularly the subject of our present inquiry. For we cannot see which way these can be said, in any sense, to have been introduced in consequence of the former. Those, indeed, who think them to have been dedicated to the sun, moon, and stars, and to supply their absence, do indeed suppose, that their votaries imagined, that they received a particular virtue from the moment of their being consecrated to them ; and that the inferior deities or angels, who presided in the one, did then begin to reside in the other : but tho' this may probably have been the case in process of time, yet it doth not appear to us to account naturally enough for the first introduction, either of the theory or practice. And, as for those who derive them from the custom of deifying their heroes, and erecting statues and monuments to them, which came in time to be worshiped, instead of the prototypes, we can by no means agree to them, because it doth not appear to us, that those *apotheoses* began any thing so early as the times we are speaking of ; they seem rather to have been introduced in consequence of this notion of polytheism ; for we meet with instances of idolatry from the earliest ages of the flood, but nothing of these *apotheoses* till very many centuries after it ; when men came to deify their monarchs, beloved relations, &c. as we shall have occasion to shew through the course of this work ; so that we must seek elsewhere for the source of idolatry. For, as to what we have said on this head

§ Vid. supra, vol. i. p. 390. & 467, & seqq. ii. pag. 27, & seqq.

in the history of *Egypt* §, the reader may remember, that we did not give it as our particular opinion, but either as the best account, which the priests of that nation could give, for their various kinds of worship, to *Herodotus*; or as the conjectures of that or other authors, concerning their superstitious and nonsensical mythology.

BUT, as to us, we rather think, that the origin and progress of idolatry is plainly pointed out to us in the account which *Moses* gives us of *Laban* and *Jacob*'s parting^h. The reader may remember, that these two, after a sharp contest, being ready to depart, the one into *Mesopotamia*, and the other into *Canaan*, agreed to bind themselves, and their posterity, by a solemn oath, on both sides, to live in peace and friendship with each other. Now the way they took to ratify and perpetuate the memory of this covenant, was the rearing up an heap of stones in the place; which seems, therefore, to have been founded upon some antient and common custom of that nature, and well known to them both; and only differently interpreted by them, according to their different religions. *Jacob*, who was a worshiper of the true God, called this monument *Galeed*, or *Gall-bed*, an heap of witness; that is, an authentic record of his having appealed to the God of heaven for the faithful performance of the agreement, on his part: this was doubtless the pure original sense of this ceremony. *Laban*, on the other hand, interprets it according to the corrupt theology of his time and country, in terms to this effect; This heap be both a *Galeed*, or record of our mutual oath, *והמעפה* *ve-hammitzphah*, and also a watchman, or rather, a watch-tower, from which the gods, that is, that of *Abraham*, and that, or those, of *Nahor*, may behold and punish the transgressor, when we come to be at such a distance from each other, that there will be none else to see and judge between us.

IT is true, indeed, that *Laban*'s words might be capable of a more figurative construction, did not the outcry which he made after his godsⁱ, shew him to have been such a thorough-paced idolater, as to be incapable of being understood in any other sense. This made *Jacob*, who, doubtless, could best judge of his meaning, carefully

§ Ibid. & seqq. pass.

^h Gen. xxxi. 44, & seqq.

ⁱ Ibid. ver. 30,

avoid swearing by any other oath than by the dread, that is, by the God, of his father *Isaac* ^k.

HOWEVER, with respect to this solemn ceremony of ratifying their mutual covenant, it plainly appears to have been of some standing; so that from this antient custom of erecting monuments in memory of, and as a sanction to, any solemn agreements, proceeded the notion, that some deity took its residence there, in order to punish the infringers, and bless the religious observers of them. There is nothing in this but what is exactly agreeable to the polytheistical theology of those dark and degenerate times; to which we may add, that policy might have no small hand, if not in devising, at least in encouraging, confirming, and improving this notion into a religious belief, and these statues and monuments into a religious worship; till at length not only the sun, moon, stars, but even stocks and stones, were raised to this office, and made the objects of the people's adoration, though looked upon both by priests and politicians, and by the designing part of mankind, as mere scare-crows, to overawe the ignorant. This is, indeed, the most that they ever did, even when idolatry was at the height; whilst the more cunning sort laughed at them, and only made them serve their own ends.

THE next improvement might be that of witchcraft; and the same kind of policy might oblige those *Machiavels* to wink at, if not to encourage, a numerous herd of inferior knaves, as must naturally be bred out of the dregs of this corrupt theology, under the denominations of astrologers, inchanters, forcerers, teraphim-makers, retainers of familiar spirits, soothsayers, fortune-tellers, and many more of the same nature, who were all greedily resorted unto by the populace, ever fond of prying into futurity, and of every thing that soothed their favourite passions; though, in matters of greater moment, they were, perhaps, forced to receive their directions from their principals.

HITHERTO we have avoided meddling with the common opinion, which makes the devil the cause of all these mischiefs: if he really was so, what we have said will only shew how easy it was for him to compass his end, and how ready mankind was to put an helping hand to the work. But though the Scriptures seem plainly to inti-

^k Genes. xxxi. 53.

mate a kind of intercourse between some men and women, and some kind of spirits, as in the case of the *Egyptian* conjurers, and the witch of *Endor*; yet we do not find, that the devil is any-where charged with having debauched mankind into idolatry or witchcraft, how glad and ready soever he might be to encourage them, after men had once introduced the notion of them into the world. This we purposely take notice of, because the hypothesis we are speaking against, supposes such an extent of power in him, as would be highly derogatory to the divine goodness, whilst it left the bulk of mankind under a sort of inevitable necessity of falling into all his snares, with those little assistances they had, either from the dim light of reason, or the book of nature.

THERE is, indeed, a great deal of difference between supposing, that the devil first blinded mankind, and then led them into all manner of wickedness; and saying, that men, having shamefully corrupted themselves, proceeded from one wickedness to another, till at length, being given up to their abominable lusts, they became the slaves of that evil spirit, and were easily led by him into this excess of impiety.

WE may add, that mankind, if we except the families of a few patriarchs, carrying their views no farther than this life, their insatiable desire after wealth, their care of preserving it, an unaccountable itch to pry into futurity, and the like, did naturally lead them into all that variety of superstitious trash, we have been speaking of. Could any thing therefore more effectually cure the *Israelites*, too prone to imitate them in all these, than to make their worldly happiness rise and fall, according as they shewed the greater abhorrence or fondness for every thing that bordered upon idolatry and witchcraft?

THUS then the antient and truly religious custom of ratifying oaths and contracts by such monuments, which was only an appeal to GOD's all-seeing eye, insensibly degenerated into the grossest and absurdest idolatry, under the multiform notion of guardian idols or gods, protectors of houses, lands, kingdoms, &c. Thence sprung the trades of conjuring each respective deity to its particular idol, and use; of foretelling things by a pretended intimacy with those deities; the art of star-gazing and astrology; of making teraphims, idols, and other charms, offensive and defensive, under their proper constellations; with the whole train of heathenish superstition forbidden under such severe penalties by the *Jewish* lawgiver.

BUT

BUT if this should not sufficiently account for the origin of witchcraft, what we shall add concerning one branch of it, as yet unmentioned, may perhaps do it more effectually: we mean the heretofore so much boasted craft of enchanting of serpents, insomuch that we read of whole nations that pretended to it; and some learned fathers seem to express such an admiration of it, as if they had really seen, or had been some other way fully convinced of it. But the notion must have been of much older date, since the psalmist, speaking according to the vulgar opinion, compares the sad mischiefs of an evil tongue to the poison of the deaf adder, that stoppeth her ears against the charms of the most cunning inchanter ^e. What pains hath it not cost some antient fathers ^f, and of late several of the learned, particularly the great *Bochart* ^g, to find out a serpent that answered the character given here by the psalmist! Deaf ones we need not be at a loss for: we have a sort in *England*, which, though not exactly of the same dusky colour with those of our author, but rather of a reddish copper hue, seem to be quite deaf, and their bite is reckoned mortal: but *David* speaks of one that stoppeth her ear to the charmer's voice; and this has given occasion to various conjectures, which may be best seen in the author himself. For our part, we see no reason to understand these words literally, any more, than if he had compared an evil tongue to the voice of a syren, the claws of an harpy, the eyes of a basilisk, or of any other fabulous creature: we hope, that in neither case there is now any necessity, either for disproving the reality of such creatures, or for vindicating the sacred poet's allusion to them. All that we pretend here is, to inquire how the notion of this pretended art came to be introduced, and so universally received in the world; and this cannot, we think, be done, without fetching its origin from the old serpent in paradise ^h.

AND here we need not observe, how much every circumstance in the history of his seducing the woman (his being, according to the common version, called the most subtle of all creatures, his being chosen by the devil, as the fittest instrument to deceive her, the curse pronounced against him by **GOD**, and the enmity entailed between

^e Psal. lvi. 4, 5.

^f ORIG. EUSEB. in Psal. lix.

AUGUST. de Genes. ad litt. lib. ix. Respons. ad quæst. 44.

Vid. & SCALIG. de animal. lib. i.

^g De animal. sacr.

lib. iii. c. 6.

^h Gen. iii. 1.

his and her seed) might contribute to the notion of serpents being infected with some diabolical pestiferous quality, which made them thus dreaded as destructive to mankind. But what we would first of all take notice of, is, that though, in our former account of our first parents' seduction¹, we followed the current of all versions, which represent that reptile as the most subtle of all living creatures; yet the term חָרָם *harum*, which *Moses* there makes use of, signifies quite another thing, namely, in its primitive signification, *naked*: accordingly he says, in the very preceding verse, that our first parents were חָרָמִים *harumim*, *naked*; so that, in a figurative sense, it may properly enough signify an harmless inoffensive creature. It seems even probable, that the sacred historian takes notice of this circumstance, as one main reason of *Eve's* being so easily deceived by it; for what could be more fit for the devil's purpose than such an one, which was furnished with neither legs, claws, horns, or any one single part, even for its own defence? Had it been really the craftiest of all animals, *Adam* could not but have known it, who gave them all names according to their natures; and then *Eve* could not but have been particularly mistrustful of him, so that he would have been the last that the devil would have pitched upon to tempt her. Hence we would observe, 1. That it was chiefly this naked, defenceless, and inoffensive appearance, though adorned, perhaps, with all those beauties of shape, colour, and wings, which we mentioned before, under that head², that gained credit with her; and, 2. That whenever the same term is used afterwards to signify *cunning*, as it sometimes doth, it is only the word *harum*, *naked* or *simple*, ironically applied.

HERE was then a creature, which, from being originally harmless and inoffensive, became the most dangerous and deadly one in the whole creation: a wonderful change of nature, to all outward appearance, without change of shape; a power to kill infused into it, without the addition of any offensive part; inflicting a sure and speedy, a painful and unaccountable death, and yet not able to give the body a greater wound, than that of a seemingly slight prick. What could an infant world attribute all these surprising effects to, but to some deadly

¹ See before, vol. i. p. 125, & seqq. ² Ibid. p. 126, & seqq.

occult quality which the devil left behind him with it? or what could be more apt to cultivate that notion, if not to give the first rise to it, than the enmity intailed between mankind and the serpent, after the prophetic sense of it had once been obliterated with the far greatest part of the world? and whence should they expect a remedy against this supposed preternatural evil, but from pretended preternatural means? So that, though it might not actually at first send men to the devil for help, for charms and enchantments; yet it might easily induce those, who first found out a cure for the bite of those venomous creatures, to assume to themselves some supernatural skill, in order both to gain greater credit and admiration among the people, and to prevent their prying too narrowly into their secrets. How much farther these pretended enchanters improved this notion of a preternatural or diabolical virtue in serpents, above all other creatures, is plain, from that vast variety of surprising tricks, which they attributed to them¹; one of which, and that not by far the most extraordinary, was that of stopping their ears, that they might be proof against all enchantments; and it is this we shall now endeavour to account for.

It is not to be doubted, but these cunning artists had acquainted themselves, as far as they could, with all the various kinds of serpents; some of which, such as our common snakes, being found to be perfectly harmless, might serve them to amuse the ignorant, by pretending that they had charmed them into that inoffensive familiarity, which they beheld with the utmost wonder; others, of a more dangerous nature, such as the viper or adder, but which only bite when hurt or provoked, might be either tamed by degrees, and by gentle usage, or rendered harmless by breaking those two teeth, through which they inject their poison: the latter therefore might be used as an amusement, and the former, to try experiments, to find out remedies; and both together, to deceive the world, by shewing their pretended capacity, or incapacity, to hurt or kill, according as they were, or were not, enchanted. But, as they found their remedies ineffectual in many cases, and against the bite of some kinds of serpents, they had no other way to save themselves, than by pretending, that those had a particular virtue, which

¹ Vid. auct. sup. citat. & POMPONAC. de in ant. TRITHEM. stezanogr. TEXEIR. hist. Pers. DELRIO. disquisit. magic. & al. mult.

was proof against their charms; and, as the deaf kind is the most deadly, and hitherto found to be incurable, nothing could be more natural, than for the pretended incanters to affirm, that their charms consisted in the sound of certain words, pronounced in the hearing of those reptiles, which could therefore have no effect against them, because they had the skill of turning a deaf ear to them. Hence came the notion of their hearing but with one ear, which they stopped either with the end of their tail, or by laying it close to the ground, whenever they found themselves in danger of being enchanted; and many others equally absurd, invented on purpose to account for the pretended superiority of skill in this creature, above that of the incanter.

THUS we hope, that the history of *Jacob* and *Laban* makes it at least very probable, that idolatry, with all its long train of vain and absurd, of vile and abominable attendants, was at first foisted into the world from the primitive notion of GOD's omnipresence; which, through the degeneracy and ignorance of the world, which could not perhaps comprehend the possibility of the Deity being present and attentive to every part of the creation, branched itself out into that infinite multitude of deities, of various sizes and natures, as best suited with their corrupt notions and morals. We may add, that the righteous line of *Shem* is not the only people, who are recorded to have preserved this pure and primitive notion; since, as we observed formerly ^m, the inhabitants of *Thebais*, or upper *Egypt*, did worship none but the *Cnes*, or Supreme Deity, whilst the lower part of the country was immersed in the grossest idolatry. How far the early notion of good and bad spirits might further contribute to corrupt this pure and primitive sense of GOD's omnipresence, and degenerate by degrees into a belief, that they were, if we may be allowed the expression, the eyes and hands of the Deity, and the instruments of his favour or justice, we need not say: and, if this was the case, how easy was it for the corrupt physiologists of those times to turn them all into deities, and even assign them their several provinces over every creature, according as they found it beneficial or hurtful to mankind! Hence proceeded, most likely, the worship of *crocodiles*, *ibis*, *rats*, *onions*, *gar-*

^m See before, vol. ii. p. 46).

lick, and many more among the *Egyptians*; and of the heavenly bodies, both by them and the rest of the world ^a.

Now there is nothing more plain, than that all this infinite variety of superstitions was owing to that insatiable desire after those various kinds of happiness, which their vitiated taste made them seek after, according to their different inclinations, from those imaginary dispensers of them. So that, if the *Israelites* could but have kept themselves wholly free from it, it would have proved the most effectual means, perhaps, of recovering the rest of mankind, by setting before their eyes a whole nation enjoying the height of grandeur and happiness, not from those fancied deities, which engrossed the worship of other nations, from whom they were so far from expecting any blessings, that they had both them, and their stupid votaries, in the greatest contempt and abhorrence; but under the influence of the only supreme Creator of heaven and earth, whom alone they acknowledged to be the bountiful giver of all good. Here then was at once the source of their guilt and unhappiness, that they thwarted, instead of complying with, the designs of Providence; and, by their shameful imitation, confirmed other nations in their delusions and idolatry, whom they were designed to cure by their utter detestation of them.

BUT there was still a farther aggravation of their guilt and impiety; the inhuman cruelties which were practised at the worship of some, and the filthy and unnatural ceremonies which were used at that of other, of those false deities. All these may be reasonably supposed to have been invented by crafty and designing men, merely to gratify the depraved appetites of a senseless vulgar, in order to make it subservient to their more latent views; but when they came to be adopted by GOD's peculiar people, in spite of all his most express prohibitions and threatenings, they carried a much higher degree of guilt in them, because they tended to cast a double dishonour upon him, among those wiser heathens, who were ignorant of his severe laws against them, and yet abhorred them, as being manifestly contrary to those of reason. For what opinion could they have of the GOD of *Israel*, or how could they believe him to be the Supreme Being, and yet suffer his people to commit such abominations? What must even the very *Israelites* themselves think of him, if they

^a Ibid. 467, & seqq.

could

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could suppose, that he would indulge them in those very impieties, for which he had so severely punished the nations, whose land they now inhabited?

To all this let us add their obstinate unbelief, which hardened them against the most pathetic remonstrances, and dreadful threatenings, of their prophets, whom God still sent to them upon all such defections; and who never appeared in greater number, than they did towards the approaching captivity, which their multiplied impieties was hastening upon them, and proved at last the only effectual means of curing them at once of their idolatry and unbelief. Whether the severity of their thralldom, the monstrous variety of superstition, which they beheld among the *Babylonians*, or the continued exhortations of *Ezekiel*, and other prophets, who were with them in the captivity, contributed most to this extraordinary change, we will not pretend to say; but this is plain, that, ever since their return from thence, they always expressed the greatest abhorrence to those two crimes. Yet even in these two respects, they seem rather to have gone into the other extreme, and to have strove only to atone for former faults, by running into others, if not equal in guilt, yet at least equally dangerous. For the truth of this, we shall at present refer the reader to what we shall have frequent occasion to observe in the sequel concerning them. Thus, for instance, idolatry, once their most favourite vice, has been since held in such abhorrence among them, that they would not stoop before a statue, though it were to pluck a thorn out of their foot. Their horrid profanation of the sabbath is charged likewise on ~~on~~ them; as a crime that brought ~~on~~ that severe captivity upon them, since which they became so fearful of the least breach of it, that, for a great while, they would suffer their enemies to surprise and butcher them, rather than lift up a hand in their own defence: and may we not reasonably suppose, that it was in order to make amends for their former unbelief, that they have since greedily swallowed down such a number of monstrous fables, of which, those we have quoted in this history out of their *Talmud*, are but a small scantling; and preferred that pretended oral law or tradition, wherein they find such plenty of materials to exercise their faith, to the sacred writings, wherein they find little or nothing like it? Well might our Saviour charge those of his time with
straining

straining at a gnat, and swallowing a camel ^o; and an honest rabbi of theirs advise them to insert the decalogue in their *Talmud*, as the only means to prevent the shameful and almost universal breach of it amongst them.

HOWEVER, it behoves us to spare and pity them in this respect, since it was their unaccountable fondness for these traditions above the sacred writings, that inspired them with that bitterness and malice against the *Messiah*, the Redeemer of mankind, which made them persecute him to that shameful death, from which we derive our freedom, and assurance of a better life; especially, since their continuing to this day in unbelief affords us so irrefragable an argument for the authority of the Old Testament, and consequently for the truth and divinity of the New; into which we are not without some sure hopes of their being admitted in GOD's good time ^p.

^o Matt. xxiii. 24.

^p Vid. Rom. xi. pass.

